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IX.

MARTIN P. NILSSON
THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION AND ITS
SURVIVAL IN GREEK RELIGION

THE
MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION
AND ITS
SURVIVAL IN GREEK RELIGION

BY

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OF GREEK RELIGION', ETC.

WITH FOUR PLATES AND 113 FIGURES IN THE TEXT



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to

*Friends and Colleagues
at the University and the Museums
of Copenhagen*

in token of affection and gratitude.

PREFACE.

This book is the result of somewhat prolonged studies. After having collected all the materials available in books and periodicals I gave a sketch of the subject in the autumn of 1920 in the first of my Olaus Petri lectures on the History of Greek Religion (printed in 1921 as ch. I of my book, *Den grekiska religionens historia*). Some leading ideas were laid down in a paper read before the Royal Danish Academy in April 1921 (*Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene*, published in the *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, IV, 7, of that Academy). In the spring of 1923 I was able with help from the Längman foundation to pay a visit to Greece and to study the unpublished materials in the museums in Athens and at Candia. The results of these studies were incorporated in the English translation of my above-mentioned book (*A History of Greek Religion*, 1925) and in a course of seven lectures on Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its relations to Greek Religion, delivered by special invitation before the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in May 1923, in which the subject was treated more fully. The honourable duty incumbent upon me to publish a work connected with the subject of these lectures is fulfilled in this book. Of these lectures the first, which was entitled 'Minoans and Greeks', is only partly incorporated into the introduction, the last, called 'The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology', has been wholly put on one side, the subject being so vast that it requires comprehensive separate treatment. The present book covers in greater detail the subject-matter of the remaining five.

My warmest thanks are due to many scholars and the directors of several museums who have given me valuable aid and

assistance in a most liberal manner. Sir Arthur Evans has permitted me to quote extracts from private letters concerning some important points. Mr A. J. B. Wace, sometime Director of the British School in Athens, has supplied me with information on the work of the School at Mycenae and permitted me to reproduce some unpublished objects from these excavations. Dr A. Boethius, now Director of the Swedish Institute in Rome, has communicated information and photographs from these same excavations, in which he assisted. My colleague at the University of Uppsala, Professor Axel W. Persson, has informed me of his brilliant find of the beehive tomb at Dendra and lent me a design of one of the objects found for reproduction; further he has given me an account and lent me photographs of the sanctuary discovered at Asine during the excavations in 1926, which is of the utmost importance because it corroborates my views on the transmission of the Minoan religion to the mainland; fortunately I am able to insert this account and discuss its significance in an addendum and to reproduce the photographs on plates III and IV. Finally the directors of the following museums have provided me with casts and photographs and permitted me to reproduce unpublished objects: Mr St. Xanthoudides, Director of the Museum at Candia, Mr P. Kourouniotes, sometime Director of the National Museum in Athens, Dr D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, Mr A. H. Smith, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, Dr R. Zahn, Keeper of the Antiquarium in the State Museum in Berlin, Dr J. Boehlau, Director of the Museum at Cassel, Dr K. Friis Johansen, sometime Keeper of the Classical Department of the National Museum in Copenhagen. I owe thanks of a quite special order to my old teacher, Professor J. Wackernagel of the University of Basel, who has never been tired of placing his eminent philological learning and sagacity at my disposal in answer to the questions on etymological and other linguistic points which I have put to him.

A cause of serious difficulty and doubts was the selection of illustrations. The ideal would have been to illustrate all the objects

and monuments mentioned, but this was precluded by reason of the cost. Then the obvious device would have been to select the most important ones, but this would have implied again reproducing things which are well known and easily accessible. I have therefore chosen another way which I hope will prove practical. I assume, perhaps too boldly, that some standard works and sets of periodicals are at the disposal of or at least accessible to the reader, namely: Evans, *Palace of Minos*; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*; Maraghiannis, *Antiquités crétoises*; *Annual of the British School at Athens*; *Athenische Mitteilungen*; *Ephemeris archaeologica*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, including Sir Arthur Evans' *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* and 'The Ring of Nestor', etc., and reproduce all illustrations of any importance for the subject found elsewhere. To this rule there are some exceptions which I hope will be welcome to the reader. The Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities in Stockholm has kindly lent me a number of blocks from the work of the late Professor Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*. Thus it was possible to enrich the illustrations especially as regards ceramics.

I have to apologize for some inconsistencies in the methods of quotation and the abbreviation of titles, but I hope that they are not such as to cause the reader serious trouble. I have quoted Schliemann's work on Mycenae in the German edition, the English not being accessible to me; Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* in the first edition, from which the subsequent editions differ but slightly; and Sir Arthur Evans' papers in the *Archaeologia* with the pagination of the off-prints.

My manuscript was finished by the end of 1925, but the printing of the book has taken more time than I hoped or wished, not entirely through any fault of mine. To books and papers which appeared during the impression it was only possible to give short references in foot-notes and addenda.

Lund, May, 1927.

Martin P. Nilsson.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	VII
LIST OF PLATES AND TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS	XVI
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA	XX
INTRODUCTION	1
Survival of Minoan Religion, p. 1. — Greek religion a fusion, p. 3.	
— The Greek component, p. 5. — The Minoan-Mycenaean component, p. 5. — Identity of Minoan and Mycenaean religions, p. 6.	
— Interpretation of the monuments and foreign connexions, p. 8.	
— Composition of the present book, p. 10. — Who were the Mycenaean?, p. 11. — Archaeological differences between Minoan and Mycenaean civilization: House types, p. 12. — Costume, amber, p. 17. — Boar's tusks helmet, p. 19. — The art of writing, p. 20. — The horse, p. 21. — Northern elements in Mycenaean art, p. 22. — War and expansion of civilization, p. 23. — The Greek immigration: Limits and catastrophes of Minoan-Mycenaean civilization, p. 24. — Geography of the Greek dialects, p. 28. — Three successive waves of Greek immigration: The Ionians, p. 32. — The Achaeans, p. 33. — The Achaeans in the Boghaz-keui tablets, p. 35. — The attacks of Greek tribes on Egypt, p. 38. — Troy, p. 39. — The Dorians, p. 39. — The Minoization of the Greeks, p. 41. — Religion based on the assumption of a Minoan colonization of the mainland, p. 42. — Account of the different views of the Hero Cult, p. 43; and the mythology, p. 44.	

PART I.

THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.

CH. I. NATURE SANCTUARIES	49
Miamiu and other caves, p. 49. — Origin of cult caves, p. 52. — Caves near Knossos etc., p. 53. — The cave of Psychro, p. 55. — The cave of Kamares, p. 59. — The cave of Patso, p. 61. — The cave of Mt Parnes, p. 61; of Delos, p. 62. — Rock-shelter of Pet-	

sofa etc., p. 62. — Mt Juktas, p. 65. — Cult deities, p. 66. — Cave cults and peak cults, p. 67. — Petsofa a peak sanctuary, p. 70.

CH. II. HOUSE SANCTUARIES..... 72

Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, p. 72. — Shrine at Gournia, p. 74. — S. E. house and Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos, p. 77. — Sanctuary of the Dove Goddess, p. 80. — The West Wing, p. 82. — The Little Palace, p. 82. — 'Bath-rooms', p. 83. — Shrine of Phaestus, p. 85, of H. Triada, p. 86. — Koumasa, p. 90. — Trullos, p. 91. — Pseira, p. 92. — Nirou Khani, p. 92. — Chamaizi Sitias, p. 93. — Mallia, p. 93. — Tyliossos, p. 94. — Palaikastro, p. 95. — The Goddess of the Domestic Cult, p. 96. — [House sanctuary at Asine, p. xx.]

CH. III. ALTARS, TABLES OF OFFERING, AND SACRAL VESSELS 98

Altars, p. 98. — Models and representations, p. 100. — Round altars, p. 101. — Tables of offering, p. 103. — Trays, p. 104. — 'Ladles', p. 104. — Libation tables, p. 106. — 'Lamp' type, p. 107. — Bowls, 'Bird's nest bowls', p. 108. — 'Salt and pepper bowls', p. 110. — Composite libation tables, p. 111. — Trays with cups, p. 112. — *Kernoï*, p. 113. — Ring-shaped vessels, p. 116. — Degenerate *kernoï*, p. 118. — Animal bowls, p. 119. — Chronology, p. 120. — *Rhyta*, p. 121. — Libation jug, p. 124. — Triton shells, p. 130.

CH. IV. SACRAL DRESS 132

Hide-dress, p. 132. — 'Stole', p. 135. — 'Cuirass', p. 136. — Knots, p. 137.

CH. V. THE HORNS OF CONSECRATION AND THE FAÇADE OF THE MINOAN SHRINES..... 140

Horns of consecration *in corpore*, p. 140. — Representations, p. 142. — Shrines with horns of consecration, p. 146. — Explanation, p. 153. — Greek basket, p. 158. — 'Sheep-bells', p. 160.

CH. VI. THE DOUBLE AXE. ANIMAL SACRIFICE, ANIMALS' HEADS 162

Double axes *in corpore*, p. 162; in vase paintings etc., p. 167. — Double edged type, p. 169. — Disc and orb, p. 171. — Double axe with vegetable motifs, p. 174; with fillets, p. 176. — 'Butterfly' pattern, p. 180. — Double axes on blocks etc., p. 181. — Bases of double axes, p. 182. — Double axes between horns of consecration, p. 184. — Significance of the double axe, p. 185. — Connexion with Asia Minor, p. 188. — The double axe in cult scenes, p. 190. — The double axe as the sacrificial axe, p. 192. — The

animal sacrifice, p. 195. — Double axe and bull's head, p. 196. — Detached animals' heads, p. 197.

CH. VII. PILLARS AND COLUMNS..... 201

Pillar rooms, p. 201. — Significance of the pillars, p. 208. — Columns, p. 213. — Single animal and column, p. 214. — Antithetic group, p. 215. — Heraldic type, p. 216. — Interpretation, p. 217. — Baetyls, p. 219. — Shrines, p. 222.

CH. VIII. THE TREE CULT 225

Boughs, p. 225. — Tree cult, p. 227. — Constructions, p. 227. — So-called gabled temple, p. 234. — Adoring and touching the trees, p. 236. — Excited movements, dancing, p. 236. — Epiphany of deities, p. 238. — Tree and animals, p. 244.

CH. IX. IDOLS AND CULT IDOLS 247

Neolithic idols, p. 248. — Cycladic and Egyptianized idols (E. M.), p. 251. — Minoan idols (M. M., L. M.), p. 252. — Attitudes, p. 253. — Idols from tombs, p. 257. — Mycenaean idols, p. 260. — Conclusions, p. 264. — Cult idols, p. 266. — The Snake Goddess, p. 267. — Tube-shaped vessels, p. 271. — Domestic cult of the Snake Goddess, p. 275. — The House Snake, p. 279. — Nature of the Snake Goddess, p. 284.

CH. X. BIRD EPIPHANIES OF THE GODS 285

Idols and sacred objects with birds, p. 285. — Bird figurines, p. 288. — Species of the birds, p. 290. — Significance of bird epiphany, p. 294.

CH. XI. EPIPHANIES OF GODS IN HUMAN SHAPE 295

Descending figures, p. 295. — Full-sized figures, p. 298. — Conclusions, p. 305. — The Master and the Mistress of Animals, p. 306. — Daemons with animals, p. 307. — So-called snake or bow implement, p. 310. — Fabulous animals and monsters, p. 317. — Special types: apes, p. 319. — Babylonian daemons, p. 320. — Minotaur, p. 321. — Daemons of the usual type, p. 324. — Oriental origin of the antithetic group, p. 329; of its animals, p. 332.

CH. XII. THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN PANTHEON 334

So-called Mother of Mountains, p. 334. — Alleged Oriental connexions, p. 335. — Hypothesis of the Great Goddess, p. 337. — Distinction between goddesses, p. 339. — The tree cult, p. 342. — The Male god, p. 343. — 'Dual Monotheism', p. 344. — The goddess and her satellite, p. 347. — Hoplolatry (alleged cult of the shield), p.

	PAGE
349. — The Hunters' God, p. 353. — The celestial bodies, p. 355. — The sun, p. 356. — Sea-urchin, p. 357. — Sun-like motifs, p. 358. — Cosmological significance, p. 362. — The cross, p. 363.	
CH. XIII. THE SARCOPHAGUS FROM 'H. TRIADA	368
Cult of the dead, p. 369. — Interpretations, p. 369. — The <i>larnax</i> from Episkopi, p. 374. — Divine character of the cult, p. 375. — Deification of man, p. 378.	
PART II.	
MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION IN ITS RELATIONS TO GREEK RELIGION.	
CH. XIV. THE CONTINUITY OF THE CULT AND THE CULT PLACES	385
1. <i>Survivals of Minoan cult.</i> Cult objects from Prinia, p. 385; from Camirus, p. 386. — The <i>kernos</i> , p. 387. — The shrine of Vronlia, p. 391.	
2. <i>Continuity of the cult places.</i> The cave of Psychro and the Dictaeon cave, p. 392. — The cave of Patso, p. 394. — Tomb of Zeus on Mt Juktas, p. 395. — Temples at Phaestus, p. 396; at H. Triada, p. 397; at Palaikastro, p. 398; at Prinia, p. 399. — Del- phi, p. 400. — Eleusis, p. 402. — Amyklai and other sites, p. 403. — Mycenae, p. 405. — Athens, p. 406. — Tiryns, p. 406. — The Argive Heraeum, p. 410. — Continuity of the cult, p. 411.	
CH. XV. GREEK GODDESSES OF MINOAN ORIGIN	415
Sacral functions of the king, p. 415. — Etymology of Hera and Athena, p. 418. — Bird epiphany of Athena, p. 421. — Birds of Athena, p. 421. — The owl, p. 423. — Snake of Athena, p. 426. — Athena as a war-goddess, p. 428. — The palladium, p. 429. — Relations of Athena to individuals, p. 430. — Hera, p. 431. — Artemis, p. 432. — The Mistress of Animals, p. 435. — The winged Mistress of Animals, p. 436. — Britomartis, p. 438. — Diktyнна, p. 439. — Aphaia, p. 441. — The Master of Animals, p. 442. — Apollo, p. 443. — Eileithyia, p. 446. — Ariadne, p. 451. — Helen, p. 456. — Conclusion, p. 459.	
CH. XVI. THE DIVINE CHILD	461
Method of research, p. 461. — Birth of Zeus: localization to Crete, p. 462. — Parents, p. 464. — Swallowed up and disgorged, p. 465. — Nourished by nymphs and animals, p. 466. — Why was the Divine Child called Zeus?, p. 469. — Child gods, p. 469. — Nou- rished by bees, p. 471. — The annual birth of Zeus, p. 471. —	

The Couretes daemons of fertility, p. 472. — The hymn of Palai-
kastro, p. 475. — The youthful Zeus and the tree-goddess of Gor-
tyn, p. 479. — The sacred marriage, p. 481. — Tomb of Zeus, p.
482. — His annual death, p. 482. — Cycle of vegetation, p. 484.
— Hyakinthos, p. 485. — Ploutos at Eleusis, p. 487. — Erichtho-
nios, p. 490. — The child Dionysos, p. 492. — Tomb of Dionysos,
p. 494. — Etymology, p. 495. — Phrygian origin of Dionysos, p.
496. — Difference of the Thracian and the Phrygian Dionysos,
p. 498. — Bacchos a Lydian name, p. 499. — Pre-Phrygian con-
nexions, p. 500. — Pre-Greek elements of Dionysiac religion, p.
501. — The snake and Dionysos, p. 503. — Mysticism, p. 504.
— Traditions concerning Cretan influence on Greek religion, p. 505.
— Crete a home of mysticism, p. 506. — The Orphic Dionysos,
p. 509. — Crete a home of holy men, p. 511. — Conclusion, p. 512.

CH. XVII. THE HERO CULT AND THE AFTER LIFE 514

1. *The Hero Cult.* Nature of the Hero Cult, p. 514. — Mycenaean origin, p. 516. — Niches in the *dromos*, p. 517. — Pits in and near the tombs, p. 519. — Traces of fire, p. 522. — Menidi, p. 524. — Spata. Tomb of Klytaimestra, p. 527. — The Grave Circle at Mycenae, p. 528. — Tombs of the Hyperborean Maidens on Delos, p. 533. — Conclusion, p. 536.
2. *The After Life.* Various views of the After Life, p. 538. — Elysium, p. 540. — Minoan origin, p. 543. — Derived from Egypt, p. 544. — Islands of the Blest, p. 546. — Gardens of the Hesperides, p. 547. — The H. Triada sarcophagus, p. 549. — The 'Ring of Nestor', p. 549. — The Tree, p. 550. — Butterflies, p. 551. — Cult of fabulous animals, p. 553. — Double aspect of the After Life in Greek Religion, p. 556.

INDEX 561

LIST OF PLATES AND TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATES:

(Pl. I, 1 from the original, the others from casts.)

PLATE.	
I,	1, Gold ring in the State Museum, Berlin.
	2, Gold ring in the National Museum, Athens.
	3, Gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
	4, Gold ring in the Museum at Candia.
	5, Sard in the Museum at Candia.
	6, Seal of dark green steatite in the Museum of Candia.
	7, Seal of dark grey steatite in the National Museum, Copenhagen.
II,	8, Onyx from the Cave of Psychro in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
	9, Carnelian from a tomb in the Kalkani necropolis near Mycenae.
	10, Seal impression from Zakro in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
III,	Room in 'the Mycenaean Palace' at Asine with a ledge for cult idols and implements.
IV,	Cult idols and implements found in 'the Mycenaean Palace' at Asine.

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS:

FIG.		PAGE
1,	Gold ring from the hoard of Tiryns (<i>Arch. Anz.</i> , 1916, p. 147, fig. 4)	45
2,	A and B, Plan and section of the cave of Miamu (<i>Amer. Journ. of Arch.</i> , I, 1897, pp. 291, figs. 4 and 5)	50
3,	A and B, Contents of the shrine at Gournia (<i>Gournia</i> , pl. XI)	75, 76
4,	The inner room of the sanctuary at Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 407, fig. 38)	85
5,	Plan of the palace of H. Triada (<i>Memorie del R. Ist. Lombardo, Cl. di scienze mor. etc.</i> , XXI, pl. I)	87
6,	Contents of a shrine at Koumasa (<i>Xanthoudides, The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara</i> , pl. XXXIII)	91
7,	Group of dancing women and a lyre-player from Palaikastro (<i>Mosso, Escursioni nel Mediterraneo etc.</i> , p. 225, fig. 136)	96
8,	Altar in the N. W. angle of the Central Court at Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, pl. XXXI, 2)	99
9,	Libation table from Phaestus, (<i>Ibid.</i> , pl. XXXVI)	105
10,	Stone vessels from Gournia (<i>Gournia</i> , pl. V, 14, 19)	106
11,	'Bird's nest bowl' from Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 474, fig. 81)	109
12,	'Salt and pepper bowl' from Koumasa (<i>Ann. of the British School at Athens</i> , XII, p. 16, fig. 2)	110
13,	Table of libation from Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 474, fig. 79 a)	111
14,	Table of offering from Gournes (<i>Delt. arch.</i> , IV, 1918, p. 77, fig. 21, 1)	113
15,	Kernos from Koumasa (<i>Ann. of the British School at Athens</i> , XII, p. 11, fig. 1)	114
16,	Simple Melian kernos (<i>Journ. of Hell. Stud.</i> , Suppl. IV, pl. VIII, 14)	114

FIG.	PAGE
17, Prototype of kernos with two cups from Pyrgos (<i>Delt. arch.</i> , IV, 1918, pl. A, 2)	115
18, Ditto with three cups (<i>Ibid.</i> , pl. A, 3)	116
19, Ring-shaped vessel from Kourtes (<i>Ann. of the British School at Athens</i> , XII, p. 16, fig. 3)	117
20, Ditto from Cyprus (<i>Dussaud, Les civil. préhell.</i> , 2nd ed., p. 356, fig. 262)	118
21, Ditto from Mycenae (<i>From a photo by the permission of the Director of the National Museum in Athens</i>)	118
22, Cup from Petras (<i>Ann. of the British School at Athens</i> , VIII, p. 285, fig. 5)	119
23, Cup from Tylißos (<i>Eph. arch.</i> , 1912, pl. XIV b)	119
24, Bowl from Sphoungaras (<i>Univ. of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Anthropolog. Publ.</i> , III: 2, p. 57, fig. 29)	120
25, Lenticular in the British Museum (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	124
26, Gold ring from the hoard of Tiryns (<i>Arch. Anz.</i> , 1916, p. 147, fig. 5)	125
27, Sealstone from Sphoungaras (<i>Univ. of Penns. etc., ibid.</i> , p. 70, fig. 45 F)	126
28, Ditto (<i>Loc. cit.</i> , D)	126
29, Silver jug from shaft grave IV at Mycenae (<i>Schliemann, Mykenae</i> , p. 280, fig. 353)	127
30, Table of libation with six jugs from Phaestus (<i>Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft</i> , VII, 1904, p. 141, fig. 20)	129
31, Seal impression from H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIII, p. 41, fig. 35)	133
32, Ditto (<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 39, fig. 33)	134
33, Sealstone of dark grey steatite in the National Museum, Copenhagen (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	134
34, Faïence knot from shaft grave IV at Mycenae (<i>Schliemann, Mykenae</i> , p. 279, fig. 352)	137
35, Vase from Salamis in Cyprus (<i>British Museum, Catal. of Greek and Etruscan Vases</i> , I: 2, p. 82, fig. 138)	144
36, Ivory signet ring from Phylakopi (<i>Journ. of Hell. Studies, Suppl.</i> IV, p. 193, fig. 162)	145
37, Sealstone in the British Museum (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	146
38, Ditto (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	146
39, Seal impression from H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIII, p. 42, fig. 36)	150
40, Horns of consecration from Mochlos (<i>Seager, Explorations in the Island of Mochlos</i> , fig. 48, No. 31)	156
41, Double Axe with butterfly (<i>Memorie della R. Accad. dei Lincei</i> , XII, 1908, pl. II, No. 77)	163
42, Vase fragments from Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 444, fig. 55)	167
43, Fragment of a terracotta disc from Phaestus (<i>Loc. cit.</i> , fig. 54)	168
44, Vase fragment from Thorikos (<i>Eph. arch.</i> , 1895, pl. XI, 2)	169
45, Vase from Gournia (<i>Gournia</i> , pl. I, 2)	169
46, Basket-shaped vase from Pseira (<i>Univers. of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Anthropol. Publ.</i> , III: 1, p. 31, fig. 12)	170
47, Cover from Pseira (<i>Cook, Zeus</i> , II, p. 653, fig. 581)	171
48, 'Urn-strainer' from Gournia (<i>Gournia</i> , pl. VII, 21)	171
49, Amphora from Pseira (<i>Univ. of Penns., loc. cit.</i> , pl. VII)	172
50, Double axe from a vase from Gournia (<i>Gournia</i> , pl. IX, 28 B)	174
51, Vase fragment from Gournia (<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 39, fig. 18, 1)	174
52, Double axe on a vase from Mochlos (<i>Cook, Zeus</i> , II, p. 527, fig. 395)	175
53, Double axé on a vase from Zakro (<i>Journ. of Hell. Studies</i> , XXIII, 1903, p. 225, fig. 24)	175

FIG.	PAGE
54, Amphora from shaft grave I at Mycenae (<i>Furtwängler und Löschcke, Myk. Thongefässe</i> , pl. III, 11)	176
55, Amphora from shaft grave I at Mycenae (<i>Ibid.</i> , pl. III, 11)	176
56, 'Urn-strainer' from Gournia (<i>Gournia</i> , pl. IX, 12)	177
57, Vase fragments from Mycenae (<i>Furtwängler und Löschcke, Myk. Vasen</i> , pl. XXVI, 195)	177
58, Saucer from Mochlos (<i>Seager, Explorations in the Island of Mochlos</i> , p. 36, fig. II, 1)	180
59, Jug from Drachmani (<i>Eph. arch.</i> , 1908, p. 87, fig. 13).....	181
60, Jug from Mochlos (<i>Seager, op. cit.</i> , p. 36, fig. 13, I b)	181
61, Stepped Double Axe Base from Mycenae (<i>From a photo by Dr Boethius with Mr Wace's permission</i>)	184
62, Sealstone of dark green steatite in the Museum at Candia (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Director's permission</i>)	195
63, Gold ring from Mycenae (<i>Schliemann, Mykenae</i> , p. 409, fig. 531) ...	196
64, Sealstone from the necropolis of Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 622, fig. 95)	198
65, Seal impression from H. Triada (<i>Ibid.</i> , XIII, p. 35, fig. 26)	198
66, Sealstone from the necropolis of Phaestus (<i>Ibid.</i> , XIV, p. 622, fig. 96)	199
67, Ivory plaque from Menidi (<i>Das Kuppelgrab von Menidi</i> , pl. VIII, 10)	215
68, Gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 578, fig. 51)	220
69, Sard in the Museum at Candia (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Director's permission</i>)	226
70, Carnelian in the National Museum in Copenhagen (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	227
71, Gold ring in the State Museum of Berlin (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Director's permission</i>)	229
72, Gold ring in the Museum at Candia (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Director's permission</i>).....	230
73, Gold ring in the National Museum in Athens (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Director's permission</i>)	230
74, Gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 577, fig. 50)	231
75, Seal impression from H. Triada (<i>Ibid.</i> , XIII, p. 431, fig. 37).....	231
76, Sealstone from Sphoungaras (<i>Univ. of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Anthropol. Publ.</i> , III: 2, p. 70, fig. 45 G).....	235
77, Signet ring in the National Museum in Copenhagen (<i>Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed</i> , 1920, p. 309, fig. 1).....	241
78, Idols from the palace of H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIII, p. 71, fig. 55)	255
79, Idol from the necropolis of H. Triada (<i>Ibid.</i> , XIV, p. 739, fig. 79) ...	258
80, Ditto (<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 741, fig. 39)	259
81, Ditto (<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 742, fig. 40)	260
82, Seated idol from Delphi (<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , V, p. 15, fig. 60)	262
83, Amulet from the necropolis of H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 736, fig. 35)	276
84, Terracotta group from H. Triada, reconstructed (<i>H. Bossert, Alt Kreta</i> , 2nd ed., p. 80, fig. 112)	287
85, Gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>).....	296
86, Seal impression from H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XII, p. 43, fig. 38)	299
87, Ditto (<i>Ibid.</i> , XIII, p. 44, fig. 40)	306
88, Sealstone from H. Triada (<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 45, fig. 42)	307
89, Sealstone from the necropolis of Phaestus (<i>Ibid.</i> , XIV, p. 625, fig. 97 a)	308
90, Gem from the cave of Psychro in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	310

FIG.	PAGE
91, Gold ring from the beehive tomb at Dendra (<i>Design by Mrs A. Jensen kindly lent by Professor Persson</i>)	311
92, Sealstone in the Museum at Cassel (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Director's permission</i>)	312
93, Seal impression from Zakro in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (<i>Design by Mrs H. Kinch with the Keeper's permission</i>)	313
94, Gold pendant from the Aegina Treasure (<i>British Museum, Catal. of Jewelry</i> , pl. VII, No. 762)	316
95, Seal impression from H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIII, p. 39, fig. 32) ...	319
96, Shell tablet from Phaestus (<i>Ibid.</i> , XII, pl. VIII, 1)	320
97, Tablet from Assur (<i>Roscher's Lexikon der Mythol.</i> , IV, p. 1494, fig. 55)	321
98, Wall painting from Mycenae (<i>Eph. arch.</i> , 1887, pl. X, 1)	324
99, Cretan sealstone (<i>Kunstgeschichte in Bildern</i> , p. 94, fig. 14)	325
100, One side of a bead seal from Phaestus (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIV, p. 520, fig. 10 c)	326
101, Sealstone from Mochlos (<i>Seager, Explorations in the Island of Mochlos</i> , p. 22, fig. 6, I, 8)	356
102, Vase fragment from Mycenae (<i>Dussand, Les civil. préhell.</i> , 2nd ed., p. 390, fig. 288)	359
103, Vase fragments from Mycenae (<i>Furtwängler und Löschcke, Myk. Vasen</i> , pl. XXVIII)	360
104, Four-spoked wheel-shaped ornament of gold from Mycenae (<i>Schliemann, Mykenae</i> , p. 234, fig. 316)	361
105, M. M. vase from Vasiliki (<i>Seager, Excav. at Vasiliki in 1906</i> , pl. XXXI, 1)	364
106, Gold cross from Mycenae (<i>Schliemann, Mykenae</i> , p. 225, fig. 294) ...	365
107, Larnax from Episkopi (<i>Delt. arch.</i> , VI, 1921, <i>App.</i> , p. 158, fig. 5) ...	375
108 A and B. Fragments of wall paintings from H. Triada (<i>Mon. ant.</i> , XIX, pp. 69, figs. 21 and 23)	376, 377
109, Plan and section of a shrine at Vroulia (<i>Kinch, Fouilles de Vroulia</i> , pl. I)	390
110, Part of a kantharos in the National Museum of Copenhagen (<i>From a photo with the Keeper's permission</i>)	423
111, Niche at the entrance to grave No. 529 in the Kalkani necropolis (<i>From a photo by Dr Boethius with Mr Wace's permission</i>)	518
112, The Grave Circle at Mycenae as restored by Dr Belger (<i>Chr. Belger, Die myk. Lokalsage von den Gräbern Agamemmons und der Seinen</i> , p. 26, fig. 2)	530
113, 'Filler' decorated with horns of consecration in the State Museum of Berlin (<i>From a design kindly lent by the Keeper</i>)	XXII

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 18. To the list of finds of amber there should be added Marmaria at Delphi, see p. 401.

P. 21. In making the index I have noticed a point of some importance for the discussion of the differences of civilization in Crete and in Mycenaean Greece, which more especially falls in with my remarks on the scarcity of the use of the script on the mainland. That gold rings and also good gems found at Mycenae and on the mainland in general are apparently more numerous than those found at Knossos, Phaestus, and on the other Cretan sites may be explained through the fact that the Cretan palaces were thoroughly ransacked by plunderers and also that Cretan tombs are fewer and their contents not so rich as those of the Mycenaean ones. But what does not admit of such an explanation is the mass of seal impressions found on Cretan sites, Knossos, Phaestus, Zakro, etc., as compared with their extreme scarcity on the mainland. There they seem to be almost absent. My list comprises only one instance from Mycenae, and this seems to be the only one hitherto known from the mainland. Of course I do not count the E. M. seal impressions found at Asine. To judge from the great number of second-rate gems sealstones were used frequently in practical life in Minoan Crete; for the Mycenaean seal rings and sealstones were jewels which they loved and appreciated, but did not use for a practical purpose but wore only as ornaments.

P. 34. During the last German excavations on the site of the Heraeum on Samos much Mycenaean pottery is said to have been found; among other finds a tumulus tomb with late Mycenaean stirrup vases and other objects. See *Gnomon*, 1927, pp. 188. This may be another site already occupied by the end of the Mycenaean age.

CH. II. Addendum.

A HOUSE SANCTUARY AT ASINE.

In the text (pp. 6 seq., 61 seq., and 416) I stated that no sanctuary from the Mycenaean age had been found on the mainland of Greece. This statement must now be reversed thanks to a most important discovery made during the excavations at Asine during the summer of 1926, of which through the kindness of Professor Persson I am able to give a provisional account with illustrations.

In a room complex called 'the Mycenaean Palace' there is a room of

fairly large size, 7 m. by 5 m. (pl. III), on the middle line of which there are two column bases. In one corner (the upper right-hand corner shown on the photograph) there is a bench or ledge made of undressed stone slabs, 1 m. 60 by 50 cm. and 57 cm. high. On this ledge and immediately below it, in such a position that the objects had evidently tumbled down from the ledge onto the floor, a quantity of idols and vessels and a stone axe were found, which are shown in pl. IV. (The arrangement there is of course made for the purpose of photographing the objects). The idols are: a fairly large male head (10,5 cm. high from chin to crown) broken off at the neck, the so-called Lord of Asine (for an illustration on a larger scale see *Illustr. London News*, Sept. 25th, 1926, p. 548). His eyes and lips are painted red, and red locks are painted on his forehead; there are traces of white paint on his face; separately made clay rolls are attached to the edge of the flat upper surface of his head and fall down behind his neck representing his hair. Further two female idols about 15 cm. high, another such idol 12 cm. high, the upper part of a fourth female idol, which must have been considerably larger than those mentioned — all these idols are painted and the last-mentioned has two painted necklaces —, and finally the upper part of a fifth unpainted female idol of coarse red clay.

The vessels are: A composite vessel of yellow clay consisting of three cups (5 cm. high, diameter of the body 5,5 cm., of the mouth 4,5 cm.), each with a handle on its outer side; in the centre where the cups are joined there was a vertical bar which has been broken off; the small vessels are painted in black showing two horizontal stripes on their body, and their mouths are covered with paint both outside and inside. A two-handled amphora of coarse red clay, 19,5 cm. high; a two-handled *kylix* on a high stem with a swollen middle part of light red clay, 13,5 cm. high; two two-handled cups of similar but coarser clay, 4,5 and 6 cm. high resp.; a cup with three vertical handles of grey clay, 5 cm. high; all these five vessels are unpainted. Finally a two-handled bowl of yellow clay, 8,5 cm. high, decorated with horizontal stripes on the lower part of both the outside and the inside and underneath the rim; the edge of the rim and the upper sides of the handles are decorated with groups of parallel dots. This vessel belongs to the Granary Class of Mr Wace (see *BSA*, XXV, p. 40). A large jug of yellow clay decorated with parallel stripes, the bottom of which was missing and had certainly been deliberately broken off was found fixed upside down in the ledge, its neck being inserted between the slabs; it had evidently served for libations or offerings of some kind. The stone axe is 8 cm. long and 4,5 cm. broad.

The similarity of this find to the contents of the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos is evident and needs no comment; here also there is a number of idols and vessels; one of these is a composite vessel, such as occur commonly in the Minoan cult, and resembles very much the vessels called *kernoi* (see pp. 113) and may be so termed. The bottomless jug found upside down on the ledge evidently served a similar purpose in the cult as the tables of offering in the Minoan sanctuaries. That a stone axe is found among

these cult implements is very interesting; for old stone axes were in a later age sometimes used for a religious or magical purpose in Greece as well as in other countries (cf. the story about Porphyrius, quoted p. 507, and Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon*, pp. 16). Here a sanctuary of Minoan type, such as we had reason to suppose, but hitherto did not know on the mainland, has been discovered. The importance of this discovery can hardly be overestimated with regard to the views on the transmission of the Minoan religion to the mainland of Greece and its continuation down to a later age proposed in the present book, and it is enhanced by the fact that the pottery being of the Granary Class shows that the sanctuary dates from the very last part of the Mycenaean age.

But there are also remarkable differences. The room is not a small chapel devoted to the cult only, as is the case with the Minoan sanctuaries, but is of fairly large size and is divided into two aisles by a row of two columns. Consequently the ledge is erected in one angle of the room only (cf. the altar in the Central Court of the palace of Phaestus, p. 99), and it is perhaps probable that this large room was not reserved for the cult alone. Professor Persson points out that this may be considered as a transitional stage between the small house sanctuaries of the Minoan age and the temples of the Greek age. Most noteworthy is the fact that the chief idol is male and not female as in the sanctuaries in Crete. For the pointed chin of 'the Lord of Asinc' is without doubt intended to represent his beard, but this male idol was surrounded by a number of female ones, of which one is prominent for its size and jewelry (in paint). One or more of these idols may represent goddesses, and in these the Minoan religion survives. Of course it would be extremely interesting to know who the god is, but this is impossible and we cannot proceed further than to uncertain guesses. One is tempted to think of Zeus and his thunderbolt, if the stone axe is taken to represent the thunder-weapon, as it certainly does sometimes.



FIG. 113. FILLER
IN THE STATE
MUSEUM OF
BERLIN.

P. 117. I have not treated the Cyprian *kernoi* exhaustively in the text, because they would not add much towards elucidating the question, but I ought to refer to B. Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland, I*, Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1917, p. 25.

P. 131, heading. For SHELLS read SHELLS.

P. 144 et seqq. A filler in the State Museum of Berlin (Antiquarium) (fig. 113) shows in its upper zone a row of objects which must be horns of consecration. Within each pair there is a second pair(?) and within this some lines or dots which may represent a bough (cf. Murray, *Excav. in Cyprus*, p. 39, figs. 67, 844). The filler is 30 cm. high; the clay is coarse, light red, and covered with a yellow slip which has fallen off to a great

extent; the varnish is black and dull. The vase seems to be some local make, but its provenance is unknown.

P. 146, l. 16 from above: *For* Psychro *read* Patso.

P. 175. To the type shown in fig. 54 is to be added a small three-handled amphora from Attica, *Corpus vas. ant., Danemark, Copenhague, Musée national*, pl. 63, 5.

P. 191, l. 4 from below. *For* moulding *read* mould.

P. 275, l. 20 from above. *For* S. E. *read* S. W.

P. 304, n. 5. Concerning the intaglio from the Thisbe hoard representing a combat between a bowman in a chariot and another on foot (*loc. cit.*, fig. 33, p. 31 and pl. III, 2; cf. the intaglio from the Vaphio tomb, fig. 36, p. 35) see the ingenious remarks by Count Lefebure de Noëttes in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1926, pp. 38.

P. 376 et seqq. In his recently published book, *Den kretisk-mykeniske Kunst*, Copenhagen, 1926, p. 139, Dr F. Poulsen voices the opinion that the fragments described here as wall paintings belong to another sarcophagus. It appears that if this were so it would seriously invalidate my reasoning. But after having thoroughly reconsidered the account of the discovery of these fragments in *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 68, n. 1, I am bound to state that, although it is not quite explicit, it contradicts Dr Poulsen's suggestion.

P. 406 et seqq. The German excavations at Tiryns in the year 1926 seem to have had important results for the question of the Hera temple. I prefer to quote the short account given in *Gnomon*, 1927, p. 188 in the original language: "*Oberburg: Westlich von der Ostmauer des Palastes fand sich mitten in den mykenischen Ruinen die Opfergrube eines Heiligtums mit spätgeometrischen und hocharchaischen Funden: Vasenscherben, Terrakotten der schon bekannten Art und zahlreiche Fragmente sehr grosser tönerner Relief-Gorgoneia. Das Heraheiligtum war also sicher auf der Oberburg. Die ins Megaron eingebauten Mauern, die auf den ältesten Heratempel bezogen werden, wurden untersucht aber ohne bestimmtes Ergebnis.*" It is to be hoped that these researches will contribute essentially to the solution of this important question; for the time being their publication must be waited for.

Pp. 529 and *passim*. While correcting the proofs of the addenda I have received through the kindness of the author the long expected and important paper by Professor Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai, Athen. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, pp. 113, which owing to the circumstances of the time has only appeared now. Here I can only draw attention to it.

INTRODUCTION.

The standard work on Minoan religion is still after twenty five years the treatise of Sir Arthur Evans on *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*. Even if details have had to be modified in the light of recent finds and criticism, Sir Arthur discovered and expounded the main lines and chief peculiarities of this hitherto unknown religion with the intuition of genius which is to be admired so much the more, if we realize that this book was published at a time when the excavations at Knossos were still in their very beginning. What a revolution these excavations and those on other Minoan sites of Crete have brought about in our knowledge of the pre-Hellenic civilization of Greece and to whom this revolution is due more than to any other is shown by a word in the title of this treatise: viz. *Mycenaean*; to day we should say: *Minoan*, or still more adequately: *Minoan-Mycenaean*.

In the quarter of a century which has elapsed since Sir Arthur's book appeared, much has been written on Minoan-Mycenaean religion; a long series of papers especially devoted to religious subjects have been produced, and items of religious interest are treated in almost all books and treatises concerning things Minoan and Mycenaean: I will merely mention Sir Arthur's comprehensive work, *The Palace of Minos*, of which the first part is published. The treatises which concern religion especially are either devoted to some detail or put forth a special idea or else are short summaries; none has a more comprehensive aim.

But a comprehensive survey of the facts and theories concerning Minoan-Mycenaean religion seems to be wanted at the present time. On one side it may be said that the time

for it is not yet ripe, since many sites are still unexcavated and the results of other excavations are still unpublished. On the other hand it is just beginning to be realized that the great discoveries of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture raise a very serious problem for the history of Greek religion. It can no longer begin with the primitive survivals of a general order and then proceed to the religion of Homer and of the archaic age: between that beginning, which must be described according to the general principles of the science of religions, and the historically known Greek religion the Minoan-Mycenaean religion must be inserted. Not least where it concerns religion is the remark of Sir Arthur amply justified: "I venture to believe that the scientific study of Greek civilization is becoming less and less possible without taking into constant account that of the Minoan and Mycenaean world that went before it"¹. Not only to general history but also to the history of religion a new period is added; and this problem is the more serious, since it is recognized that the people which created Minoan culture and developed Minoan religion was not Greek nor at all kindred with the Aryan stock.

It would be an impossible standpoint to deny any connexion between the religion of the pre-Greek inhabitants of Greece and Greek religion. There is a clear and cogent *a priori* probability that in spite of the invasions of the Greeks and the disappearance of the old language which was ousted by the Greek speech, the old religion was not wiped clean out. Nature religion is associated with the soil. Lands may change in respect of population and language but the newcomers do not refuse homage to the old gods of the country. This was true of the Greeks in the historical times², and, in the colonies, they venerated several gods of indigenous origin and introduced them into the Greek pantheon. It is not likely that they took up another attitude when settling in Greece. Even Christianity, a religion of a much more imperious and intolerant

¹ *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 277.

² See e. g. *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.*, II, v. 1274, σπένδει δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος. τὸ δὲ ἦν σπένδειν τοὺς εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἀφικομένους τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις θεοῖς, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον φασὶ πεποιηκέναι.

character, was not able to wipe out all traces of the old religion. Similarly, just as the Greek people was formed by a fusion of the immigrants and the indigenous population and perhaps even as much pre-Greek as Greek blood flowed in the veins of the historical Greeks, so also the historical Greek religion was formed by a fusion of pre-Greek and Greek religion. Moreover some few names of Greek mythology are certainly of pre-Greek origin, and in the chapter on the Continuity of Cults we shall see positive reasons of an archaeological order for the survival of old pre-Greek cults.

This fusion did not of course take place without conflicts. As for the historical Greeks, although they at times took over and venerated foreign gods, they were not without a certain disesteem for them. We do not know if the invading Greeks had such a sentiment for the gods of the country, but we may surmise that, to some extent, they feared and hated them as gods of a hostile people. This sentiment must have undergone a certain change when the Greeks had settled as rulers of the indigenous subdued population; then they were probably more ready to honour the old gods, although they were the gods of the subjugated people. When the old and the new gods had occupied a place side by side in the cult the conflict was continued. Even in historical times we see how the cult of some god is propagated widely, that of another god falls into disuse and is limited. This conflict which mostly goes on in peaceable forms was so much the more natural, when religion was not stabilised and gods of different origin and associated with different religious ideas and values were brought together by the fusion of the two races. The myths still show many traces of such conflicts which occurred in the propagation of new gods and religious ideas that later entered Greece, especially in the case of Dionysos, and it has been guessed that such traces survive in myth even of the conflict of the Greek and pre-Greek gods, e. g. in the myth of Ariadne¹, and especially in that of the struggle between

¹ In my *Griech. Feste*, p. 382.

the Titans and the Olympians¹; this however must remain as yet a more or less problematical suggestion.

This conflict resulted, however, as is always the case, not in a clean victory for the one religion or the one god, but in a compromise between the old and the new. A cult place may have remained in use from the Mycenaean age down into historical times; but a new god may have ousted the old possessor as Apollo did at Delphi, he may have taken over elements of the old cult as Zeus did in Crete, he may have reduced the old god to an inferior position, as the same Apollo did with Hyakinthos, or a new name may have been applied to an old god. Cults and beliefs may have blended to a large extent. Cases in which such a process can be suspected with some probability will be discussed below; here it need only be pointed out that this is generally the issue of a conflict of religions.

So much may, I think, be asserted with confidence on *a priori* grounds, and if this is seriously taken into account, the problem arises: How was this fusion made? What is the Minoan and what is the Greek contribution to that product of fusion which is the historical Greek religion? This is for the present the crucial problem of Greek religion. It may be said that it is one of those riddles which the Sirens sang, that it can never be solved because our knowledge is too scanty and defective to allow a solution. This is voluntarily to shut our eyes to the problem; nevertheless it remains and demands solution. Such an attitude would be to renounce a historical comprehension of the formation of the Greek religion. It is the habit of mathematicians either to solve a problem or to demonstrate that it is insoluble. So too this problem ought not to be put aside but must be subjected to a searching analysis in order to discover how far it can be solved, and how far it is insoluble: for in historical research the partial clearing up a problem is the general issue, and the mere stating of the limits of a problem is a step forward.

¹ Pohlenz, *Kronos und die Titanen*, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum*, XXXVII, 1916, especially p. 577.

This problem, of such serious import in the history of Greek religion, has not been neglected, though more attention has been paid to the foreign relations of Minoan religion; but no comprehensive attempt has been made to inquire to what extent Minoan religion influenced Greek religion, though this is unavoidable if we are to detect the scope and character and limits of this influence. It is not to be hoped that a first attempt in this direction will be anything but strewn with faults and errors; still we may trust that these will be made evident and corrected by criticism and subsequent work. A difficult problem of this nature cannot be solved at once; its solution as far as the evidence permits must be the result of prolonged and repeated consideration and cooperation between scholars from different quarters, archaeologists, philologists, and students of the science of religions.

In the first place it is necessary to have a clear insight into some fundamental difficulties and limits of our knowledge. The historical Greek religion is made up of two components. Of these one, the Greek component, is almost unknown. Frankly stated, our knowledge of the religion of the invading Greeks amounts almost to one word only, but this one word is very important, — the name Zeus, which the Greeks share with the Indians and Romans, and with the latter as a designation of the supreme god. In other cases etymology does not give assistance of any value, and no archaeological record is preserved¹. Consequently this component is chiefly an unknown quantity, unless we adopt the fallacious principle of hailing everything as Greek that cannot be demonstrated to be pre-Greek.

The other component is the Minoan-Mycenaean religion and of this we know a little more, although nothing like so much as we might wish in this undertaking. Here also there are some initial difficulties. One of them is indicated already

¹ Some archaeologists have tried to find the ceramics of the invading Greeks. I greatly fear that even this hope is liable to be disappointed, for migrating and nomadic tribes do not use vessels of a material which is likely to be broken, as will be proved by a survey of the vessels used by modern nomadic tribes.

by the double name which we are obliged to use. The Mycenaean religion is the form of religion which reigned on the mainland of Greece when this had been permeated by Minoan culture. What was its relation to the Minoan religion? I shall return to this question below, for in the meanwhile we must attend to another question, — concerning Helladic religion, i. e. the religion of the indigenous inhabitants of the mainland before the wholesale acceptance of Minoan civilization about 1600 B. C.; in many districts which were less affected by Minoan civilization it may have lingered on much longer. Unfortunately we know nothing about this religion, for as far as my knowledge goes, the excavations of Helladic sites have brought nothing to light of religious importance except graves. We can only surmise that as the inhabitants of the mainland, on the evidence of place-names, were racially kindred with those of Crete, the religions were also kindred, and we may take it as probable that the Helladic population possessed a religion kindred to the Minoan but of course simpler and less developed ¹.

The other problem amounts to a question of the difference between the religion of Minoan Crete and of Mycenaean Greece. Scholars who have paid attention to this problem state almost unanimously that no difference exists, the monuments with religious representations from the mainland being absolutely undistinguishable from those found in Crete ². One might object that they could have been imported or made by Cretan artists, but taking into account their great number their evidence is certainly not to be estimated lightly. From the opposite side the only objection made is that no shrines such as those of Knossos and Gournia have been discovered on the

¹ The only attempt to differentiate pre-Greek, non-Minoan gods is, as far as I know, made by Kalinka, *Die Herkunft der griech. Götter*, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum*, XLV, 1920, pp. 408. He thinks that the bow belongs neither to the Minoan pre-Greeks nor to the Greeks; consequently he considers gods and heroes carrying the bow as pre-Minoan. The assumption appears to be rather hazardous.

² E. g. Evans, *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 282: "The religion is the same"; Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 50.

mainland¹. This is true even of the room in the palace of Mycenae which is called 'the Shrine' in the report of the latest excavations of the British School because of the altar tables found in it²; they certainly do not suffice to prove definitely that it was a shrine — they may have been stored away there and they were perhaps of secular use also —, although the possibility that it may have been a shrine cannot be denied. But this is an archaeological *argumentum e silentio* which of course does not prove that shrines did not exist on the mainland; the ruins of Tiryns and Mycenae — the remains of other sites are too much destroyed to be taken into account — may have been swept out more completely than those of Knossos and Gournia etc., and this is in fact probable because they were never abandoned to such an extent as the Cretan sites I have mentioned. There is, however, positive evidence that the cult was performed in the same forms at Mycenae and Tiryns as in Crete: on both sites were found three-legged, round tables of offering identical with the Cretan examples; and if anyone raises the objection that these may have been in secular use also, we may refer to a stepped base for a double axe found in the ruins of Mycenae which proves that the most prominent sign of Cretan religion was venerated there also. So we have reason to suppose that the Minoan and the Mycenaean religions were identical, at least in their main features; and as far as we can judge no difference is visible. Practically, in the details of research, we must treat both as one; for no separation can be made between the small monuments, gems, etc., whether found on the mainland or in Crete.

If then by the evidence as far as it goes and by practical reasons we are justified in taking Minoan and Mycenaean religion as one, our next concern is to know what this religion is. The evidence is purely archaeological, it has come down to us as a picture book without text, and our first concern is to furnish a text to the pictures, — namely, to interpret them. This state of things entails peculiar difficulties, for an inter-

¹ Karo in Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgesch.*, 7. *Rel. des ägäischen Kreises*, pp. x.

² *BSA*, XXV, pp. 223.

pretation always depends in a measure on some premises, and issues in some conclusions. To begin with it is a conclusion from some premises that an object is of religious significance; in cases it is doubtful whether an object has a religious or a secular purpose — sometimes it may be used in both ways — or whether a representation is of religious or secular significance, but these doubtful instances are not of vital importance, as we shall see.

If we take an object or some representation to belong definitely to the religious sphere, the question of interpretation arises in earnest. If we would compel the pictures to speak, our means are analogies, but these are of different kinds. There are in the first place those of a general order which are so simple and obvious that their justification cannot be a matter of dispute. Next to these come those drawn from the science of religions in general which are so common to all mankind that we are justified in presupposing their existence in every religion, the Minoan included. The serious difficulties begin with analogies of a more special order and are here associated with questions of racial and historical connexions, common origin, or borrowing. The racial connexions of the Minoan people are unknown and consequently racial affinity gives no reasons for preferring analogies from one people to those from another. Before the racial difference between the pre-Greeks and the Greeks was discovered, analogies drawn from the Greek religion were freely used; but since it has been recognized that the Minoans are not of Greek or of Aryan race at all, due caution is observed in this respect. Now a most prominent importance is attributed to the racial connexion with Asia Minor and its religions. The racial affinity of the inhabitants of S. W. Asia Minor is sure enough, but it is an open question how far eastwards we are entitled to extend it, a question which deserves peculiar attention and which will be treated below. Even more far reaching connexions with the Semitic East have been surmised, although they are never supposed to be nearly so important and numerous as those with Asia Minor. Objects which derive from the Semitic East, especially Babylonia, are found in Crete only sparingly, and this is a

testimony that the relations with these countries and peoples were neither strong nor frequent, and should warn us to use circumspection in this respect.

The relations with Egypt are incomparably stronger and more numerous from the oldest periods of Minoan civilization onwards, and go perhaps still further back. Even a racial connexion with peoples of the Delta brought about by a very early immigration to Crete is supposed, but that of course is a suggestion which it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to prove conclusively. It may be possible or probable; for our purpose it is sufficient to state that the connexion with Egypt went on almost to the end of the Minoan age, although it sometimes was weaker. It is only natural that such relations are most prominent in this book, and I may perhaps be accused of putting them too much in the foreground. I think that the strength of these relations is too little realized in spite of Sir Arthur Evans, who always pointed to them and laid stress on them. For myself, I first understood their true importance, when I had the opportunity of seeing the finds from the *tholos* tombs of Messara when still unpublished in the museum of Candia: they show that the first efflorescence of Minoan culture in the Early Minoan age is due in all probability to an Egyptian impetus, whether it be an invasion or simply a trade connexion. In fact a glance at the museum at Candia makes Sir Arthur Evans' theories a living reality. The connexions of Minoan Crete with Egypt were closer than those with any other country, and to this fact due regard must also be taken when we are dealing with religion. But all this is far from proving that Egyptian influence was the foundation of Cretan art and religion. On the contrary the evidence points to the independence and originality of Minoan religion, just as Minoan art is original and independent, and even when it follows Egyptian models, breathes its own spirit into them.

So much concerning the analogies drawn from other countries and peoples to elucidate the Minoan religion. They are a valuable and indispensable aid but even if they are used with caution they may lead one astray. Therefore one must make it a leading principle to interpret the Minoan

monuments, as far as possible, from themselves, i. e. to explain Minoan religion from itself and such principles of the science of religions which can without doubt be applied to all religions. I have tried to follow this principle to the best of my ability.

The factors I have just mentioned determine the character of the first part of the present book. It is concerned with the fundamental question, what is the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, and aims at expounding what we know of it. The foundation is purely archaeological: consequently this part consists simply of a collection and discussion of the available archaeological material. It may strike many as chiefly negative and critical, but a close discussion of the monuments and their real or possible significance and a sifting of the many hypotheses which have gathered round them seemed absolutely necessary, and a critical and sceptical attitude was clearly preferable to an indulgence in hypotheses which may be right but may as easily be wrong. This applies also to the presumed foreign connexions of the Minoan religion, which have been briefly mentioned above, and of which more will be said below in treating the subjects where they are especially assumed. For to a great extent these foreign connexions are no more than working hypotheses waiting to be tested. Consequently as my concern was with foundations, the leading principle I have adopted is to explain as far as possible the monuments of Minoan religion in their own light.

The foundation must be as firm as possible, for the superstructure to be erected on it is hypothetical enough, and I shall quite understand if the reader of the second part of the present book, which is devoted to the tracing of the survivals of Minoan-Mycenaean religion in Greek religion, accuses me of indulging in hypotheses. But the gulf between Minoan religion of which we know a little and the religion of historical Greece can only be bridged over by the aid of hypotheses. They are necessary so long as we do not shut our eyes in despair to the great problem of the Minoan heritage in Greek religion — and this attitude would vitiate even further our conception of the development of

Greek religion, — but they are not to be considered as more than working hypotheses which are to be tested in the crucible of criticism.

I need not dwell here upon the methods of tracing the Minoan-Mycenaean survivals in Greek religion; they are set forth in that part which contains an attempt to elucidate the Minoan influence, but another point of the highest importance ought to be considered before we enter upon our task. It was stated above that the Mycenaean religion is the wholly Minoized religion of the mainland which reigned there, according to the archaeological evidence, in the Late Minoan or Mycenaean period. But to which people did this religion belong? At some time in the second millennium B. C. the Greeks invaded Greece. The problem involves the very intricate question of this invasion and of the transmission of Minoan civilization and religion from Crete to the mainland, — the question of which people effectuated it and what the part of the Greeks was in this transmission.

The Minoan civilization makes its appearance on the mainland very suddenly about the transition from the Middle to the Late Minoan age, and nobody supposes that this is due to an organic development of the civilization of the mainland under Minoan influence. The question arises: who introduced the Minoan civilization into the mainland? There are only two possibilities. Either Minoan colonists from Crete established themselves on the mainland and brought their civilization with them, or Greek invaders entered into relations with Crete and received from there the Minoan civilization and carried it to the mainland. The question may be put in this form: who were the lords of Mycenae, Greeks or Minoans?

It is with great diffidence that I make my answer to this question for I must go against the authority of Sir Arthur Evans, with whom most English scholars agree. In his opinion Cretan colonists established themselves on the mainland, subdued its population, among which were members of a northern race also¹, and brought the Minoan civilization to Greece. I

¹ *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 283. Mr Wace in his very valuable treatment in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, ch. XVI, leaves the question undecided,

shall try to give the evidence for the opposite view to the best of my ability.

The evidence is of an archaeological nature and the gist of it may be given thus. Although the Mycenaean civilization seems to be quite Minoan, differences in details exist, which can neither be derived from the Minoan civilization, nor be due to an organic development of the pre-Mycenaean civilization of Greece, but must be introduced from abroad. Now the Greeks invaded Greece in the second millenium B. C., although the date, we must grant at once, remains uncertain. In these circumstances it is a fair inference that the peculiarities of Mycenaean civilization, in which it differs from Minoan civilization, are due to the Greeks, who on the whole took over the Minoan civilization but preserved some features of their own; this assumption is corroborated by the fact that these features have northern connexions. Consequently the argument starts from a break in civilization, the introducing of non-Minoan elements with northern associations, and we have to consider the archaeological evidence for this thesis.

Foremost ranks the difference in the house types characteristic of Crete and of the mainland. It is often reduced to a simpler formula, the question concerning the Mycenaean megaron, but the difference goes still deeper¹. The Minoan

but points to the remarkable fact that the pottery of the two oldest shaft graves at Mycenae is of a marked Helladic character in contrast to the overwhelmingly Minoan character of other objects found in the shaft graves. See *op. cit.* p. 454.

¹ I cannot here enter into a detailed discussion of this much debated point. The difference between the megaron architecture and that of the Minoans was pointed out in 1903 by Noack in his able book *Homerische Paläste*. The chief opponent is Dr Duncan Mackenzie, who in a remarkable series of papers, *Cretan Palaces and Aegean Civilization*, *BSA*, XI—XIII, tried to show that the megaron evolved out of the Cretan room as this passed northwards. He thinks that the cooler climate made a fixed hearth essential and this in its turn made it necessary to shut up all openings except one. Dr Mackenzie has not succeeded in proving his thesis and I shall not dwell upon it. I have developed my views in the Swedish periodical *Ymer*, 1913, pp. 213. The most comprehensive treatment is that of G. Leroux, *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle*, 1913. The megaron came to Crete very late; a specimen was erected on the ruins of Gournia; see F. Oelmann, *Ein achäi-*

palaces of Crete consist of a great number of rooms built side by side as cells in a bee-hive without any comprehensive plan.

sches Herrenhaus auf Creta, Arch. Jahrb., XXVII, 1912, pp. 38, and perhaps on other sites also; see Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 54. The issue of the discussion is that the non-Minoan provenance of the megaron is generally recognized; even Evans now shares this view (see below). Two points which are very actively discussed in this connexion are not of vital importance for my present argument, and need therefore only be noted in passing. The one is the origin of the megaron, the other its provenance. I took up the view, *loc. cit.*, that the megaron was evolved out of the elliptical house and this in its turn from the round hut. The round hut is a mere shelter around the fire; because of the sloping walls the fire-place must be in the middle. If the round hut is to be enlarged it becomes elliptical, the fire-place remaining in the middle, the door being placed as far as possible from the fire, viz. in one of the narrow ends, (or as there are elliptical huts in Sweden from the bronze age with the door on the long side, it may be better to say: if a vestibule is wanted as a shelter before the door, this and the door are placed at the narrow end). The roof may be supported by pairs of posts in the interior and the door may be sheltered by a projecting roof supported by two posts. There are such houses from the iron age of Sweden and similar huts in the pre-historic age in Greece and Italy.

These round and elliptical huts were built of sticks and reeds and must on technical grounds be the oldest human habitations. If logs and timber are used the ground-plan cannot be rounded, but must become quadrangular. In the *terramare* of northern Italy it seems that the casings of the village walls were quadrangular and built of timber, while the huts were rounded. It may be that the quadrangular ground-plan has come from the South, as many believe, but it may also for technical reasons have been evolved in the North. Some Italian hut urns show clearly the transition from the elliptical to the quadrangular house. But if the elliptical house is made quadrangular, this house has all the characteristics of the megaron: a single oblong room with the hearth in the middle of the interior, and the only door in the middle of one of the short sides sheltered by a roof supported by two columns.

This is a theoretical deduction, and it has been pointed out by Dr Boëthius, *Mycenaean Megara and Nordic Houses, BSA*, XXIV, pp. 161, that the archaeological evidence from Greece does not support the supposition that such a development took place on Greek soil; houses of different ground-plans exist already in pre-Mycenaean times among which are some rectangular and some horseshoe-shaped examples. The house F at Korakou (Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 76 and fig. 110) is no true megaron, the original door being on the long side, but a combination of an apsidal and a quadrangular house. I pass over the more recent discussion of the curved and the quadrangular house-types, which is quoted by Dr Boëthius, and remark only that the development of the megaron must have taken place outside Greece, into which it

In the middle is a court — that is, a space left clear by the rooms. No room has a special façade, which dominates and stands in a special relation to the court. As to the relation between the court and the rooms it is somewhat like that between a square and its surrounding houses in a modern town, when they are built around it in a casual manner. A consequence of this mode of building is that the rooms may have any number of doors and openings, and that the doors are placed indifferently in the middle of the walls or at the corners. If there are columns to support the roof of a passage or a hall, their number is arbitrary but usually odd, so that a column stands in the middle of the passage. There is no fixed hearth; the rooms were warmed, if need be, by portable braziers. In spite of the splendour of the Minoan palaces and the artistic skill developed in their decoration it must be admitted that the ground-plan gives no indications of architectonic design, as Sir Arthur Evans has said¹: "the palace of Knossos is composed of separate blocks of rooms ultimately united in a single

was introduced from abroad, and therefore the question, in spite of its great interest, falls outside the scope of the present argument. Nordic house-types may be useful as analogies, but have little or no historical connexion with the megaron; the Italian house-types are more important. The most important analogy is, however, the characteristic megaron of Troy II, and hence Sir A. Evans calls the Mycenaean megaron an adaptation of the traditional Trojan form in an organically Minoized aspect (*Palace of Minos*, I, p. 24), and quite recently he has made the following statement: "At the date when Minoan elements first impose themselves on the Peloponnese the predominant type of house belonged to the 'apsidal' class. — — — The fixed hearth type of rectangular dwelling is common to both sides of the Aegean and, indeed, to late Neolithic Crete. But so far as the evidence goes, the Mycenaean type of megaron shows most analogies with the Anatolian. Anyhow, it could not have been evolved *in situ* from an antecedent type not to be found there in the preceding period." (*JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 46, n. 4 b). Such a view is quite sufficient for my purpose. It looks as if the megaron were a house-type common to a more northern climate, and I do not find it necessary to refer its origin to any special people or race. The invading Greeks, who were in origin a semi-nomadic people, have learnt to build megara during their wanderings; where cannot be said. Nevertheless I should hesitate to call the megaron an Anatolian type; it gives the impression of being a northerly type, which perhaps may have arisen independently in more than one district.

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 359.

complex. What we admire is its size and the richness and variety of its details: the plan has no grand idea".

The megaron is an altogether different creation. It is a great single oblong room with a fixed hearth in the middle, and only one opening, the door, placed exactly in the middle of one of the short sides. The walls of the long sides project so as to form an open hall before the door. If there are columns to support the roof of the hall they are always two in number, in order to leave a passage in front of the door. This megaron is isolated. Even if a complex of rooms, reminiscent of the Cretan palaces, is added, the megaron is unconnected with these rooms. This arrangement is very conspicuous in the two megara of Tiryns, while at Mycenae the megaron, which is built on the southern precipice of the hill, is separated from the rooms to the North by a long corridor. This is quite a different species of room: the disposition of its main parts is invariable.

With this arrangement is connected another fact, which conclusively proves the difference between the Minoan and the Mycenaean types of house: the relation between the megaron and the court. The façade of the megaron rises on one of the short sides of the court and dominates it. The Minoan court is surrounded by rooms on all sides; not so the Mycenaean court. At Mycenae the so-called Throne-room is situated on the West side of the court opposite the megaron, and at the side of it is the entrance into the court. So little survives of the south side that we do not know what occupied this part, but there are foundations of a wall which seems to have shut off the court; on the north side there was a corridor separated from the court by a wall¹. The great court of Tiryns is justly considered as typical. On the one side is the façade of the megaron; the other three sides were surrounded by cloisters with rows of supporting pillars. The court of the small megaron shows partly cloisters, partly plain walls.

¹ The reconstruction of the court and the megaron of Mycenae given in *BSA*, XXV, fig. 37, p. 191, and fig. 38, p. 196, is highly conjectural owing to the very imperfect state of the remains, but we must imagine that the architects, who were certainly Cretans or influenced by Minoan architecture,

This ground-plan, the façade of the megaron with its hall dominating a court surrounded by cloisters and entered by propylaea on the opposite side, contains a grand and fertile architectonic idea, as is shown by some of the great temples of a later age and the magnificent fora built by the Roman emperors, the ground-plan of which is exactly the same; each forum may also be considered as the court of the temple. The temple is either built into one of the small ends of the court, like the Mycenaean megaron, so that its façade makes up this side of the court, or it is placed free in the court but near one end of it, like the temple of Apollo at Pompeii. I think that a connexion may be demonstrated between the Mycenaean court with its megaron attached and the classical temple court, just as a connexion is established between the Mycenaean megaron and the Greek temple, but I shall not dwell upon this similarity, merely pointing out that some great architectural forms of Hellenic art, the propylaea, the temple, and even the temple court, are anticipated in Mycenaean architecture and derived from it, whereas no link connects Minoan and Hellenic architecture.

The origin of this relation between house and court is very humble. The Homeric house was surrounded by a fence or wall (*ἔρκος*, hence *Ζεὺς ἔρκειος*). The wall served as a defence for the house and was needed to protect animals and rustic implements against wild beasts and thieves. Along the walls simple shelters, supported by posts, were erected to house the animals and the implements. This mode of building has its origin in a plain, rustic life under primitive conditions. If it is translated into an architectural form we have the Mycenaean megaron with its court; only this was owing to the narrowness of space built in the one end of the court. For this reason it appears that the megaron is not of Cretan origin but is in accordance with the supposed habits of life of the invading Greeks.

adapted the megaron to their ideas as well as they were able, and therefore may have created hybrid forms which were gradually purified as Mycenaean ideas advanced to the fore.

The radical difference between the Minoan and the Mycenaean modes of building may be expressed thus: the Minoan produces a court surrounded by a complex of many rooms, the Mycenaean a house consisting of one single room surrounded by a court. Certainly the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae are complexes of many rooms, but these rooms are unconnected with the megaron which lies isolated amidst them. It is as if the megaron had been superimposed upon a Cretan ground-plan, and the last excavations of the British School at Mycenae have proved that the megaron there was erected in the beginning of the third period of the Mycenaean age. It is evident that the megaron is an addition to please the will of the lords for whom the Mycenaean palaces were built. They wished to live in rooms of the kind to which they were accustomed from of old, amplified, however, and beautified by the resources of Minoan art. If this is so, the lords of the Mycenaean sites cannot have been Minoan colonists from Crete.

Of other arguments I pass briefly over that of costume, although this also may be quoted as indicating the non-Cretan origin of the Mycenaean ladies took over the Minoan dress, the flounced skirt and the open jacket¹; not so the men. The dress of Minoan men is a loin cloth, sometimes drawn up and fastened between the legs so as to remind us of bathing-drawers²; Mycenaean pictures show that the men wore a kind of shirt or chiton with short sleeves³. This is beyond doubt a difference which ought to receive due attention, but it is not conclusive, as it may be ascribed to the requirements of a cooler climate.

There is a completely decisive fact to which curiously small attention has been paid, the distribution of amber during the bronze age in Greece. Amber occurs on the mainland

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 48, and *Tiryns*, II, p. 7 n. 6, assumes a difference in regard to female dress also; cf. K. Müller, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXX, 1915, p. 300.

² See especially D. Mackenzie, *BSA*, XII, pp. 233, who points out the Africo-Mediterranean affinities of the Minoan dress.

³ "Judging from figures on very late lentoid bead-seals the long tunic of mainland fashion was coming in at the very close of the Minoan age in Crete", Evans, *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 281, n. 8.

frequently and in great quantities. Numerous amber beads were found in the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae, and they occurred also in the IIIrd and Vth but in smaller numbers; it is to be remembered that the IVth and Vth shaft graves are the oldest. The greatest quantity was found in one of the beehive-tombs at Kakovatos-Pylos, which belong to the transitional period between Late Minoan I and II ¹, and amber is found in other beehive-tombs also, and elsewhere, e. g. at Menidi and Nauplia. New discoveries of amber are produced by almost every new excavation of Mycenaean tombs, especially of those belonging to an earlier epoch of the Mycenaean age; whereas in its latter days it is scarcer or altogether absent. So it is in the tombs of the Kalkani necropolis at Mycenae, where in a single tomb over a hundred beads of amber were found, one of them carved in the shape of an almond and having on one side, in intaglio, a standing bull; the vases found in the same tomb are dated to about 1500 B. C. ². In tomb I at Asine a number of amber beads and pearls were found ³.

The scarceness of amber in Minoan Crete forms a striking contrast to these abundant finds from the Mycenaean mainland. An amber disc, cased with gold, and two flat beads were found in the Tomb of the Double Axes near Knossos from the end of Late Minoan II ⁴ and an amber bead in a grave on the south-eastern shore near Arvi belonging to the early part of Late Minoan ⁵. This is all: five pieces compared with the rich and numerous finds on the mainland ⁶. It is not astonishing

¹ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, pp. 278.

² *The Times, Lit. Suppl.*, Oct. 26th, 1922.

³ *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1924—5, pp. 43.

⁴ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, pp. 42.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 43 n. 2.

⁶ It is asserted by Mosso, *Origini della civiltà mediterranea*, p. 200, (cf. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, p. 69), that two pieces of amber were found in a tholos tomb at Porti, but the analysis made by Mosso falls very far short of a scientific analysis, and the remaining fragments were destroyed. I can only concur with Sir Arthur Evans in distrusting the statement. An isolated find of amber at the end of E. M. III or the beginning of M. M. I would be almost inconceivable. The pieces were, as Evans suggests, probably lumps of resin such as are found in Minoan tombs. See Evans, *loc. cit.* p. 44 with notes, and in the introduction to Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, p. XII.

that single amber beads should have found their way to Crete, as three pieces found their way to Rhodes and were discovered in a grave at Ialysos¹, but it is astonishing that amber occurs in such a quantity on the mainland but is almost absent from Crete. This points to a radical difference between Crete and the mainland. If the amber had been carried in the usual course of trade, and the people of the mainland and of Crete had been of the same race, it is impossible to see any reason why the use of amber should have been almost limited to the mainland. Trade connexions between Crete and Greece must have been incomparably closer than between Greece and the North. Analysis has shown that this amber is of Northern, probably Baltic origin, and the amber must certainly have come overland from the North. It cannot have come by sea, for in that case there would really be no reason why it should be limited to the mainland. One conclusion only is possible, that the people of the mainland differed in this point from the Minoans, and the explanation of this difference must be that the invading Greeks brought the knowledge and the use of amber from the North. This is corroborated by the peculiar fact that amber is more frequent in the earlier part of the Mycenaean age than in the later; for when the connexions northwards grew gradually weaker amber became scarcer. The distribution of amber definitely proves that the Mycenaean were of Northern origin.

There is another fact of a similar kind. In the IVth shaft grave, and in other places at Mycenae, at Menidi, Spata, and Dimini a quantity of boar's tusks were found cut and perforated for attachment to some object². A sculptured ivory head from a tomb in the Lower Town at Mycenae³ shows that these tusks formed the mountings of a leather helmet, on which they were fastened in superimposed rows. Some other monuments show the same helmet, a head in relief from Spata, a gem from Vaphio, and a silver plate from the IVth shaft grave in Mycenae⁴. A button seal from the Kalkani necro-

¹ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 11 and pl. B, 12 and 17.

² W. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, 2nd ed., p. 103, n. 1.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. VIII, 12.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, II, 1878, pl. XVIII, 3; *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 37;

polis shows a helmet with cheek-pieces, crest, and its protection of three rows of boar's tusks¹. A boar's tusk helmet is drawn in fine black lines on the leg of a round table of offering found in the palace of Mycenae². An ivory head, similar to that from Mycenae, found its way to Cyprus³. Other pieces of boar's tusks were found in the excavations of the necropolises at Kalkani near Mycenae⁴ and at Asine⁵, and especially in great quantities at Kakovatos-Pylos⁶. All these instances except that from Cyprus come from the mainland; from Crete there is only one single instance, a quantity of boar's tusks found in a tomb in the cemetery of Zafer Papoura near Knossos, which belongs to the beginning of Late Minoan III⁷. This is again unquestionably a difference and a difference of taste. It is not conclusive in itself, but set side by side with the distribution of amber it points distinctly to a more primitive taste of the Mycenaean, which may be understood if they were a foreign race.

There are also elements of civilization common in Crete but of surprisingly rare occurrence on the mainland, namely the highest achievement of the Minoan culture, the art of writing. Thousands of inscribed clay tablets have been found in Crete but not a single one on the mainland, and this cannot be accidental. The art of writing was indeed used, but only to put marks on vessels. Several amphoras and amphora handles have been found with signs scratched in or painted on the clay⁸.

Reichel, *loc. cit.* p. 106; it is to the credit of Reichel to have recognized the object of these boar's tusks and to have explained them by a comparison with *Iliad*, X, v. 261 et seqq.

¹ *The Times, Lit. Suppl.*, Oct. 26th, 1922.

² *BSA*, XXV, p. 225 and pl. XXXVII a.

³ Discovered in a tomb at Enkomi together with other finds agreeing with those from the Mycenaean beehive tombs: Poulsen, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVI, 1911, p. 225, fig. 9.

⁴ *The Times, loc. cit.*

⁵ *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1924—5, pp. 46 and 48.

⁶ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, p. 292.

⁷ Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos, Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 67.

⁸ Tsoundas collected the specimens known at that time (1897) in *The Mycenaean Age*, pp. 268; a stone pestle from Mycenae with a single incised sign, one amphora from a chamber tomb at Mycenae, two from the beehive tomb at Menidi, a vase from Pronoia, a handle of a stone amphora from

If the Mycenaeans had been Cretan colonists we could not conceive them allowing the art of writing to fall into disuse, and employing it only for labels. But if they were barbarians who invaded Greece, it is quite natural. The art of writing is very difficult for a barbaric, war-like people to learn; the great Theodoric himself could not write his name.

If the Mycenaeans were Greeks who invaded the country from the North, some questions ought to be reconsidered. I will mention one, the introduction of the horse. It appears in Greece for the first time in the beginning of Late Minoan¹ or perhaps a little earlier, and it is always said that it came from the East². The horse was introduced into Babylonia at the beginning of the second millenium B. C. by the Kassites, and a little later into Egypt by the Hyksos. The Kassites were either Aryan or strongly influenced by Aryans. The Hittites, among whom an Aryan element is prominent, were great horsemen. Now the horse is bound up with the Aryans and their originally nomadic life. The word for 'horse', the Greek form of which is ἵππος, is found in most Aryan languages. There is a great probability that the horse was known to the Aryans before they separated, and originally belonged to them and was introduced by them into the East. If this is so, there is further a great probability that the horse came to Greece not

Mycenae; they show one to five signs impressed in the soft clay, scratched or incised. Since then many more instances have come to light but all of the same character. A number of coarse stirrup vases with short inscriptions painted on their bodies were found at Tiryns (*Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 90), and another at Orchomenos in Boeotia (Evans, *Scr. Min.*, I, p. 57, fig. 31). Finally in the palace of Thebes a deposit of about thirty stirrup vases came to light, which seems to have consisted of inscribed vessels, for the only two unbroken specimens both have inscriptions. Many fragments were also inscribed and the inscriptions form part of the design (*JHS*, XLI, 1921, p. 272). All show the same mainland variety of the Minoan script and this marked difference is considered by Evans, *loc. cit.*, to indicate a difference in language. A tomb in the Kalkani necropolis yielded a steatite seal-stone carved with a number of strange characters. The signs are not those of the Cretan script but, according to Evans, more of an Asia Minor type, although elsewhere unknown (*The Times, Lit. Suppl.*, Oct. 26th, 1922).

¹ Evans, *BSA*, XI, p. 13.

² From Syria, says Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 16.

from the East, as the common assumption is, but from the North with the invading Greeks, and from them to Crete. I cannot discuss the monuments here, but must content myself with the remark that in this the mainland and Crete appear to differ markedly. Pictured or sculptured or engraved representations of the horse are on the whole earlier and more numerous on the mainland than in Crete¹.

Another very difficult question which I am only able to touch upon very lightly and with much hesitation is whether Mycenaean art does not show some non-Minoan traces which may point northwards. This question applies in the first place to the sculptured *stelae* which were placed over the shaft graves at Mycenae; the clumsiness of their figures is well known and cannot be excused by the assumption that they were once covered with stucco. Decorative elements as spirals, meanders, and rosettes are treated equally geometrically²; they represent a decidedly non-Minoan element of art. The same geometrical treatment of decorative motifs appears on many of the gold objects from the shaft graves, and a scholar who understands Mycenaean art well has declared outspokenly that this kind of ornamentation points to a pre-Mycenaean art of the mainland and northwards³. The question is very diffi-

¹ I collected the representations of horses in *Ymer*, 1913, pp. 230, repeated in *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1914, pp. 525. Some references are given by Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 56. This opinion will be more fully appreciated in the light of the facts set forth in the paper I have quoted, which set out to prove that the migrations of the peoples in the second millennium B. C. are ultimately interrelated, and represent the first appearance on the stage of world history of the Aryan stock, divided into the separate branches of Indo-Iranians, Thracio-Phrygians, and Greeks. These wanderings carried Aryan rulers and peoples of the Indo-Iranian stock into Syria and Palestine; the Phrygians, who are the most advanced of the Thracian stock, to the interior of Asia Minor, where they destroyed the Hittite Empire; and the Greeks to Greece whence they made roving excursions along the islands and the shores of the Mediterranean as far as Egypt.

² Cf. K. Müller, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXX, 1915, pp. 286; Heurtley, *BSA*, XXV, pp. 126, who points to the affinity with the matt-painted vases of the mainland.

³ Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 47, and in *Tiryns*, II p. 202. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming work of Professor Karo on the shaft graves will give a substantial contribution to the solution of this problem.

cult, for we have to reckon both with the native art of the mainland and the art of the invading Greeks, which is an unknown quantity, but cannot be left out of account in judging the problem.

These reasons convinced me thirteen years ago that the lords of Mycenae and the other Mycenaean sites were Greeks, and that the first efflorescence of the Mycenaean civilization is due to the Greek invaders; what has appeared in the subsequent discoveries simply corroborates my premises and the conclusions drawn from them. The Greeks were of course barbarians, but of a very vivid intelligence, and like other Aryan peoples, e. g. the Persians or the Normans, very quick to appreciate and take over a superior foreign civilization. They ravaged Crete, and brought home as booty not only precious relics of Minoan art but also Cretan artisans and workmen. At intervals peaceful relations with Crete may have existed. In primitive conditions war and invasions are the most powerful means of expanding a civilization; peaceful relations work very slowly. The lords of the conquering people have the power, the wealth, and the will to appropriate the superior civilization of the conquered people. This is the rule, especially as regards the old civilizations. Nubia and Palestine, which were Egyptian provinces, were much more strongly penetrated by Egyptian civilization than other countries, though here it was the civilization of the ruling people which was the superior. The Babylonian civilization influenced the neighbouring peoples, e. g. the Elamites and the Hittites, most strongly in connexion with the incessant wars; and finally, when the Persians subjugated Babylonia, they took over Babylonian civilization to a very great extent; even Ahura Mazda is represented in the guise of the god Assur. I need not speak of the influence of the Greek dominion in the East after Alexander the Great, but finally I would point out that the wholesale reception of Hellenistic civilization in Rome — *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* — was due to the campaigns of the Romans in Greek lands and their dominion over them much more than to trade and peaceful relations. The effective Hellenization of Rome begins from that moment when, through the war with King Pyrrhus, they

had Greek subjects in Southern Italy. This is perhaps the closest parallel to the process by which I suppose that the Minoan civilization went from Crete to the mainland of Greece.

This statement may be sufficient for the purpose of the present book, but in the paper I have quoted I endeavoured to elucidate the manner in which the Greek invasion took place, and as the reasons which I then put forth, as far as I can see still hold good, and in some points have been strikingly corroborated by subsequent discoveries, I may be permitted to express my opinion at some length.

It is possible to come to a closer understanding by putting together some elementary archaeological facts, the results of research into the geographical distribution of the Greek dialects, and the few historical indications which we possess. What first must be taken into consideration is not the extension of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilization but the peculiar limits of that extension. Minoan civilization during the Early and Middle Minoan ages was limited to Crete. The only important exception is Phylakopi on Melos, but even here the indigenous civilization continued side by side with the Minoan in a manner which throws an interesting light on the limits of the influence of peaceful relations and trade with a superior civilization, even where so frequent as those carried on between Crete and Melos in connexion with obsidian. Minoan influence on the mainland was not wanting, but was of no great importance; finds in Asine have substantially contributed to elucidate it ¹.

This state of things underwent a great change about the transition from the Middle to the Late Minoan age, c. 1600 B. C. The mainland of Greece, or to put it more correctly, its eastern districts became satiated with Minoan culture; the Mycenaean civilization arose suddenly. The shaft graves are the most eloquent witnesses of its richness. At the same time the palaces of Knossos and Phaestus were destroyed, and traces of an almost contemporary devastation are found on other Cretan sites also; it is even asserted that a general catastrophe

¹ Cf. A. W. Persson, *Quelques sceaux et empreints de sceaux d'Asiné*, *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1923—4, pp. 162. The pottery formerly hailed as Kamares ware is no true fabric of this kind.

overtook Crete at this time¹. But the palaces were rebuilt and Minoan civilization continued in new splendour.

At the end of Late Minoan I also a violent catastrophe and conflagration befell Knossos², and the like seems to have been the case at Phaestus and on other sites too; it is even said that the end of this period is marked by a wholesale destruction of the smaller towns³. Knossos was rebuilt and flourished again — the period of the Palace Style follows — but other sites, e. g. Gournia, were deserted during Late Minoan II, and only to some extent reoccupied in Late Minoan III. The civilization of the Palace Style period seems to be isolated in a curious manner and limited to Knossos alone. The linear script of class B, which belongs to this period, is only found at Knossos, whereas tablets with the script of class A are found on several Cretan sites⁴. The Mycenaean civilization of the mainland starts from Late Minoan I. The mainland script fits on rather to the earlier systems of Cretan script than to the linear script of class B⁵. The fresco painting of the mainland is derived from the Cretan wall painting of Late Minoan I and developed independently⁶. This is also true of the ceramics, e. g. certain vases from Kakovatos-Pylos⁷. Sir A. Evans remarked that motifs of Late Minoan I reappear in Late Minoan III, and Forsdyke has given a general value to this remark by stating that the mainland pottery, while contemporary with Cretan ware of Late Minoan III, has a much closer connexion with the earlier style of Late Minoan I; the Mycenaean style would therefore, he says, seem to have been separately derived from

¹ This is not strictly true; cf. Karo s. v. *Kreta* § 14 in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 1767. Because of the historical interest and the problems associated it is much to be desired that the successive catastrophes of all Cretan sites, especially in regard to their respective chronology, should be treated by an archaeologist who thoroughly knows the facts.

² Evans in *BSA*, IX, p. 35.

³ Forsdyke in *JHS*, XXXI, 1911, p. 116.

⁴ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, pp. 38.

⁵ Stated by Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 58; concerning the later finds see the passages quoted above, p. 20 n. 8.

⁶ Rodenwaldt in *Tiryns*, II, especially pp. 200.

⁷ K. Müller in *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, pp. 302.

Minoan pottery in its naturalistic phase, viz. Late Minoan I; planted on the mainland, it developed in isolation, and finally returned to Crete ¹.

At the end of Late Minoan II Knossos was sacked, plundered, burnt, and destroyed never to rise again. This collapse of civilization overtook the whole island. Poverty and decadence are conspicuous everywhere, even if the old sites were reoccupied to some extent. The centre of gravity was shifted to the mainland, where Mycenae was the most important site. The second palace was erected in the beginning of Late Minoan III, and there was at this time great building activity. The Lion Gate, the Grave Circle, the enceinte of the Citadel, and the third group of the tholos tombs are ascribed to this time by Mr Wace ². At Tiryns the famous later palace was erected in Late Minoan III ³, and the mighty East wall of the citadel belongs to the same period ⁴. So also does the later palace of Thebes ⁵.

I do not insist too much upon these successive catastrophes which overtook Crete. They may be and in fact have been interpreted in different ways, either as due to internal feuds or even accidental conflagrations or to inroads of foreigners. In regard to the last catastrophe it is no doubt possible that it was caused by a great hostile attack. For the palace of Knossos was plundered and all valuables carried away before it was burnt, and the decadence and poverty, which overtook Crete suddenly and which were the lasting result of the catastrophe, cannot be explained but by a violent catastrophe brought about by a mighty hostile inroad. As to the catastrophe at the end of Late Minoan I the isolation of Knossos and the independent artistic developments in the following Late Minoan II period are very remarkable and must be considered closely. They prove that the relations between Crete and the mainland were interrupted in this period: each went its own way. Even

¹ *JHS*, XXXI, 1911, p. 114.

² *BSA*, XXV, especially p. 268.

³ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 85.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. II.

⁵ *JHS*, XLI, 1921, p. 272.

on the islands of the Aegean Minoan ware no longer appears. Consequently, in this period, the mainland cannot have been politically subject to Knossos, or ruled by Cretan colonists related to the mother country. The separation can only be explained on the assumption that both countries took up a hostile attitude against each other, and it seems highly probable that the reason was that the northern invaders, in this period at least, were the rulers of the mainland.

With Late Minoan III came the greatest extension of the Mycenaean civilization that can be followed with the aid of pottery, but this expansion also had its peculiar limits. It follows very markedly the high road along the southern shore of Asia Minor and Syria to Egypt. The finds from Rhodes and Cyprus are so abundant and show such local peculiarities, that we must suppose local fabrics of Mycenaean pottery in these islands. Mycenaean pottery found its way to Philistia also where a debased derivative of it was in use¹. On the contrary the scarcity or absence of Mycenaean pottery on the western shore of Asia Minor is notable — more was found in Southern Italy and especially in Sicily —, although the western shore of Asia Minor is not further off than the eastern coast of Greece. The fact is hardly sufficiently appreciated that Mycenaean vases and sherds are found on a few sites only, especially Troja VI and Miletus². The list of other finds is very poor³: even the great and fertile islands of Lemnos, Samos, and Chios have yielded almost nothing. If there had been an amount of Mycenaean pottery, casual finds or clandestine excavations would certainly have brought it to light. This peculiar direction of the expansion of the Late Minoan III civilization requires an explanation⁴, and I may already here

¹ Welch, *BSA*, VI, pp. 117; Thiersch, *Arch. Anz.*, 1908, pp. 378 (especially on the Philistine ceramics of Tell-es-Safi), and 1909, pp. 384.

² This is remarked by Dr Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, pp. 46. His statement with regard to Rhodes must be inverted, several Mycenaean necropolises having been found in addition to Ialysos Vathy, Lardos, Staphylia, etc., but not published. The Mycenaean pottery of Rhodes is abundant and shows a marked local variety, the clay being soft and lightly baked.

³ Compiled by Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, pp. 95.

⁴ I cannot follow Dr Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, and Professor Leaf, *Homer*

observe that it coincides with the old trade route to Phoenicia and Egypt and the roads of the migrating peoples at this time.

I turn now to dialect geography in order to state the points which may be put into relation with the above quoted archaeological facts, or at least some of them. What is important for our purpose is in the first place the geographical distribution of the dialects. The general rule is that the tribes which immigrated first have proceeded furthest from the base of invasion in the North; but it admits of exceptions, some of which are known through historical information, others through linguistic evidence. For secondly in some cases it can be demonstrated that a dialect has ousted another by traces which the ousted dialect has left on the conquering one ¹.

Modern science has on the whole corroborated the old view of a tripartite division of the Greek dialects, although the limitations are in part different, and the central group is liable to be divided in two. The three groups are: the Eastern or Ionian group, comprising the Ionian proper and the Attic; the Central or Aeolo-Achaean group, comprising the Aeolian proper, the Thessalian, Boeotian, Arcadian and Cypriote; the Western or Dorian dialects, comprising the Dorian proper of the Isthmos towns, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Crete, and the Southern Sporades, and the North-Western dialects of Aetolia etc., to which the dialect of Elis shows a marked affinity; that of Achaea is insufficiently known. As to the inherited and internal affinities of the Greek dialects I may put it in the words of Professor Meillet ²: The Greek language was

and History, pp. 59, in assuming that the cause why the Greeks did not expand westwards to Italy and eastwards to Asia Minor was solely that they were shut off by some superior power. The underlying assumption is that they had a tendency to expand in *all* directions. This was not the case: on the contrary expansion took place in one direction only and was determined by the old high-ways, which went to Crete and further along the southern coast of Asia Minor to Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt.

¹ A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griech. Dialekte*, esp. pp. 49; C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*; A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, pp. 66, 2nd ed., pp. 45.

² Meillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 and 110, 2nd ed., pp. 70 and 74, assuming a quadripartite division.

already differentiated into the main dialects at the time when the Greeks invaded Greece. The Ionian-Attic dialect on the one hand and the Western group on the other represent the two extremities. The Arcadian-Cypriote dialect (which here is called Achæan because we know that the settlers on Cyprus were Achæans) and the Aeolian dialects are intermediate types. Of these dialects the Arcadian comes nearest to the Ionian-Attic group.

The first observation is that the Aeolo-Achæan dialects are geographically curiously dispersed¹. If they once formed a unit this dispersion is very great: the Aeolian dialects occupy Aeolis in N. W. Asia Minor, and Thessaly in N. E. and Boeotia in Eastern Central Greece. But as it is somewhat doubtful whether Aeolian and Achæan may be taken together as an original unit such as the two other groups, I do not insist upon this point, although I am inclined to think that this was the case. I have no judgement of my own on the philological question, but we shall see that the Greek dialect of Pamphylia is very remarkable in presenting, to use the words of Professor Meillet², points of similarity on one hand with the Aeolian, especially the Aeolian of Asia Minor, and on the other with the Western group. There is every reason to believe that the Greeks who settled in Pamphylia did not emigrate from Aeolis, but were an early side-branch of the wanderings which carried the Greeks, who spoke a kindred Achæan dialect, to Cyprus³. The geographical distribution of the Achæan dialect is especially peculiar and remarkable; it is spoken in the interior of the Peloponnese without reaching the coasts of the peninsula at any point, and yet is found in far-off Cyprus. These facts may be explained in two different manners; either Achæan tribes immigrated and settled among an older popu-

¹ Aeolian and Achæan traces collected by A. Fick, *Äoler und Achäer*, *Zts. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, XLIV, 1911, pp. 1.

² Meillet, *op. cit.*, p. 111, 2nd ed., p. 75.

³ I must leave the philologists to decide whether or not the Aeolian dialects preserve an older form, and whether the Arcadian was influenced by the Ionian, as Professor Kretschmer thinks in the paper quoted below, p. 31 n. 4.

lation, or they were in older times geographically continuous and were dispersed by a later immigration and emigration. The latter alternative is the correct one. We may refer to the tradition of the Dorian immigration which pressed the Achaeans up into the mountains of the interior, and even if the historical authenticity of the Dorian immigration has been contested, linguistic facts show that it is correct. I remark in passing that a tribe of the Western group invaded Thessaly but took over the Aeolian dialect of the subjugated population, and that according to Thucydides the Boeotians came from Thessaly into Boeotia; the result is that the Boeotian dialect consists of mixed Aeolian and Western elements¹. As for the Peloponnese which is far more important for our concern we may note that the Achaean dialect of Arcadia is on all sides surrounded by Dorian dialects. Whilst attempts have failed to show Dorian traces in the Arcadian, all Dorian dialects of the Peloponnese, except perhaps those of the N. E., more or less show traces of being mixed with the Arcadian. This cannot be explained except by supposing that the Dorians have everywhere immigrated, subjugating an Achaean population, which maintained itself only in the mountainous interior of the peninsula. The Dorians mixed of course with the older population to a certain extent, and this left its impress upon their language. The dialect of the province of Achaea is insufficiently known, but the very name proves that it was once inhabited by Achaeans. The marked relation of the dialect of Elis to the N. E. dialects of the Western group proves that the tradition is correct that the Eleans immigrated from Aetolia, but it shows also faint Achaean traces. These are conspicuous in the Laconian, e. g. in the name of the god of Taenarum, *Pohoidan*. The Dorian form is *Poteidan*, the Arcadian *Posoidan*. *Pohoidan* is the Arcadian form with the late Laconian transition of *s* into *h*. Such traces are found also in the Dorian dialects of Crete, and possibly in those of other islands, e. g. Rhodes. It has been already noted

¹ Thucydides I, 12. Meillet, *op. cit.*, p. 111, 2nd ed., p. 75, is of the opinion that the Boeotian dialect is not the product of a mixing, but since its origin has occupied an intermediate position.

that the dialect of Pamphylia is a mixture of Aeolian or Aeolo-Achaean and Dorian or Western elements. In Cyprus the Achaean is preserved without admixture. It is evident that all the districts mentioned were inhabited before the Dorian invasion by Achaeans, who were able to maintain themselves only in the secluded interior of the Peloponnese and in far-off Cyprus.

The Ionian dialects occupy on the contrary a geographically continuous area: Attica, Euboea, the Cyclades, and the middle part of the Western coast of Asia Minor, and here they spread northwards and southwards, and ousted the Aeolian dialect e. g. of Smyrna and the Dorian of Halicarnassus; but as this was in historical times it does not concern us here. Certain information shows, however, that the Ionian once extended further on the mainland and occupied especially N. E. Peloponnese. According to the old tradition Achaëa, Megara, and Epidauros were once inhabited by Ionians, who were expelled by the Dorians¹, and the same is true of Troizen, whose connexion with Athens is very conspicuous in the myths². Moreover Herodotus informs us that Ionians inhabited Kynouria, the strip of coast south of Argolis, but had been Dorized³. These remains of an old Ionian population north and south of Argolis make it probable that the whole province was once inhabited by Ionians.

In a remarkable paper Professor Kretschmer has tried to prove that the Ionians were the oldest Greek population which once occupied the main part of Greece and was ousted by the Achaeans⁴. He thinks that Attica was too small and poor to have been able to colonize such large districts as the Cyclades and the middle part of Western Asia Minor, and points to the fact that the noble families of Ionia derived their descent from various parts of Greece, e. g. the Neleids from Pylos. Unlike

¹ Achaëa, Herod. I, 145—6, VII, 94; Megara, Strabo IX, p. 392, Epidauros, Paus. II, 26, 2, cf. VII, 2, 4; cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, 2nd ed., I, p. 216.

² Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

³ Herodotus VIII, 73.

⁴ Kretschmer, *Zur Gesch. der griech. Dialekte, Glotta*, I, 1909, pp. 9.

the Dorian colonies the Ionian colonies contain no Achaean elements. He reckons with the possibility that such characteristics of the Arcadian dialect as agree with the Ionian against the Aeolian are due to an old influence from the Ionians, who were subdued by the Achaeans. The arguments adduced are not of so certain and evident a character that they can be considered as wholly conclusive, but it is very probable that Professor Kretschmer in reality is right. The immigration of the Ionians into Greece cannot have taken place after that of the Achaeans. There are no Achaean traces in the Ionian dialects such as those which are found in the Dorian dialects, although some inherited coincidences survive. It appears that the Ionians once occupied those provinces of the mainland which open on to the Aegean and Crete around the Argolic and Saronic gulfs. Therefore it seems probable that the Ionians immigrated into Greece before the Achaeans, and were later ousted by them and retired to the less fertile and important part of their area, Attica, and eventually emigrated to the Cyclades and Asia Minor.

If the results of archaeology and dialect geography are confronted with the scarce but valuable historical data for the Greek migrations, we are able to make out a clear picture of these movements. It will be useful also to consider the analogies offered by other great migrations of peoples, e. g. of those which took place in the transition from the Classical to the Middle Ages. Such a migration is seldom a wholesale irruption of a tribe, but usually takes place in subsequent waves, and between these there is a more peaceful infiltration of foreign elements and a mixing of races. The Greek migration took place in three consecutive waves indicated by the three main groups of dialects, the Ionian, the Achaean, and the Dorian.

The Ionians came first. This corresponds to the geographical fact that, in historical times, they retain only the eastern extremity of the mainland, and to the linguistic fact that their dialect forms the one extremity of the series of the Greek dialects. In agreement with the old tradition it is to be assumed that they once occupied more of the mainland and especially Argolis; of Boeotia which is another chief seat

of the Mycenaean civilization we know nothing¹. Just as the wandering German tribes of the great migration which ruined the ancient world were drawn towards Italy and Rome, so also the immigrating Greeks were drawn towards the centre of civilization of that age, Crete and Knossos. Therefore the Ionians settled in Argolis and Attica, whence the islands of the Aegean showed the way to Crete. Like the Goths in the third century A. D. they learned to build ships, invaded Crete, and carried away booty and slaves; at the same time they eagerly took over its superior civilization, and created the Mycenaean civilization. I should be inclined to think that the catastrophes of Knossos and Phaestus and other Cretan sites at the end of the Middle Minoan age are the first signs of these inroads². I would assert more definitely that the similar catastrophes which mark the end of Late Minoan I are due to such hostile incursions. For the notable fact that Knossos only flourished in Late Minoan II, other Cretan sites having been deserted, and that the civilization of this period was limited to Knossos and isolated from the mainland seems to show that necessity had compelled the Cretans on the one hand to concentrate in their chief town, abandoning the minor sites which, on account of their smallness and number, were more exposed and difficult to defend, and on the other to take up a policy of aversion and a hostile attitude towards the mainland.

The catastrophe at the end of Late Minoan II was final. Knossos was never rebuilt and the subsequent period of Reoccupation shows everywhere the same picture of poverty and decadence. At the commencement of Late Minoan III the centre of gravity was shifted to the mainland, and great constructions were erected at Mycenae, the chief seat, but on the other hand the art of this period falls far short of that of the previous age and degenerates more and more. I venture to believe that these great changes were due to a new Greek invasion,

¹ Thumb, *op. cit.*, p. 71, on his map of the prehistoric distribution of the dialects includes the whole of Argolis and part of Boeotia in the Ionian area.

² I note with pleasure that such an eminent authority as Karo agrees with my view that this catastrophe is due to the first Greek invasion; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 1767.

that of the Achaeans who superseded the Ionians. These maintained themselves only in the poorest part of their area, Attica, and by and by emigrated to the Cyclades and the Western coast of Asia Minor. Their settlement in Asia Minor was rather late, as is shown by the scarcity of Mycenaean pottery; only Miletus seems to have been occupied in the Mycenaean age. Bands of them may have taken the high-road towards the S. E.¹ We must not imagine that this was a wholesale expulsion of the Ionians; it was perhaps more like the change which took place when the sovereignty of the Iranian tribes was shifted from the Medes to the Persians. The new wave of immigrants, the Achaeans, took the predominance through being much stronger, as is shown by the subsequent events and the vast areas they occupied².

The Achaeans also took over the Minoan and Mycenaean civilization but as the centre of the Minoan culture was destroyed and the people to whose genius it owed its creation was subjugated and impoverished, it went on deteriorating. On the other hand it was expanded over much vaster areas, and this expansion of Late Minoan III civilization is the ultimate proof that the Achaeans were the important power of that period and propagated its civilization; this coincides with the historical information about their wanderings.

It appears that the Greek invasion was intensified by the coming of the Achaeans; the Greeks were now not content with raiding Crete but proceeded on their way to the oldest and most highly civilized country of that age, Egypt. This way, the old high-way along the coast of the Mediterranean, is marked on one hand by the secondary centres of Late Minoan III civilization in Rhodes and Cyprus and the Mycenaean ceramics of Philistia, and on the other by the Aeolian or Achaean

¹ Perhaps the Danauna, see below, p. 38.

² The opinion advanced by Dr D. Mackenzie, *BSA*, XIII, p. 424, that the destruction of Knossos and other Cretan sites was due to the Mycenaeans, i. e. the indigenous Minoized inhabitants of the mainland who were ousted by the Achaeans pressing southwards, meets the objection that we shortly afterwards find the Achaeans in Pamphylia, not regarding the above stated reasons for the ethnic character of the Mycenaeans.

Against the view here put forth Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons*

component of the Pamphylian dialect and the Arcadian, i. e. Achaean dialect of Cyprus. The colonization of Cyprus admits of some conclusions as regards chronology. It must have taken place before the Arcadians were shut off from the sea by the Dorians, i. e. before the Dorian invasion, and before the Phoenician alphabet was introduced into Greece, for the Cypriotes write their Greek in a clumsy syllabic script. Regarding these circumstances it cannot be doubted that the Mycenaean art of Cyprus and the Greek colonization of the island are connected. The excavations in Cyprus often fall regrettably short of scientific requirements and the dates of certain finds are subject to controversy, but it is certain that the bulk of the finds belong to Late Minoan III and it is questionable if anything Mycenaean is much older ¹.

These connexions which were already evident to me long ago received recently a most unexpected and valuable corroboration through the surprising discoveries of Dr Forrer in the Boghaz-keui tablets ². In the early years of the Hittite King Mursil, who ascended the throne in 1336 B. C., a king of Ach-chivaja is mentioned; he rules Pamphylia. This king is a vassal of the Hittite king but occasionally takes up an independent

von Mykenai, p. 68, n. 136, objects that the invasion of the Achaeans can hardly be inserted between the Early and the Late Mycenaean periods (viz. between L. M. II and III) because these are intimately connected with each other. There is no reason to suppose a sudden break as necessary for our argument, for an invasion of a new people is not invariably followed by a break in civilization. If it were we might demonstrate that the Ostrogoths never invaded Italy. On this point of principle see the illuminating remarks and examples adduced by W. Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 44. The decline of Mycenaean art which the newcomers were not able to maintain in its old vigour is the natural consequence. This cannot be ascribed solely to the catastrophe of Knossos and Crete because the artistic connexions between Crete and the mainland were already interrupted by the end of Late Minoan I.

¹ Concerning the finds from Enkomi which are from different periods see the article by F. Poulsen, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Enkomifunde*, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 215. Three scarabs belong to Queen Tii, Amenophis IV, and a king of the XXII dynasty respectively. The head with a boar's tusk helmet mentioned above, p. 20, testifies direct influence from the Greek mainland.

² E. Forrer, *Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi*, *Mitt. der deutschen Orientges.*, No 63, 1924; preliminary report.

attitude. Another text relates some events under the same king about 1325 B. C. The peoples in S. W. Asia Minor invoke the aid of the king of Achchivaja, Tavagalavas, and of the Hittite king against a hostile invasion, and in another document of roughly the same date the king of Achchivaja is called »Brother» by the the Hittite king which implies that the Hittite king acknowledges him as a Great King. He and the Kings of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria are explicitly mentioned together in a later letter as being on the same footing as the Hittite king. The narrow coastal strip of Pamphylia cannot have been sufficient to form the nucleus of a Great Empire. The Great Empire is Achaja, viz. Greece, to which name Achchijava, which comes from an older Hittite form Achchajiva, corresponds ¹. The king of Greece had seized Pamphylia and hence he was at the same time the vassal and the peer of the Hittite king. Hisname, Ta-va-ga-la-va-as, is thought to reproduce in the syllabic cuneiform script the older form of the Greek name Eteokles, Ἐτεφοκλέφης, and this according to Pausanias is the name of the second mythical king of Orchomenos in Boeotia. The first king is called Andreus ², and Dr Forrer recognizes him in a king of Achchivaja An-ta-ra-va-as, of another text.

I am unable to judge the identifications with the Greek names; they have been accepted by leading philologists. But what seems to be certain is quite enough. We recognize that the Achaeans formed a Great Empire, and this corroborates the view of the Empire of Agamemnon put forth with much sagacity by Professor Leaf on Homeric evidence ³. The sovereignty of the Great King of Mycenae over vassal princes of minor states in Greece reflects the Greek conditions of the

¹ This is the final proof that the general custom, derived from the Homeric usage of the word, to call the pre-Dorian Greek population of Greece Achaeans is well founded. Cf. also the Aqaiwasha of Egyptian sources, mentioned below, p. 38.

² Pausanias IX, 34, 6 and 10.

³ W. Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 193. Only the paved roads radiating from Mycenae should have taught us to recognize the character of this Empire; cf. *loc. cit.* pp. 234.

Mycenaean age. It may be that Dr Forrer is right in his identifications of names, and that the first great Achaean kings ruled from Orchomenos — this was one of the chief centres in the Mycenaean age; we know its magnificent beehive tomb and the frescoes of the palace, although the palace itself has not been found — and that they later proceeded to Argolis by conquering the Ionians. With this the situation of Mycenae agrees, being such as to command the communications northwards¹. Such a course of events would answer to the view expounded above. This is of course conjectural, but it is most important to recognize that the attacks and expeditions of the Achaeans were not unorganized raids of pirates, as was generally surmised², but started from an organized Empire. In the light of this it seems more probable that the catastrophes of Crete were due to the attacks of the Achaeans. This information of the Boghaz-keui tablets fits in excellently with what was known and assumed before. The conquest of Pamphylia by the Greek king explains the Aeolo-Achaean component of its dialect. The time, half a century or a little more after the final sack of Knossos about 1400 B. C., fits in just as well with the course of events.

The same is the case with the following events. During the reign of the Hittite king Dudchalia somewhat after 1250 B. C. the king of Achchijava, Attarissijas³, made repeated attacks on Caria but was driven back. Later, about 1225 B. C., the same king ravaged and plundered Cyprus. The invasion of Cyprus had probably begun earlier, immediately after the sack of Knossos, for in one of the el-Amarna letters the king of Cyprus complains that the Lukki had founded colonies in Cyprus, and these Lukki are supposed to be not the indigenous Lycians but the Greek invaders of the South coast of Asia Minor. Thirty years after the raid of Attarissijas Cyprus was definitely colonized by the Greeks according to Egyptian information. So far according to Dr Forrer. It appears that this infor-

¹ Remarked e. g. by Leaf, *loc. cit.* p. 205.

² The graphic description of Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 2nd ed., pp. 73, goes very far in this direction.

³ He is identified by Dr Forrer with king Atreus of Mycenae.

mation fits in excellently with what is known elsewhere. It gives historical knowledge of the Greek colonization of Cyprus, which according to the evidence of the dialect took place in Late Minoan III, viz. after the final overthrow of Knossos.

The further advances of the Greek migration are recognized through Egyptian sources which are well known and actively discussed. Among the peoples mentioned in the el-Amarna letters are the Danuna, who had settled on the coast of Palestine¹. During the reigns of Meneptah and Rameses III Egypt was attacked by 'men from the sea'. Meneptah conquered the Aqaiwasha and other tribes in the Delta about 1221 B. C. About 1190 B. C. Rameses III drove back a new invasion, in which were the Pulesatha and the Danau or Danauna. I leave the much discussed Pulesatha-Philistines out of account: coming from Crete they settled in Philistia and brought the Mycenaean ceramics with them. They may not have been Greeks, but were perhaps a Cretan tribe. Of course other tribes than Greeks also took part in the migrations, just as, for example, not only Germans but also Slavs and Huns took part in the migrations during the transition to the Middle Ages. The two tribes of interest in this connexion are the Aqaiwasha and the Danauna because they can be identified, the former with the Achaeans and the latter with the Danaoi. Both names designate the Greeks as a nation in Homer; in origin they were of course names of Greek tribes. The name Danaoi is already archaic in Homer, and they are elsewhere unknown; only in mythology do their eponymes Danaos and Danae appear. Both belong to Argolis, and this localization seems to be conclusive for the tribe also. They were probably the old inhabitants of Argolis. It may perhaps be asked whether the mythical association of Danaos with Aigyptos may not reflect the relations of the tribe to Egypt in the Mycenaean age. The Danaoi may perhaps be the pre-Achaean inhabitants of Argolis; for already in the el-Amarna letters we see that they had gone further and settled on the Phoenician coast. No more need be said

¹ I do not mention either here or below other tribes whose identity is much disputed and very uncertain. Cf. H. R. Hall, *Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea*, BSA, VIII, pp. 157, and in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, pp. 275

of the Aqaiwasha; their identity with the Achaeans is recognized. This Egyptian information fits in excellently with the course of migrations as described above. The unrest of the islands of which the Egyptian king complains commenced immediately after the overthrow of Knossos; it was due to the new strong wave of immigrants, and went even further eastwards on the old track until Egypt itself was attacked. About 1200 B. C. the Achaeans who had conquered Pamphylia and Cyprus one century and a half earlier had come so far as to attack Egypt. This was the high water mark of the migrations; after this they ebbed back.

I add one remark on Troy. The exceptional circumstance of Late Mycenaean vases being found in the sixth town is explained by the fact that Troy was through its situation predestined to be a commercial town. The Trojan war is certainly a historical fact, but it was unusual for the Achaeans to send their oversea expeditions in this direction. The explanation is that these raids, which we may call piratical raids on a grand scale, followed the high roads of trade. The Trojan expedition is probably comparatively late in date, as the memory of this expedition alone was preserved, while the memory of those towards the South East was lost. It looks as if the Achaeans had learnt that the plan to overrun the Near East was too much for their strength, and then decided upon an objective which was of less importance but nearer at hand.

It is a common feature of such migrations that when they once have commenced and are in progress, they continue until the peoples are exhausted, the desire of adventure and booty and the enticement of war and plundering luring them into ever new exertions. So it was, for example, during the Viking age of the Scandinavian countries, which after its end suffered a serious retrogression in population and civilization. So also the Greeks wasted their strength in their wanderings and expeditions of the late Mycenaean period.

At its end came the last of the three waves of migration, the Dorian. The Dorians conquered the Achaeans, who were already weakened by their distant wars and expeditions, subjugated them or drove them back into the mountains. The

Dorians followed the old track, colonized Crete, the southern Sporades, and Rhodes, and went as far eastwards as Pamphylia where they mixed with the old Achaean colonists; the result is the mixed Pamphylian dialect. Then they came to a standstill; they were neither strong nor enterprising enough to push further eastwards. The Achaean invasion had weakened the Mycenaean civilization, and it had lost its freshness and vigour; the Dorian gave it its death-blow. The Mycenaean civilization was a civilization of the upper classes; the more numerous the newcomers became, the more debased it grew although at the same time it expanded geographically. At last it was so debased as to be hardly superior to the native civilization of the Greeks, and then the time was ripe for the great break marked by the appearance of iron, cremation, the fibula, and the geometrical style. The Dorian immigration ushers in the dark transition to the new age. The Achaean Empire had broken down, civilization fell back, the power of the Greek people was exhausted, and the Phoenicians held sway over the sea. The old age was ended, and a new one began ¹.

¹ Mr Wace, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 467, seems prone, with certain restrictions, to regard the Dorian dialects as a survival of the language spoken by the people of the Mycenaean civilisation, because they cover the same area as the Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation. He asks: "When later history tells us of the small numbers of Dorians in Argos, Sparta, and Sicyon, can the Dorians really have invaded Southern Greece and Crete in such overwhelming numbers as to change entirely the characteristics of the language there spoken? We cannot suppose that the Doric dialect is a wholesale importation, nor can we suppose that it represents the pure speech of the pre-Dorian inhabitants". He ends by supposing that "the Doric dialect is a blend of the intruders' speech with the language, possibly Aeolic, spoken by the pre-Dorian folk". In regard to the first question I should like to recall that the Arabs who conquered Egypt did not come in overwhelming numbers; yet in spite of this their language ousted the old Egyptian; the same is true of the Romans in Gaul etc. An argument against the latter supposition is the fact that the Dorian dialect is not a mixed dialect except for the traces of a dialect akin to the Arcadian, and this being the case the supposition coincides with the one here advanced.

This applies also to J. P. Harland, *The Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, 1923, pp. 1. The author starts from the evident break between Early and Middle Helladic and supposes

I have tried to give the reasons for my view concerning the immigration of the Greeks into Greece and their further wanderings. The latter, however, hardly concern the religious problem at all. I may perhaps be excused for dwelling upon this subject on account of its general interest; the main point is that the Mycenaean civilization was created by Greeks. Their almost complete Minoization will be understood better now that, thanks to the Boghaz-keui texts, it has been recognized that Greece was at this time a powerful empire ruled by mighty kings. For such a society attains much more easily to a high level of civilization than unorganized bands of migrating tribes. The upper classes of Greek society were thoroughly Minoized in religion also, and Minoan religion was probably as much more highly developed than that of the invading Greeks, as Minoan culture was

that it is due to an invasion of a foreign people. On slight reasoning he assumes further that this invading people came from the North. But as Buck remarks in a paper which is quoted below, there are no traces of pottery similar to Middle Helladic ceramics in the North: there the ware is on the contrary quite dissimilar, and the matt-painted ware is connected with the Cyclades. (Others assume that the invasion came from Asia Minor because *bucchero* resembling the Minyan pottery is found in Asia Minor; see Forsdyke, *JHS*, XXXIV, 1914, pp. 155, and A. W. Persson, *Bull. de la Société de Lettres de Lund*, 1924—25, pp. 78). These early invaders, Mr Harland thinks, spoke an Arcadian language. About 1400 B. C., viz. between Mycenaean II and III, he assumes a new invasion of Achaeans, who spoke a Doric dialect; the traditional Dorian invasion at the end of the Bronze age is said to be a last wave of this Achaean migration. Although Harland follows in the footsteps of Beloch, (curiously enough he mentions neither Leaf nor Chadwick; cf. p. 42, n. 1 and 2) he has not succeeded in adding to the probability of the view that the speech of the Achaeans was Doric. It is an impossible attempt to obliterate the well attested difference between Achaeans and Dorians. The Dorian invasion, which accomplished the great and fundamental change from the Bronze to the Iron Age, is reduced to a comparatively unimportant raid which does not account for the immense cultural cataclysm. As to the break between Early and Middle Helladic we must hope that further research will shed light on this most noteworthy fact; there is an ash layer between the Early and the Middle Helladic layers on several sites. For a further criticism from a philological point of view see the clear and circumspect paper by C. D. Buck, *The Language Situation in and about Greece in the second Millennium B. C.*, *Class. Phil.*, XXI, 1926, pp. 1.

superior to Greek culture. Of course both Minoan civilization and religion spread among the common population also; as regards civilization it is attested by the numerous Mycenaean tombs of the mainland with more or less poor contents. The native Greek religion was pushed into the background for the time being but survived nevertheless, and as hordes of new immigrants arrived it was invigorated, and at last, in connexion with the general decadence of Mycenaean civilization, pressed in its turn the Minoan religion into the background. It appears that these were favourable conditions for a blending of the Greek and Minoan religions and Greek and Minoan gods, such as we must suppose to have taken place. It explains why the Minoan religion is so conspicuous and even exclusively predominating in the monuments; the poor people, who remained faithful to their native Greek gods, have not left any monuments behind them. It also explains why Greek religion gradually came to the fore and pressed Minoan religion back, and why ultimately both were blended.

The view advanced here may not, however, be generally accepted. Some readers may not find my arguments conclusive, and may adhere to the opinion put forth by the most prominent scholars, that the lords of the Mycenaean strongholds and their retainers were Cretan colonists who held sway over the indigenous population of the mainland¹. I do not ask in what manner, under this assumption, we are to imagine the immigration of the Greeks which must have taken place in or before this age², but we must consider the conditions thus

¹ Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 37, thinks that the neolithic population of the mainland was an early wave of the Aryan immigration and that the Arcadian dialect may possibly be a direct descendant of their language. Such a great gap in time between the successive Greek immigrations is extremely unlikely and the Arcadian dialect is bound up with the Achaeans. He thinks further that the Minoans subdued this old population and ruled Greece in L. M. I and II and identifies L. M. III with the coming of the Achaeans.

² The most serious objection to the picture of the Achaean invasion given by Leaf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49 (cf. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, pp. 281) is that it is drawn after the pattern of the Dorian invasion, but the Achaeans did not speak a Western but a Central dialect. The assumption that the Dorian invasion closely followed the lines of the Achaeans is of course a little hazardous.

presupposed inasmuch as they concern the blending of religions. This indigenous population was originally the old pre-Greek population that was akin to the Minoans. At some time in the second millennium B. C., perhaps before the establishment of the Cretan colonies in Greece, perhaps somewhat afterwards, the Greeks invaded the country. The population of the mainland, which the Minoan colonists had subjugated and upon which they impressed their civilization and their religion, consequently contained for some time a certain Greek element. Finally these Greeks, perhaps strengthened by new Greek invaders, must have turned against their lords and made themselves masters of the country to such an extent that their language ousted the indigenous language.

I cannot but think that such a course of events would give the Minoan religion still greater chances of survival. The indigenous Helladic population may have been deeply impressed by the religion of their kindred Minoan lords, and the invading Greeks, whose civilization and religion must have been at an inferior level, would in all probability have been still more impressed by the religion of their Minoan lords as well as by that of the surrounding Helladic people.

Consequently I affirm with some confidence that whatever view we take concerning the ethnical nature of the Mycenaean people (that is the representatives of Mycenaean civilization), this does not vitally affect the main problem. In every case the Greek religion of the historical age is an outcome of the blending of the original Greek and Minoan religions.

There is only one point where this difference of view concerning the ethnical character of the Mycenaean will affect our notions of their religious development. In the last chapter I shall try to prove that the hero cult originates in the Mycenaean age and was transmitted from this to the historical Greek age. But as far as the evidence goes, no hero cult appears in the Minoan civilization. Here is another fact which points to an ethnic difference between the Minoans and the Mycenaean. It is difficult to surmise that the hero cult originated in the Minoan world where its premises were wan-

ting¹, but it will be natural and easy to understand if its origin is due to the invading Greeks, and if it first was applied to the warring Greek princes who ruled a vast and mighty Empire.

There exists, however, another problem for which the view that the Greeks were the ruling and predominating people of the Mycenaean age is essential; I mean Greek mythology. I have elsewhere² tried to show that Greek heroic mythology has its origin in the Mycenaean age and more particularly that the great mythological cycles were evolved in their main outlines in this age. For this view the conclusive argument is that the great Mycenaean sites and the famous centres of myths coincide, and that the more important a site was in the Mycenaean age, the greater is its mythological fame. This view has been well received and corroborated by the amazing discovery of the gems of the hoard from Thisbe. The last word has not perhaps been spoken concerning these and their representations, and it may be that the ensuing discussion will not wholly approve of their reference to the myths of Oedipus and Orestes. This much may, however, be asserted, that if these scenes do not represent these myths, they represent the stuff of which such myths are made. Other Minoan monuments show very few representations which can be interpreted as mythological³. The difference between Minoan art, which is devoted almost exclusively to representing the cult, gods, and daemons, and Greek art, which loves mythological

¹ The apotheosis recorded by the paintings of the H. Triada sarcophagus (see ch. XIII) is of quite another order.

² See my *History of the Greek Religion*, pp. 38, and also my paper, *Der myk. Ursprung der griech. Mythologie*, *Festschr. Jakob Wackernagel*, pp. 137.

³ The 'Scylla' seal impression, *BSA*, IX, p. 58, fig. 36; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 698, fig. 520; the gold ring from the Tiryns hoard, *Arch. Anz.*, 1916, p. 147, fig. 4; *Delt. arch.*, II, 1916, *App.*, plate facing p. 16, fig. 2 (here fig. 1), shows a ship and two pairs of people, each representing a man greeting or abducting a woman; it has been interpreted as representing the abduction of Helen, but against this is the fact that there are two pairs. It may represent a pirate raid in which women were carried off or the welcome of the returning men. At all events this ring contrary to most Minoan and Mycenaean works of art, except those from Thisbe, shows some mythical or historical scene. Some hunting scenes may perhaps be reckoned in the same class, especially those depicting a lion hunt.

scenes, is most marked; and it would only be natural, if the few mythological representations, which, except the Scylla sealing, have all come to light in the mainland, were due to the Greek spirit asserting itself and causing the gem-engravers to reproduce scenes from the heroic mythology, just as it caused the architects to build megara.

This is, however, not the most important point in this connexion. For it is evident that the view that Greek mythology in its main outlines was already created in the Mycenaean age will be much more probable if there has been a continuity of the population, at least in the ruling classes of the people, from the very beginning of the Mycenaean age down to historical times. If a change has taken place, and the Greeks at the beginning were non-existent, or weak and subdued, and only later became supreme in the Mycenaean world, — if consequently the ethnical



FIG. 1. GOLD RING FROM TIRYNS.

continuity has been broken in the Mycenaean age, the continuity of the myths would be much more difficult to understand and to establish.

There is still one fact yet more conclusive. Mythological names of Minoan origin are exceedingly scarce and even those whose origin is dubious are rare; the great majority consists of evidently Greek names. If the mythology had originated among the Minoans, and from them had been transmitted to the Greeks, we should certainly expect many more Minoan or at least un-Greek names. As the opposite is true, it follows that the mythology was created by the Greeks and if that mythology in its main outlines was created in the Mycenaean age, it follows that the Mycenaean were Greeks at least as regards the classes which took an interest in myth.

I need not insist upon the importance of this theme. It forms

almost as large a subject as religion and cannot be taken up and discussed here. From this point of view some light will fall upon the creation of epic poetry, whose origin and oldest elements certainly go back to the Mycenaean age; we need not have recourse to the assumption, which implies serious difficulties¹, that it was originally created in the Minoan language and translated into the Greek language. This is the view of Sir Arthur Evans², who thinks that a far earlier heroic cycle of Minoan origin to a certain extent affected the Greek population. When, in a bilingual medium the pressure of Greek conquest turned the scales finally to the Hellenic side, may not something, he asks, of the epic tradition of the Mycenaean society (that is of the Minoan colonists of the mainland), have been taken over? The spirit of the Minoan monuments and the conditions of Minoan life were certainly not such as to form a favourable medium for the creation of heroic epics, unless they were completely changed by the colonization of the mainland. On the contrary I need hardly point out that under the assumption that the warring Greeks were the ruling people, the Mycenaean period, or if one prefers to call it so, the Achaean period, was a heroic age in the sense of Chadwick and most favourable for the formation of heroic myths and lays.

I now turn to the subject to which this book is devoted.

¹ Cf. Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 42.

² See *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 287.

PART I.

THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION
ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

NATURE SANCTUARIES.

(CAVES, ROCK SHELTERS, MOUNTAIN PEAKS.)

The most ancient sanctuaries are caves and rock shelters. Both were used as habitations in palaeolithic and neolithic times over all Europe from Sweden to Crete, and very often the dead were buried in or at the mouth of the caves where the people lived. Hence the custom is derived, not unknown in the early age of Greece, of burying the dead below the floor of the house¹. When people learned to build huts and houses and the caves were abandoned as dwellings, they continued to be used as burial places. A very illuminating instance of this is the cave of Miamu (fig. 2) south of H. Dheka in the mountain chain called ἡ Κάτω ῥίζα². The upper layer, which had

¹ Ps. Plato, *Minos*, p. 315 D knows the custom οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκείνων πρότεροι (viz. who slaughtered animal victims before the burial and hired women to lament) αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθαπτον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας. Instances of burial in the house were found at Thorikos, Stais, *Eph. arch.*, 1895, pp. 232, in Aegina, *ib.* p. 247 (cf. Gropengiesser, *Die Gräber von Attika*, Diss., Heidelberg, 1907, pp. 19), at Asine, and probably at Orchomenos in Boeotia in Early Helladic II, Bulle, *Orchomenos I*, *Abh. Akad. München*, XXIV, 1907, II, pp. 67. Young children especially were buried in jars beneath the floor; eight such graves, from the end of the first and the beginning of the second city, were found in the last excavations at Phylakopi in addition to the one found previously (*BSA*, XVII; pp. 6; *Excav. at Phylakopi*, *JHS*, *Suppl.*, IV, p. 15), while at the same period adults were buried outside the city. Another such grave was found at Knossos, probably from M. M., *BSA*, VI, p. 77. This custom persisted down to the late Mycenaean age (graves of stone slabs at Mycenae, Tsoundas, *Eph. Arch.*, 1891, p. 27) and to the geometric age (childrens' graves found beneath the floors of the houses at Vrokastro, Edith Hall, *Vrokastro*, pp. 106 and 123).

² A. Taramelli, *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, I, 1897, pp. 287; *Mon. ant.*, IX, pp. 301 is only an abstract of the former article.

been disturbed by the owner of the neighbouring house, contained human bones and a quantity of vessels, of which two specimens still extant seem to belong to the subneolithic period. In the course of his excavation Taramelli found remains of



FIGS. 2 A AND B. PLAN AND SECTION OF THE CAVE OF MIAMU.

human bones and fragments of vases, among them those of a wheelmade pitcher. Beneath this burial stratum there was a layer of hardened earth and stones about 30 cm. thick, and beneath this again a thick layer of black greasy earth mixed with small fragments of charcoal, bones of animals, and fragments

of pottery, a deposit left by human families which had lived in the cave for a long time. There were several hearths on different levels in the deposit, and also remnants of meals, split or broken bones of domesticated and wild animals, shells, claws of crabs and lobsters, implements of bone, an entire hand-mill and fragments of others, and lastly fragments of pottery. The best preserved specimens belong to the subneolithic period (E. M. I.)¹. In spite of the intermediate layer no very long time can have elapsed between the use of the cave as a dwelling place and its use as a burial place.

The cave of *ταῖς Σκάλαις* near Praesus contained fragments of pottery from neolithic down to geometric times and many scattered and decomposed human remains². In a cave near Zakro five graves were found containing flakes of obsidian, a bone object pierced with bronze nails, and a quantity of vases belonging chiefly to Early Minoan I. Near Palaikastro human remains were found in a shallow cavern and in two rock shelters accompanied by coarse hand-made vases which seem to be neolithic or a little later³. In the neighbourhood of Magasa there is a neolithic settlement beneath a rock shelter⁴. In the neolithic age man also sought shelter beneath overhanging cliffs; at Magasa a house was built in such a position in later but still neolithic times. These rock shelters were used as habitations and consequently also for burials.

The most important of all burial caves is that recently discovered at Pyrgos near the small harbour of Nirou Khani, 14 kilometres N. E. of Knossos. It contains hundreds of interments. Some of the dead had been buried in *larnakes*, of which about twenty were found. There are stone idols, bronze objects, mostly daggers, obsidian flakes, and a quantity of pottery, more than 150 vases, covering the whole of the Early Minoan age⁵. Smaller rock shelters with graves dating from

¹ *Amer. Journ. of Arch., loc. cit.*, pp. 302, figs. 13—15; cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 58, fig. 18.

² *BSA*, VIII, pp. 235.

³ *BSA*, IX, pp. 339.

⁴ *BSA*, XI, pp. 260.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 59; Xanthoudides, *Arch. Delt.*, IV, 1918, pp. 136.

E. M. I and II were discovered in two different places near Gournia and larger ones of only a little later date four miles east of Hierapetra¹.

The use of caves and rock shelters for burial purposes was so persistent that it is still found in L. M. II and III; the dead were regularly put into *larnakes*². As for the mainland it may be noted that a series of ten caves with burial deposits from the Mycenaean age was discovered at Pharai in the province of Achaëa³.

That caves and rock shelters were used as cult places may again be due to their original use as human habitations. For already at a rather early stage man has the idea of providing his gods with habitations, and the human dwelling is always the prototype of the shrine of the gods, although the latter may be constructed more elaborately and magnificently. After the caves had been abandoned by man they continued to be used as sanctuaries, the dwelling places of the gods, thanks to that religious conservatism which appears in Minoan, as in every other civilization. But this by no means implies that all cult caves were originally human habitations; there are of course caves whose situation is such that they never can have been regularly inhabited by man, e. g. the cave of Kamares, which is often blocked by snow until late in the summer, and the Idaean cave, and others. When man lived in huts and houses, but often continued at least to worship his gods in caves, it is natural that newly discovered caves were also considered as haunted by the gods, and consequently became cult places. A lofty and spacious cave was more than any other likely to be regarded as the abode of a deity, and to be venerated as a cult place by virtue of its power of impressing the human mind and by its gloominess, inspiring a mysterious awe. But I think it is less probable that the origin of cult caves is to be sought in this direction — or to state the case more

¹ *Gournia*, App. D, p. 56.

² A rock shelter at Sarandari near Palaikastro, *BSA*, XI, pp. 293; a cave in the mountain of Petsofa also near Palaikastro, *BSA*, XII, pp. 1, and at H. Pelagia near Mallia, *Arch. Delt.* IV, 1918, *App.* II, p. 17.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1919, pp. 98.

positively — in a belief that caves were by their very character haunted by Nature daemons, although we may incline towards such an idea because in the classical age caves and grottoes were the abodes and cult places of the Nymphs, and the Nymphs in the classical religion came to fill, at least to a great extent, the place of the Nature daemons. In a later age such ideas may have contributed to the sacredness of caves and influenced the cults carried on in them, but to seek in them the origin of cult caves would fail to explain why the cult places used by preference in the Minoan age were rock shelters, which certainly have nothing of the impressiveness of the caves. Both caves and rock shelters were used as human dwelling places in the earliest times and later still they were used no less as cult places than as burial places. In view of this the explanation here proposed seems to be the more likely.

Among the many sacred caves in Crete there are some very celebrated and famous ones which have yielded a rich harvest of votive offerings. Near the southern summit of Mt. Juktas, south of Knossos, on the top of which there is an open air sanctuary mentioned below, there is a small grotto known as *νοστό νερό*. Taramelli has made a cursory exploration and has drawn up a sketch plan¹; the cave has yielded fragments of pottery and terracotta animals which were sold by the peasants to a dealer of antiquities at Candia. Professor Myres mentions that miniature vases probably analogous to those of Petsofa occur copiously in one of the caves of Mt Juktas².

Sir A. Evans thinks that the sacred cave of Knossos is to be found at Skoteinó about three hours westwards from the palace where there exists a very imposing cave with a spacious vault, broken stalagmitic columns, and winding galleries³. Here the peasants of the neighbouring villages have at different times discovered bronze figures. One beautiful double axe (and possibly more) from this cave came to the museum

¹ *Mon. ant.*, IX, pp. 356; Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 160.

² *BSA*, IX, p. 379.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 163.

at Candia¹. In a summary exploration Evans established that the cave contains an abundance of Middle Minoan sherds going back to the beginning of the Palace period.

Many years ago a cave, which is identified with the cave of Eileithya mentioned in Homer, was discovered near the river *Καρτερός* four miles east of Candia². It is 55 metres long and at its widest 12 metres across but from two to three metres only in height. At about the middle there is a nearly cylindrical stalagmite, the circumference of which is 1 m. 20 and the height 1 m. 40; it is enclosed by a quadrangular setting of small, irregular stones without clay, the sides of which are 3 m. by 2 m. and the height about 45 cm. Within this enclosure and in front of the stalagmite is a quadrangular unhewn stone, 30 cm. by 40 cm., height 45 cm. Some excavations were made inside and outside this enclosure and a quantity of sherds dating "from the oldest down to Roman times" was found, chiefly near the walls of the cave, but not a single whole vessel. It is to be regretted that this discovery was made before anybody was able to classify the pottery found and determine its age; the sherds now seem to be lost — I asked in vain for them in the museum at Candia —, but it is hardly to be doubted that this is a sacred cave dating from Minoan times. But its identification with the cave of Eileithya at Amnisos is uncertain. There are plenty of caves in this district.

From a place called *Σπηλαγίδα*, three kilometres N. E. of Abdos in Pediada, a quantity of finds was reported, among them a beautiful gem representing two men in a chariot driving two *agrini*³. In the year 1922 Xanthoudides made excavations in front of and behind the cave from which the place takes its name. The finds, which apparently are considerable, are mentioned only very summarily without distinction of the periods, but it is stated that the cave served as a cult place from the "Mycenaean age down to historical times"⁴.

¹ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, V, 1901, p. 442.

² Hazzidakis in the periodical *Ηραγασσός*, X, 1886—87, pp. 349; Halbherr, *The Antiquary*, XXVII, 1893, p. 112, gives only an abstract.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, p. 184, pl. VIII, 166.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 522.

At Arkalokhori a little to the S. W. of Lyttos there is a small and narrow cave which was ransacked by peasants, who found pieces of bronze, described as blades of knives and lances, and some beads; they said that they collected eighteen *okas* (about 20 kilos) of bronze objects, for the most part rusted blades, which they sold at Candia as old metal. The cave was explored by Hazzidakis¹. The finds are not stratified. The pottery was very badly broken owing to the ransacking of the peasants; it belongs to Early Minoan and Middle Minoan I a². Stone objects were few, the most noteworthy being fragments of small obsidian blades and a core from which such blades were struck. A great quantity of bronze objects was found, all daggers, knives, or votive double axes except one fragment of a wide-mouthed, egg-shaped vessel. The daggers seem to be later than the pottery; they are not of the triangular form known in Early Minoan times, but much longer, thin and narrow; the longest measures 53 cm. with a maximum width of 2 cm. and a thickness of scarcely 15 mm. But the chemical analysis shows that the percentage of tin, 3 % or less, is much lower than in Middle Minoan bronze objects. Of votive double axes a great number was found, but almost all were more or less broken. A small double axe of silver weighing 3,5 grammes is quite exceptional.

Near to Lyttos there is one of the two most famous caves in Crete, the cave of Psychro, which is often said to be the Dictaeon cave. It was discovered by peasants about the year 1888³. The cave was first explored by Halbherr and Hazzidakis in 1886; the results of some excavations near the mouth of the cave and also various relics discovered there by the peasants are described by Orsi and Halbherr⁴. In 1894 Evans procured from the peasants many objects in the

¹ *BSA*, XIX, pp. 35.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 59.

³ What was known about this cave previous to the excavations of the British School is related by Evans, *JHS*, XVII, 1897, pp. 350.

⁴ Orsi and Halbherr, *Scoperti nell' antro di Psychro, Museo di ant. class.*, II, 1888, pp. 905.

shape of bronze arms, votive and otherwise, and small figures of men and animals. In the following year he visited the cave and secured further material. A very interesting piece was a bronze votive tablet with figures¹. In April 1896 a young peasant unearthed several clay bulls, figures, and cups, and last but not least a fragment of the famous steatite libation table with a Minoan inscription, of which Demargue found a second fragment in 1897². Then Evans undertook a small excavation in which he found a continuous layer containing a sacrificial deposit of bones of deer, oxen, and goats, horns, ceramic objects, and two bronze oxen of a rude fabric. The cave was finally excavated by the British School in the summer of 1900³.

The cave of Psychro is double, the upper cave sloping gently towards the innermost part. Underneath there is a thick sediment of yellow clay mixed in its upper layer with a little primitive pottery described as *bucchero* and with many bones, but containing nothing below. The strata above this clay varied in depth from seven feet to some inches. The deeper deposit which filled the N. W. bay consisted, wherever it had not been disturbed, of successive layers of ash and carbonized matter mixed with and divided by strata of sherds and animal bones, the typical remains of sacrifices. This deposit, which here was three feet thick, was covered by a uniform black mould mixed with stones and containing a few fragments of terracotta and bronze, more of iron, and a little pottery. What pottery there was in the surface stratum was of the later geometric period with very rare representatives of still later periods.

There seems to have been a wall defining the eastern limit of the sacred area, but it has entirely disappeared. In the N. W. bay there was an altar-like structure built of roughly squared stones without any binding, about three feet high. Round this there lay thickest the fragments of libation-tables, among which was one inscribed with three signs, small plain cups, fragments

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 632, fig. 470

² *Ibid.* p. 628, fig. 466.

³ *BSA*, VI, pp. 94.

of fruit-stand vases, and lamps and ashes. The structure was perhaps covered with stucco and surrounded by a paving. The innermost recess was made into a *temenos*, being separated by a wall and roughly paved. The uppermost stratum here consisted of ashes and contained in its lower parts geometric remains; beneath this a stratum of reddish stuff, like perished burnt brick; beneath this again a thick stratum of black mould, from which there came bronze weapons and implements. Then unproductive ashes, then 'Mycenaean' (viz. Late Minoan) painted pottery, then more ashes, and finally paving stones, in all seven feet. Some bronze knives and pins, and a human idol¹, together with two late geometric bowls, were found in the interstices of the boulders. Although this *temenos* was richer in all the later kinds of pottery than any other part of the cave, no Kamares sherds were found on its floor level. The clay below contained nothing except a few remains of bones. Pockets of black mould in several places yielded sporadic finds.

In the lower cave the earth deposit was slight, small patches carried down by water, but these were singularly productive. Further numerous bronze objects were found put edgewise into the vertical crevices of the stalactite pillars. In the lowest part of the cave there was a pool of water; from the pebbly mud at its edge over a dozen bronze statuettes and half a dozen engraved gems, besides handfuls of common rings, pins, and blades, were collected.

A more detailed description of the numerous finds cannot be given here; the main points are already touched upon. Some only of the more peculiar objects need be noticed: fragments of ox-shaped *rhyta*, parts of large jars with relief decoration, almost all from the *temenos*, (one piece shows a row of double axes, another bucrania, and a third what seems to be an altar with offerings), lamps, terracottas and bronzes of human and animal form, (almost all human bronze figurines came from the lower cave, but the animals from the upper cave), a model chariot of bronze, and at least eighteen double axes, all found in the lower cave and almost all in the stalactite

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pl. X, 4,

niches. They are all *simulacra* and made expressly for votive purposes. Small round dishes, one with a central boss, are tentatively called miniature shields, and said to belong to the geometric period rather than to the Mycenaean. Of the daggers some show the older, more triangular form. The handle of one of the knives ends in a human head. Besides daggers and knives there are lance heads, razors, tweezers, needles, hairpins, rings; fibulae are very rare. Some few small gold objects and much corroded iron objects were found in the upper cave. Ivory and bone objects were rare, an ear-scoop, a shuttle, needles, prickers, hairpins; beads also were rare. The gems and the libation tables are mentioned; the earlier examples of the latter are made of steatite, the later of limestone; they are either round or quadrangular.

The cave of Psychro began to be frequented in the Middle Minoan age¹; primitive hand-burnished *bucchero* occurs only in natural water-laid deposits. In the lower cave no Kamares ware was found, and the votive offerings from it seem to belong to a later period. It is suggested that the upper cave did not become accessible before the Middle Minoan age, and the lower cave still later. The *floruit* of the cult was Late Minoan². The cave ceased to be frequented in the geometric period; later objects are very rare and have been brought in accidentally³.

¹ Dr Hogarth in his report speaks of Kamares ware from the lowest stratum about the altar, but see the following note.

² The finds from Psychro are almost entirely Late Minoan, Dawkins, *BSA*, XIX, p. 38. With this is to be compared the statement of Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 162, that it is probable that a certain proportion of the bronze figurines and votive weapons belong to Middle Minoan as unquestionably some of the pottery does, though a much larger proportion is Late Minoan.

³ Cf. above and Evans, *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 356: "Remains of the historic period are curiously rare. I was able to observe a plain proto-Corinthian aryballos and one or two fragments of glazed black Hellenic ware in a superficial layer, and, in 1895, was shown a terracotta griffin's head apparently from a tripod bowl, and a small trunk-like block of white marble with a tail of a snake coiled round it, — — — a bronze openwork figure of a huntsman carrying a wild-goat, — — — a few specimens of Cretan geometrical ware — — — and a fibula".

The most celebrated cave of Crete in historical times is the cave of Zeus on the summit of Mt. Ida, but as this was not frequented in the Minoan age and the cult began only in the geometric and Orientalizing period, it does not concern us here¹; only the fact that it is attached to Zeus must be noted. There are other caves on Mt. Ida which were frequented during the Minoan age. The cave of Kamares high up on the southern summit facing Phaestus is famous because it has given its name to a kind of pottery which was first discovered there, and hence to the period of the first bloom of Minoan civilization. The cave is called *Μαυροσπήλαιον* by the inhabitants. Like other caves it was first discovered by the peasants; a fortunate shepherd found the first vases and a few figurines which were secured by Hazzidakis and published by Myres and by Mariani². In 1894 the cave was explored by Taramelli under great difficulties owing to the snow which blocked it³. Taramelli drew up an inaccurate sketch-plan and succeeded in finding some other vases, but expressly notes the absence of other finds than pottery. Finally the cave was excavated by the British School in 1913⁴. It is very imposing; it has some hollows and an annex, a small cave at its back, in which almost nothing was found. The bulk of the pottery belongs to the Middle Minoan age, and of this ware numerous and beautiful specimens were found. The great mass was found amongst the boulders at the bottom of the cave in such a position that it is evident that the devotees had laid the vases amongst these boulders or in convenient crevices between them. From the neolithic age there is only a couple of sherds, from Early Minoan only one vase⁵ and some few sherds. Late Minoan vases are also rare, and were all discovered on the right hand

¹ Halbherr, *Scavi e trovamenti nell' antro di Zeus sul Monte Ida, Museo di ant. class.*, II, 1888, pp. 689.

² Myres, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, XV, 1895, pp. 351; Mariani, *Mon. ant.*, VI, pp. 333. The figurines in question are three, two ox-heads and the body of what looks like a pig, published *loc. cit.*, pl. X, 20, 22, 24.

³ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, V, 1901, pp. 437.

⁴ *BSA*, XIX, pp. 1.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, pl. IV, 1.

slope; there are specimens from L. M. I and III. The greater part of the pottery, however, was coarse and unpainted. A kind of shallow vessel which apparently was a lid (but to what kind of vessel did this lid belong?), was especially numerous; further there were jars, plates, jugs, large basins, and a large oval vessel, about half a metre long, in shape not unlike a bathing tub, the two long sides of which were pierced by two rows of holes; this was probably a brazier.

The almost complete absence of finds other than vessels is curious. Some iron dart heads were found to which, according to their comparatively uncorroded condition, a very late date must be ascribed. The only bronze object discovered by the British excavators was a much oxidized flat strip. Of bone a borer, two needles, and a number of pieces worked flat are recorded, but hardly any stone objects. A curious feature is that in one place a mass of material was found amongst the pottery, which seemed to be the remains of either wheat or some other grain. As for the structures, Taramelli speaks of a built hearth which could not be verified by the English explorers.

The absence of bronze objects, which is noted both by the Italian and the English explorers, and indeed of any finds other than vessels, is explained by Dawkins as due to the subsequent ransacking of the cave by visitors for bronze and precious objects. It is, however, absolutely unlikely that barely a single bronze object would have succeeded in escaping the ransacking and appearing in the excavations, if there ever had been any. Other caves have also been ransacked, but have nevertheless yielded numerous bronzes and other objects. As the votive objects known from other caves are absent, and the finds certainly do not suggest a sanctuary in themselves, Dawkins is led to ask whether the cave really was a sanctuary or whether the pottery may not rather mark the remains of a dwelling place. He justly denies the latter supposition because the pottery, which shows a restricted range of shapes, is not suitable for a habitation, nor have any obsidian flakes been found. Moreover a cave which was blocked by snow for at least half the year cannot have been used as a habitation.

The fact in question can only be explained by a difference in the cult customs and, in some measure, by a difference in time. The cave of Kamares had its *floruit* in the Middle Minoan age, that of Psychro in the Late Minoan age. People were not in the habit of bringing other offerings to the cave of Kamares than vases and perhaps grain. We must be prepared for such differences in the Minoan cult, and are not justified in postulating a conformity which is absent from the Greek cult as well as from other primitive religions of which we have a more than summary knowledge.

The other sacred cave of Mt. Ida is situated much further to the west in the neighbourhood of the village of Patso; an inscription from the imperial age shows that in historical times it was sacred to Hermes Kranaios¹. The discovery was made by the inhabitants, but the largest part of the finds came into the museum of Candia. The cave has never been explored scientifically. The finds consist of human and animal figurines of bronze or terracotta; some of the clay figurines are painted in the last Minoan style; especially noteworthy is a human head with a peculiar headdress. Two pairs of horns of consecration are further to be noted.

On the mainland of Greece also there is at least one cave in which a cult was practised in the prehistoric age and again in the classical age and continued down into Christian times: the cave of Parnes, about one hour south of Phyle, which is called *Αυχνοσπήλαιον* by reason of the numerous lamps which are found there; most of them are Christian, but there are also some of Greek and Roman date². The cave shows three strata, which are easy to distinguish owing to the kind of ash which they contain. Beneath the stratum which contains objects from the historical epochs there are two prehistoric layers. In the lowest fragments of prehistoric vases together with Mycenaean (*sic!*) sherds were found. With the aid of the description only it is impossible to say to which of the Helladic periods the unpainted sherds belong; one sherd of matt-painted ware

¹ F. Halbherr, *Scoperti nel santuario di Hermes Craneo, Mus. di ant. class.*, II, 1888, pp. 913 and pl. XIV.

² *Praktika*, 1900, pp. 38; *Eph. arch.*, 1906, pp. 89; 1918, pp. 1.

is, however, recorded. The Mycenaean sherds from the second layer belong to the fourth style of Furtwängler and Löschcke. As a matter of fact the Mycenaean cult was not continued here. The roof of the cave broke down apparently at the end of the Mycenaean age; the cave was left abandoned in the archaic age¹, and reoccupied perhaps only after the Persian wars when the cult of Pan was introduced into Attica. In the Greek age it was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs. Only one geometric sherd was found which may have been brought in by chance; the new series begins with sherds of the latest blackfigured style, redfigured vases and sherds, and some terracottas of which one is archaic².

On the highest mountain of the island of Delos there is an artificial cave; stone slabs have been laid over a cleft in the rock leaning against each other and a wall built before the entrance³. According to Dörpfeld this structure belongs to the archaic Greek age. On the top there was a terrace with the temple of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia. This terrace was lately explored by the French School. The result is to be published by Plassart; meanwhile only a very summary notice is given⁴. It is noted that all prehistoric ceramics discovered are of the common type without painted decoration showing Minoan influence. It is, however, remarkable that a round three-legged table of libation, quite similar to the wide-spread Minoan-Mycenaean type, was found⁵; it may come from a house. As for a prehistoric cult on the top of Kynthos there is no sure evidence; we must wait for the publication of the excavation.

The rock shelter or mountain peak⁶ sanctuary of Petsofa near Palaikastro on the eastern shore of Crete had its vogue in the Middle Minoan age. It was excavated by the British School⁷. A few feet below the highest peak of the ridge south

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1918, p. 11.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1906, pp. 100.

³ Sketch plan *Rev. arch.*, 1873, II, p. 103. I have been unable to procure the paper by Burnouf, *Rev. gén. de l'architecture*, XXXI, 1874.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, pp. 519.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 520, fig. 9.

⁶ Cf. below, p. 70.

⁷ Myres, *BSA*, IX, pp. 356; cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 151.

of Palaikastro there is a terrace held up by a zig-zag wall. An accidental find of some clay figures of animals gave rise to the exploration. Below the disturbed surface layer there was an almost horizontal layer of nearly black earth, 17 to 20 cm. thick, full of ashes and fragments of charcoal, and crowded with figurines of which a large proportion were whole, many still retaining their colouring. Many of the smaller figures were broken, and there were feet, horns, and other extremities of larger figures, but fragments of the bodies were totally absent; these were found elsewhere. Below this layer came a thick bed of clayey earth of a strongly reddish colour, brightest at the top and merging downwards into the ordinary colour of the soil. It represents the original packing of earth to level the enclosure, and in that case its red colour must be explained through the agency of fire.

At a later time a house had been erected in the angle of the terrace wall. Only the chamber in the angle was fairly well preserved, but there had been one, perhaps two more north of it. This chamber had a plastered and whitewashed mud floor of a common type, and round its wall, at an average height of 25 cm. from the floor, ran a rough bench of unworked stones covered with a smooth coat of plaster and whitewashed like the floor. West of the mud floor was a rough paving of slabs of schist. The character of the building is the same as that of the houses at Palaikastro belonging to the Late Minoan period. The burnt layer, which is of an earlier date, stretches beneath the floor.

The finds are very numerous and consist for the most part of terracotta figurines. I shall give a simple enumeration: Standing male figures, female figures, conical from the waist downwards with elaborate bodices and headgears; seated human figures, the sex of which is uncertain, though one shows a female bust; the chairs have four legs and at least in one instance a high back. There are also a few detached chairs and four-legged stools. Several examples occur of male figures bisected from crown to groin by a clear cut. Most curious is the series of detached arms, legs, and hands, modelled separately, and often perforated at the butt-end for suspension. The arms are usually

formed from the shoulder downwards, extended or somewhat bent. One specimen includes, besides the whole arm, a full quarter of the trunk, the suspension hole being at the angle of the trunk nearest to the neck. Others represent only the forearm. The legs are always fully extended as if standing. One complete pair ends off at the waist; there are also a formless trunk and one with stumps of legs. Among the detached heads is a special series of both male and female heads which seem to have been modelled separately. Only one larger human figure was found, viz. fragments of the face. Of animals there are large figures of oxen, preserved only in fragments, horns and legs and one or two fragments of hind-quarters, and a great mass of miniature figurines of rude workmanship: oxen, *agrimi*, goats, rams, swine, dogs, weasels, hedgehogs, hares, tortoises; birds are rare. Among special types a crouching pig and a recumbent calf may be mentioned. Other objects are very rare with the exception of some deep conical cups, 6,5 to 5 cm. high, miniature vases, 3 to 3,5 cm. high of a deep-rimmed bowl form, and small clay balls in very large numbers; they are compared to the Buddhist prayer pellets. There are no larger or painted vases, and no finds of metal objects are recorded, and consequently also no double axes, which are usually made of metal.

What the house mentioned above was, it is a little difficult to say. Professor Myres considers it to be a private building, and in this case his remark is justified that it is peculiar that such a house should have been built on a sacred site and that this could hardly have happened before the site was abandoned and forgotten. But it is hard to understand that the cult should have ceased and have been forgotten in the Minoan age, and it is therefore perhaps safer to consider the building as a sanctuary, as Sir A. Evans does. The house is, however, built above the layer with the votive offerings, and these seem to belong to the Middle Minoan age, judging by the more elaborate human figures, but it is not safe to draw the same inference from the rude miniature figurines, which may have been manufactured at a much later date. However, the activity of this sanctuary belongs to the Middle Minoan age.

Another similar votive site under an overhanging conglomerate rock just below the remains of an early acropolis at Upper Zakro, not far south of Palaikastro, was noticed by Sir A. Evans in 1894¹. Votive terracottas, a female figure with a 'Medici' collar like those from Petsofa, and remains of male figurines, goats, oxen, and their separate legs and horns are now in the Ashmolean museum².

In a hollow under the low brow of a cliff at 'Αθροπολίτους near Upper Zakro a large rudely modelled ox, a larger horn, and parts of the legs of two human figures were found, all in red clay like the material of the coarser figures from Petsofa³. There may have been a small similar sanctuary here.

A sacred place on a mountain top must be placed in a different category from the sacred cave or rock shelter, for this kind of sanctuary cannot have originated ultimately in a habitation, but is solely due to the belief in Nature deities or daemons haunting the spot, a belief which contributed essentially to the cave cult also in its later development. One Minoan sanctuary of this kind is known, on the summit of Mt. Juktas, which wholly dominates Knossos from the south; the curious contour of the mountain which strangely resembles the profile of the face of a resting man is particularly impressive. The site was explored by Sir A. Evans in 1909⁴. On the very peak of the mountain there is a roughly circular *temenos* wall of huge blocks, in some places still consisting of nine courses and rising to a height of five metres. In the inner interstices of the blocks typical M. M. I a. sherds occurred; they were consequently built up a little before the first palace of Knossos. The rocky steep within the circuit wall is abundantly strewn with Minoan sherds, many of them from Middle Minoan I, and remains of large *pithoi*; according to Sir A. Evans this is due to the area having been inhabited. The lowest layer was a stratum of grey ash

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 151.

² Some of these were copied and published by Mariani, *Mon. ant.*, VI, p. 182, fig. 17 (three small oxen), and p. 176, fig. 5 (a female figurine).

³ *BSA*, IX, p. 276.

⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 153; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II: 2, pp. 939.

reaching to the surface of the rock and filling its crevices, the ceramic contents of which belonged to Middle Minoan I and II. Above this was a reddish brown stratum of burnt earth containing sherds of Middle Minoan III. This stratum surrounded the foundations of a rectangular building of ashlar blocks with an outer terrace of rougher construction. It was situated near the precipitous western edge of the peak and much of it had no doubt fallen down the steep hillside. Its condition is very fragmentary; it consists of two rooms and what appears to have been a narrow magazine; in one of the chambers there are remains of a white plaster floor.

The ash stratum is similar to that at Petsofa and contained similar votive relics; male and female clay figures and clay animals such as oxen and goats, and separate limbs both human and animal. An arm showed a perforation, apparently for suspension; in one case two human legs were joined together; clay horns of oxen were numerous. There were a part of a vessel with wild goats in relief like one from the cave of Psychro, and 'prayer pellets' like those from Petsofa. The votive deposit continued into the red Middle Minoan III stratum above. Goats and oxen of a larger build occurred here, and among other things clay locks of human hair, the raised arms of a worshipper, some curious flat, shell-like coils, and most interesting of all, a limestone 'ladle' of a kind of which other specimens were found on the hillside below, with traces of an inscription in Linear script class A. A similar 'ladle' with a fuller inscription in the same form of script was found in a contemporary votive deposit on the height of Trullos, a foothill of Mt. Juktas¹.

As for the deities or daemons venerated in these places we are bound to confess that we are groping about in the dark. The Greek gods who have superseded the old ones do not give any clue. That the cave of Parnes is ascribed to Pan and the Nymphs is only natural because caves commonly were dedicated to these gods, e. g. the cave on the northern slope of the Acropolis in Athens; moreover Pan must have taken posses-

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 625, fig. 462; Xanthoudides, *Eph. arch.*, 1909, pp. 179.

sion of it late, because his cult was introduced into Athens only at the time of the Persian wars. Nor can any more be deduced from the fact that Hermes has taken possession of the cave of Patso; he was also venerated in the Idaean cave; an inscription found at its entrance mentions sacrifices to him¹. Hermes is often venerated in caves and appears as Nymphagetes. More important is the epithet which is given to him at Patso, *Κραναιός*, but its sense is uncertain. If it is permissible to derive it from *κάρνος· βόσκημα, πρόβατον*², this would suit the god of the herds and the animal figurines found on the site, but it is hardly to be taken as evidence of the nature of the Minoan cult. We shall see below that it is hardly probable that the tradition of the tomb of Zeus on Mt. Juktas is of ancient origin; on the other hand the story of his birth seems to be connected already by Hesiod with the cave of Psychro near Lyktos. This is of course very important, and we must recur to this in a later chapter, but there is nothing among the numerous votive offerings which can be related to such a cult as this myth presupposes. Very important also is Homer's mention of the cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos, and it is much to be regretted that this cave is not identified with certainty and, if the identification is right, that the contents, now apparently lost, were discovered, before anybody was able clearly to distinguish to what period they belonged. This might have given a valuable clue. For Eileithyia seems to be a name for one form of the Minoan Nature goddess, and it is probable that the Homeric tradition derives from the Minoan age.

The result of this review is mostly negative; there is only a slight probability that a Minoan Nature goddess had a cave cult. We must turn to the cult places themselves in order to see what information they give with regard to the cult. It has already been pointed out that remarkable differences exist as regards the objects found and the periods in which the cult places in question were in use. The former circumstance cannot be explained solely by the latter, although bronze was

¹ *CIG*, 2569; Kaibel, *Epigr. graeca*, 815: Ὀὔροσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἰδομένη Μαιάδος Ἐρμῆ σπονδήν καὶ θυσίην δέξο φιλοφρόσυνος.

² Hesychius, s. v.

rarer and more expensive in the Middle Minoan than in the Late Minoan age, and consequently bronze objects cannot have been so numerous in the former period as in the latter.

The Kamares cave stands quite apart, other objects than vessels being almost absent, — only three animal figurines are recorded, and even among the vessels there are none which by their form show themselves to be destined for sacral use. There are no remains of sacrifices. This is really curious and must be due to the character of the cult carried on here, but it throws hardly any light on what kind of cult this was. In Late Minoan times the cave was little frequented.

Quite different is the case of the cave of Psychro which was frequented as early as the Middle Minoan period but saw its *floruit* in the Late Minoan. Here there are not only objects which were used in daily life and *simulacra* of such objects, but human and animal figurines and objects of sacral use are also prominent, double axes and tables of libation. Votive offerings were found embedded in a stratum of bones and ash which must derive from sacrifices. The finds from the cave of Arkalokhori seem to be similar, although no figurines are mentioned, but the peasants have apparently collected and sold most of the bronze objects. What are left seem, however, to be somewhat earlier in date than those from Psychro. The votive offerings in these caves are not of a special kind, such as would give some indication in regard to the deity venerated, and the inscription of the libation table is unintelligible to us. It must, however, be noticed that the stalactites in the lower grotto at Psychro seem to have been especially sacred because the votive offerings were stuck in their crevices. With this is to be compared the fact that in the so-called cave of Eileithyia there is a stalactite surrounded by a wall and within this enclosure a quadrangular unhewn stone. It certainly looks like a baetyl with an altar.

The difference between the objects found in the cave of Psychro and those found in the sanctuary of Petsofa, to which that of Mt. Juktas may be added, is very remarkable. All these sites have human and animal figurines in common, but at Petsofa all are of clay, metal being conspicuous by

its absence. There are neither double axes nor tables of libation, but there are miniature vases probably destined for sacral use, and a peculiar species of votive offering of a singularly characteristic and enigmatical kind, — the detached human heads and limbs, which are modelled separately and have a hole for suspension. The difficulty is to find a probable explanation. Professor Myres was led to think of the parts of the human body which in later Greece were dedicated to healing gods, and consequently considered the deity venerated at Petsofa to be a healing deity. On a closer consideration unsurmountable difficulties arise in opposition to this view. Such parts of the body as are very prominent among the later ex-votos in healing sanctuaries, e. g. eyes, and female breasts, are absent; or are we to think that the people of Petsofa suffered only in their legs, arms, and heads? It is furthermore impossible to explain in this way an arm with a quarter of the trunk or the half figures cloven from crown to groin.

These ex-votos are rather enigmatical and the explanation which I propose, in default of a better, is a mere guess, and that too not without its difficulties. I shall speak below of a curious representation of detached heads and limbs, chiefly of animals¹, on some Minoan gems — here is the difficulty already at the outset, those from Petsofa being always human —. They recur on geometric vases together with a female figure supposed to be Artemis; certainly she is the Mistress of the Animals, and this goddess appears also in the Minoan age. Such a goddess would, I think, be appropriate to the finds from Petsofa, and would explain that the figurines represent not only domesticated but also wild animals. With the cult of the Greek Mistress of Animals fire festivals were connected in which living animals, human puppets and miscellaneous objects were thrown into the fire, and I have tried to show that certain constructions in the very archaic temples of Prinia

¹ Below, pp. 198. There is a gem from Phaestus with two *agrini* and a human head, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 622, fig. 96 and pl. XL, 9 (here fig. 66, p. 199), and another from Mycenae with a lion and a detached human leg, *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 9.

are to be explained through a similar rite¹. Now at Petsofa Myres observed² below the ash layer containing the votive figurines a bed of clayey earth which in the upper layer is burnt red by fire, and further that the small figurines were much broken, only the horns and legs of larger figures but no fragments of the bodies being found. He explains this by assuming that a bonfire was lit on the spot, and that from time to time as the fire got clogged with larger figures it was raked over and roughly cleared of these, smaller objects and fragments being left, and the whole layer levelled for the reception of fresh fuel and figurines. If this explanation holds good, the coincidence is almost too convenient; I feel obliged however to warn the reader that as the whole matter is so obscure a measure of caution is needed.

The peak sanctuary of Mt. Juktas is in many respects similar to the sanctuary of Petsofa. The same votive offerings are found, the same are lacking; there are also specimens of detached limbs. There is a *temenos* wall, as also at Petsofa, and a building was erected there in the Late Minoan period. There are strata of ashes and burnt earth but no layer of baked earth below the ash, because there was no earth but only the rock below. The tradition that the tomb of Zeus was on the top of this mountain is not trustworthy, but Sir A. Evans is emphatically right in considering it to be the sacred peak of the Nature Goddess, and citing in confirmation the Knossian seal impression which shows the goddess standing on the top of a mountain surrounded by her lions³. It may be asked whether the sanctuary of Petsofa is not rather to be considered as a peak sanctuary than as a rock shelter. Although it is called a rock shelter its description and section⁴ show that it is not one, but in reality a terrace on sloping ground c. ten metres distant from the rugged crest of limestone which forms the actual summit of the mountain. This mountain is the highest

¹ See my paper *Fire-Festivals in Ancient Greece*, *JHS*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 144.

² *BSA*, IX, p. 358.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 154.

⁴ *BSA*, IX, pl. VII.

peak south of Palaikastro, and the cult place may be the peak sanctuary of that Minoan town. Probably bonfires were lit on Mt. Juktas as well as at Petsofa and, in the historical age, on certain mountain tops on the mainland. If this be correct it is a new reason for the supposition that the Nature Goddess was venerated in the sanctuary of Petsofa as well as in that of Mt. Juktas.

CHAPTER II.

HOUSE SANCTUARIES.

In the Minoan civilization no temples are found, if by temple we mean a separate building set apart to be the abode of the deity and to shelter its image and paraphernalia. It is very doubtful if the buildings which were erected on Mt. Juktas and at Petsofa were temples in this sense, although they may have been destined to serve the cult in some way. The gods were venerated under roofs built by human hands, but all cult places of this kind are parts of a human habitation, small chambers in a house or palace. How far the shrine at Gournia is an exception to this rule will be discussed below. Consequently the cults in question must be considered as domestic cults, or to put it as cautiously as possible, we shall proceed on this assumption, and try to explain the facts from this point of view before any other explanation is put forward. Further, to judge from other religions, it is probable that other deities were venerated in the domestic cult of the house and the palace than those worshipped in caves and on mountain peaks.

The archaeological evidence for these cults is of a different kind. In some shrines idols and cult objects were found *in situ* by the excavators; here no doubt exists as regards the character of the room and the cult. Elsewhere numerous objects of religious significance were found together in one room, though they had been disturbed. They may be the contents of a shrine which were disarranged but left on the spot, or they may be a deposit brought in from without. This question is often very difficult, even impossible to decide. Finally, in other cases sacred objects have been stored away in

some hiding place, e. g. in the stone cists of the Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos. The finds of the first class especially are of the utmost value for our knowledge of Minoan religion, and we have to begin with them.

Foremost ranks the so-called Shrine of the Double Axes in the Palace of Knossos which has very often been described and delineated¹. It is situated in the S. E. part of the palace, the structures of which belong to the Middle Minoan III period; in this epoch, according to Sir A. Evans, the Northern Section of this part was residential, the Southern of the nature of a sanctuary. One of these chambers was in the period of the Reoccupation used as a shrine². This date is especially indicated by a stirrup vase with typical L. M. III decoration. The room is only 1 1/2 metres square and divided into three parts at different levels³. The body of the room with a plain stamped floor was occupied by a variety of vessels standing in the positions in which they had once been left, a tall plain jar, a tripod pot, the above-mentioned stirrup vase, a bowl with a flat bottom and upright handles, and three others. Beyond this area there was a somewhat raised dais in the centre of which was fixed a round table of offering with a slightly hollowed upper surface and three short legs, of the kind which has since often been found⁴; the feet were embedded in the raised dais, and on either side there were some cups and smaller jugs. Immediately behind the dais and the table of offering a raised base, about 60 cm. high, of clay and rubble construction with a plaster face, ran from wall to wall. On this ledge two pairs of horns of consecration of white stucco with a clay core were fixed; between the horns in either case there is a round socket; a very small double axe of steatite with double edges was found resting against the left pair; it is much too small to have been set up in the sockets of the horns; what objects were probably put here we shall see later. Between the two there were a

¹ *BSA*, VIII, pp. 95; Karo, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, pp. 126, etc.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 573.

³ Plan and section *BSA*, VIII, p. 97, fig. 55.

⁴ See below, p. 103.

bell-shaped idol and a female votary¹, whose eyes, mouth, hair, and ornaments were rendered by means of punctures and triangular incisions filled with powdered gypsum, a curious relic of neolithic workmanship. To the left of the left hand pair a male votary is holding out a bird as if to offer it²; the figure stands on a small flat base and wears a loin cloth and what looks like a tunic laced behind. To the right of the right hand pair there are two other bell-shaped idols, the lower part forming a cylinder from which the body rises, a type which is certainly not due to the decay of art but to an old religious tradition. One of these two figures is apparently a goddess, with a bird perching upon her head³. Necklaces and amulets, and what seems to be a kind of bodice are indicated by painting; the arms are raised. The other idol⁴ and the one standing in the middle⁵ are similar; the hands curve up over the breast, one figure has its head turned to the side, the other has a plant design painted on its back.

Quite analogous to this shrine is the shrine of Gournia⁶. It is the only one which seems to have been a public sanctuary, but it must have originated in the domestic cult. It is situated at some distance from the palace on the summit of the town hill. A much-worn, paved road 1 m. 50 wide was discovered running eastwards for about 12 metres. At its end three steps gave access to a small room, 4 metres long by 3 wide, with rudely constructed walls. It seems that there was a raised dais along the southern wall to the right of the entrance, as at Knossos. Although no pottery or other finds were made which permit a certain dating, it is assumed that the shrine belongs to the Late Minoan I period, because no evidence is forthcoming that this part of the hill was re-occupied after the destruction of the town.

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 52, fig. 14.

² *BSA*, VIII, p. 99, fig. 56, No. 3; *Ant. cré.*, III, pl. L, 2.

³ *BSA*, VIII, p. 99, fig. 56. No. 2; *Ant. cré.*, III, pl. L, 3; height 22 cm.

⁴ *Ant. cré.*, III, pl. L, 1.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* 4; *BSA*, VIII, p. 99, fig. 56, No. 1; height 17, 5 cm.

⁶ *Gournia*, plan pl. I, objects pl. XI (here figs. 3 a and b), description pp. 47.

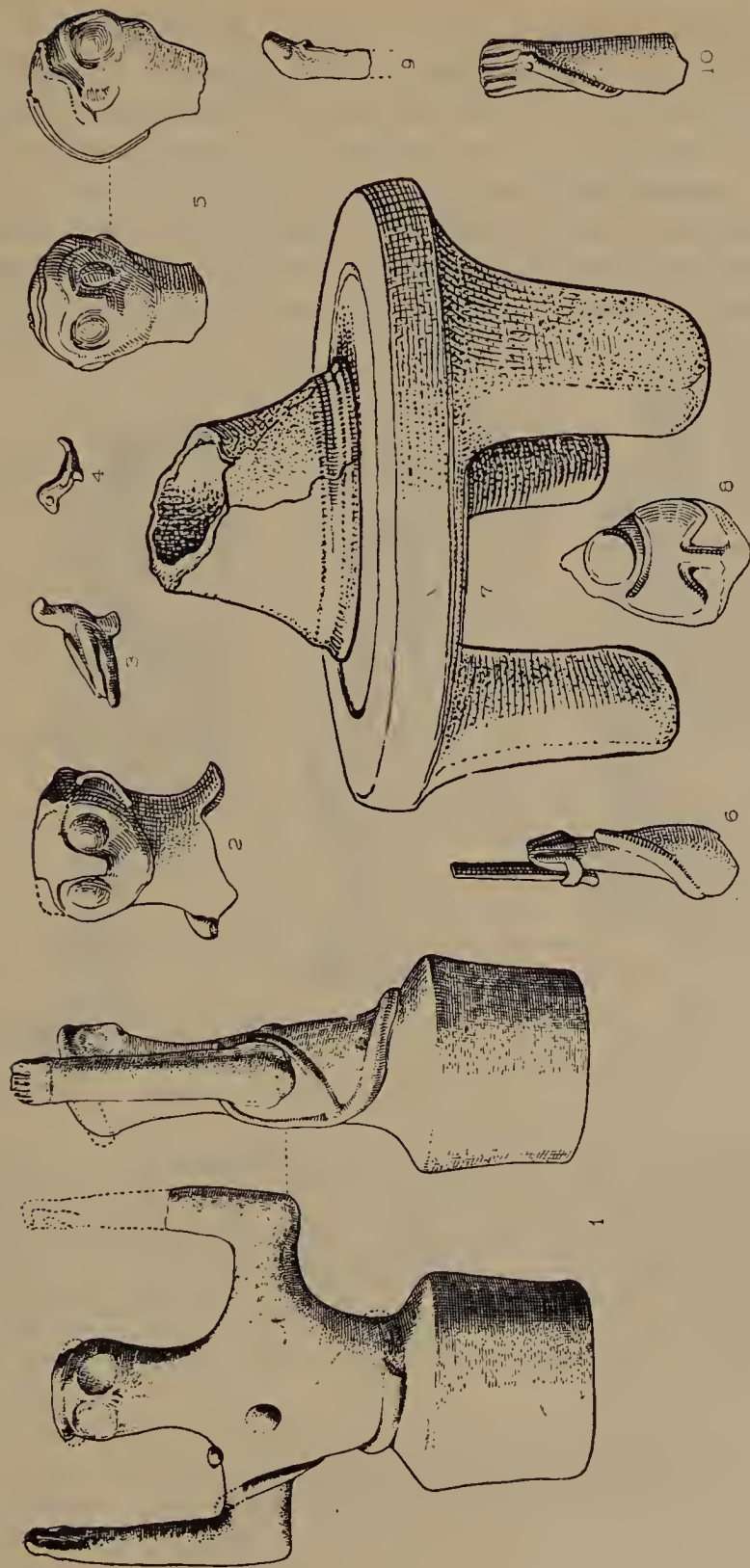


FIG. 3 A. CONTENTS OF THE SHRINE AT GOURNIA.

Some of the cult objects (figs. 3 a and b) were found *in situ*. In the centre stood a low, plastered, earthen table with three legs¹ of almost the same shape as that already mentioned from Knossos, and around it stood three curious tube-shaped vessels and part of a fourth. They have a vertical row of three or four handles or loops on either side, another bigger handle on the back, and above this a pair of horns of consecration; one of these vessels is entwined by two snakes².

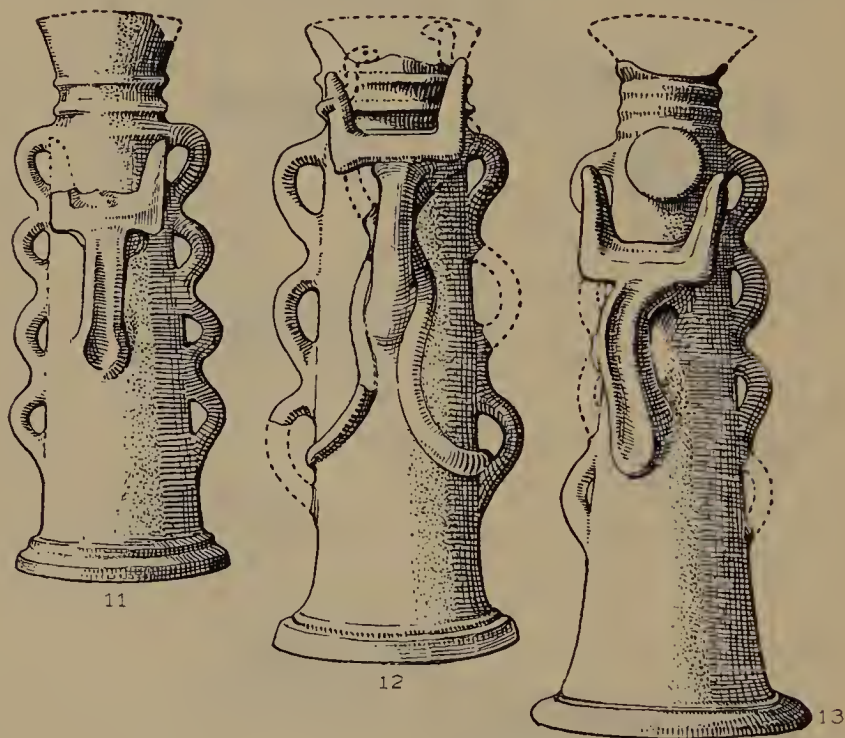


FIG. 3 B. CONTENTS OF THE SHRINE AT GOURNIA.

On the table was the base of a fifth similar vase. The other objects do not seem to have been found *in situ*. The most notable of these is a bellshaped female idol similar to those from Knossos but ruder and unpainted³. Both hands are raised in the same manner, the one is broken off at the middle of the forearm. A snake is twined about the body of the

¹ *Gournia*, pl. XI, 7.

² *Ibid.* 11, 12, 13; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. XXXVI.

³ *Gournia*, pl. XI, 1; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. XXXVI, 3.

figure. Further finds were two heads of the same type¹, three arms and hands², bases of other figures, four small birds³, two snakes' heads⁴, and a fragment of a clay *pithos* decorated with a double axe, above which is a round disc⁵.

In the S. E. angle of the Knossian palace a house of M. M. III date was unearthed which has sacral connexions⁶, as is shown by ritual implements discovered here; but it must be observed that they were not found together in one room, and that they belong to different ages. In one chamber (L on the plan) a pair of limestone horns of consecration was found; it is assumed that it was once placed on a small platform consisting of earthenware sherds that had the appearance of having been rounded in water. The floor of this room was at a higher level, and was strewn with remains of a stirrup vase adorned with a degraded version of the usual octopus design. If a sanctuary is to be recognized here, which seems probable, it belongs to the Reoccupation period. The pillar room C I with its contents is described below (p. 202).

Most famous is the so-called Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos⁷, the contents of which are in reality a deposit. On the western side of the Central Court of the palace, opposite to the central altar base, there is a recess in which were found the seal impressions representing a Goddess on a mountain guarded by two lions. Behind this recess there are two small chambers; in one of these two small stone cists were found in 1901. Two years later two other much bigger cists were discovered; the eastern one 1 m. 52 deep and 1 m. 43 broad by 1 m. 90 long consisted of interlocking slabs, the western one 1 m. 50 deep and 1 m. 37 broad by 1 m. 76 long was of still more solid construction, being built of massive blocks. The stratification was the same in both cists. First came a surface layer of red burnt earth, then a darker stratum, 1 m. 10

¹ *Ibid.* 2 and 5.

² *Ibid.* 6 and 10.

³ *Ibid.* 3 and 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* 9.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8.

⁶ *BSA*, IX, pp. 3; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 425.

⁷ *BSA*, IX, pp. 35; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 463.

deep, filled with vessels, and below this a fatty layer with a mass of precious relics, 42 cm. deep. The vessels, which were almost exclusively two-handled amphoras and pitchers, belonged to the late Middle Minoan III; besides these there were some Melian 'bird-vases'. The contents of the lowest layer were wholly different in the two cists. The western cist was a treasure chest which contained a large amount of gold foil, crystal plaques destined for intarsia work, and various objects of ivory and bone. Faïence was wanting, except the upper part of the Snake Goddess herself. There seems to have been some confusion in stowing away the objects. Further the western repository contained four inscriptions of the Linear class A, 150 clay seal impressions, partly of religious significance¹, and a series of steatite libation tables, small receptacles tapering downwards, and with a shallow cup-like hollow with a raised rim on the square upper face, and an equal-armed cross of white and dark grey veined marble (a part of one arm had, however, been broken off and is restored); burnt corn was also found in some abundance. Great quantities of painted sea-shells were found in both repositories; it is supposed that the floor of the shrine was spread with them, as it is spread with pebbles in other sanctuaries or with water-worn sherds in the supposed L. M. III shrine in the South East house.

The eastern repository contained a hoard of faïence objects of the best fabric. Most of them were beads, vessels, small bowls, ewers, chalices, shells, flying fishes; and further the beautiful panels representing a cow with her calf and a goat with her kids. Whether these objects *per se* have any religious significance seems very doubtful, although Sir A. Evans cites in comparison the cow of the Egyptian goddess Hathor and recognizes a marine aspect in the cult². The interest centres around the two female faïence figures with snakes and their belongings³. The figure which certainly represents a goddess is 34,²

¹ According to *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 495; according to *BSA*, IX, p. 51, they were found in the eastern repository.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 512 and p. 521.

³ *BSA*, IX, pp. 74, figs. 54—57; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 500, figs. 359—362 and frontispiece.

cm. high; it wears a high tiara, a necklace and a dress consisting of an embroidered bodice with a laced corset, and a skirt with a kind of double apron; the hair falls down behind on to the shoulders, and the breasts are very full and almost bare. Three snakes are coiled around the figure. The head of one of these she holds in her right hand, its body follows the arm upwards, then descends behind the shoulders, and ascends again to the left arm which held the tail (the forearm with the tail is restored). Round the hips below the waist two other snakes are interlaced to form a girdle. One of these whose head appears in the centre of this serpentine girdle is continued in a festoon down the front of the apron, and thence ascending along the edge of the bodice to the neck coils its tail around the right ear. The third snake whose tail-end forms part of the plaitwork about the hips runs up along the left fringe of the bodice over the left ear and coils up round the tiara. The head which once was projecting from the summit of the tiara is restored.

The other figure is somewhat smaller (height 20 cm.) and slimmer. Bodice, corset and breasts are similar to those of the goddess; the hips are surrounded by a girdle, she wears a flounced skirt and above this a double apron, and the hair falls down behind to the hips. In her right arm, which is adorned with a bracelet, she holds out a small snake, tail upwards. The left forearm is wanting but doubtless held out a snake in a similar manner. The figure was found and first published without the head. Later it was discovered that a part of a flat head piece showing a series of raised medallions belonged to this figure. Moreover this head piece had a circular rivet hole in its flat upper surface which answered to the base of a miniature lioness or spotted pard from the same repository. Thus the restoration of a quite unique head dress was suggested. If this restoration is well founded, the customary identification of the figure as a votary must be reconsidered. Remains of a third statuette of which the upper part of the body is wanting showed a skirt and apron exactly resembling those of the goddess.

For determining the character of these figures some objects

found together with them, votive robes and girdles¹, are of great importance. The robes are formed of two pieces superposed on one another at the junction of the two layers of the double girdle; both halves show a small perforation going right down the centre, evidently for the string by which the garment was suspended. The upper part is a simplification of the bodice, the girdle is formed of a double roll, and the skirt falls like a kind of arched canopy on either side of a panel enclosing floral designs. The height of the upper and lower robes together was in one case 23 cm.; a part of a larger robe was found which when complete must have measured about 30,⁵ cm., and a more complete smaller one, of which only the upper part of the jacket was wanting, was about 23 cm. long. Two separate girdles consist of double rolls decorated one with crocuses and the other with rosettes; of a third only a fragment is preserved.

The significance of this unique discovery is to be discussed in a later place; meanwhile we turn to other certain or supposed sanctuaries in the palace of Knossos and the adjacent buildings.

In an area to the north of the East-West Corridor structures from M. M. III have been superimposed upon older M. M. II constructions, the chief room of which is known by the name of the Loom Weight Basement from the masses of loom weights which were found here. The M. M. II pavement is 2 m. 20 beneath the floor of the later basements; between the uppermost deposit containing M. M. II objects and the M. M. III basement floor there was an earth filling 70 cm. deep. This area is especially important for the stratification². In the Loom Weight Basement there was a raised dais 19 cm. high which evidently had served as a stand for pottery, masses of which were found immediately above it. Of great religious importance are some terracotta objects which from the position in which the remains were discovered must have originally had their place on the floor of the M. M. II room above this basement³. These remains, which were much broken, contain fragments of one

¹ *BSA*, IX, p. 82, fig. 58; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 506, fig. 364.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 248.

³ *BSA*, VIII, pp. 28; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 221, fig. 166.

(or more) models of a shrine, altars, columns, and a portable seat. The shrine model shows two storeys: the lower one is painted in imitation of chequer-work masonry and has a projecting base and cornice on which a row of disks representing the beam-ends are painted; the upper storey has a row of window-slits and on another side narrow fields painted white with a horizontal row of round disks. The shrine was surmounted by pairs of horns of consecration. A fragmentary square altar also has a base and a cornice and is painted with similar chequers and has horns of consecration on the sides of the upper face. A base with incurving sides shows a typical form of the Minoan altar. The most important object is a group of three columns on a common base supporting in each case above the square capital the round ends of a pair of beams on which a bird is perched. Besides this group fragments of seven columns of different sizes were found. Lastly there is a very curious object, a model of a portable seat. There are also fragments of miniature triton shells of painted terracotta and a series of miniature vessels¹. These relics are supposed to be derived from a sanctuary, called the Shrine of the Dove Goddess.

It seems doubtful whether these objects, although their religious significance is certain, belong to a shrine. If there was any such shrine, it was in the upper storey and vanished when its floor broke through into the basement. In the same room, but under less definite stratigraphic conditions, were found the numerous fragments of the famous town mosaic, which Sir A. Evans connects with the shrine model, and moreover some four hundred loom weights immediately above the relics belonging to the basement proper. It must either be supposed that there were two storeys above the basement and that the sacred objects came from the one which contained the shrine, and the loom weights from the other; or, if all objects derive from the same storey, that it was some kind of store chamber or at any rate not a sanctuary in the proper sense. From the position in which these objects were found, they must be described as a deposit, though possibly they derive from a sanctuary.

Another part of the palace where Sir A. Evans infers the

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 252, fig. 191 (sides).

existence of a sanctuary is in the West Court above the magazines 11 to 16. These magazines jut out into the West Court and form a separate section, the northern and southern walls of which are of abnormal thickness. This answers to a structural unit above, and Sir A. Evans bases his view of this structure as a sanctuary upon the character of the fallen fragments of wall paintings, which represent a shrine with horns of consecration and columns into the capitals of which double axes are stuck¹. He says further that in the early part of the Late Minoan period a small shrine seems to have existed in the N. E. angle of this area, of which parts of the stone frieze and other architectural fragments were found in a space below, together with L. M. II amphoras, on some of which double axes form a principal part of the decoration. As the miniature frescoes with another well known representation of a Minoan shrine² were found immediately west of the northern entrance passage, into which they had fallen from an upper storey, Sir A. Evans supposes even here a sacral connexion. Since the West wing of the palace also contains the Throne Room, the Temple repositories, and farther southwards the room with the double axe pillars, a special sacral importance is ascribed to this whole complex³.

On the hillside opposite to the palace of Knossos in a northerly direction an extensive building was discovered to which the name of 'the Little Palace' was given. In this there is a so-called bath-room, a sunken quadrangular area with balustrades on three sides⁴. The west side is the wall of the room; in the northern balustrade there is an opening through which steps lead down into the sunken area; the western balustrade separates the area from a corridor. On the outer half of this balustrade and between the three wooden columns which once stood on it a wall was erected in the last Minoan age converting the sunken area into a closed room which served as

¹ *BSA*, X, pp. 42, fig. 14, and pl. II; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 445 and fig. 321; cf. below, p. 148.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 193, fig. 66, and pl. V.

³ See especially *BSA*, X, pp. 43.

⁴ *BSA*, XI, pp. 2; Evans, *The Tomb of the Double Axes and Pillar Rooms etc.*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, pp. 59.

a sanctuary. On the southern balustrade, which formed a kind of ledge, a pair of plaster horns of consecration, a rude figure of a Cretan wild goat (*agrimi*) of painted clay, besides fragments of others, and a natural concretion grotesquely resembling an infant were found. Three other similar but smaller concretions of quasi-human appearance had fallen down into the sunken area, while the largest and principal figure, roughly resembling a woman of ample and matronly contours, had fallen over the wall into the adjacent room. These figures also had their places on the balustrade and fell down at the final destruction of the building. There cannot be any reasonable doubt that these concretions were chosen as idols in virtue of their quasi-human appearance and that the room deserves the name of the Fetish Shrine which Sir A. Evans gave to it. In the sunken area, or on its border, certain earlier relics were also found which may indicate a sacral use of the room in an earlier age, — among others fragmentary seal-impressions, one of which shows part of the façade of a pillar shrine, and another part of a group of lions confronting each other and guarding a rocky base.

The other rooms in the palace of Knossos or the adjoining buildings which are considered as serving religious purposes are the pillar rooms which will be discussed below (p. 201) and the so-called 'bath-rooms'. These latter are an outstanding feature in Minoan architecture but their purpose is most enigmatical. They occur in many other buildings; there is no reason for enumerating them because they all are alike: a sunken area approached by a staircase and sometimes flanked by balustrades with columns. In the palaces of Knossos and Phaestus there are several of them, e. g. one belonging to the earlier palace of Knossos and built over already in the later part of Middle Minoan III,¹ to the west of the northern entrance — it is the largest of them all, 2 metres deep and 2 m. 5 square —, another from Late Minoan in the Throne room², a third in the S. E. part near to the later Shrine of the Double Axes³. That in the Little Palace has already been mentioned.

¹ *BSA*, VII, pp. 60; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 217 and pp. 406.

² *BSA*, VI pp. 38; Evans, *ibid.* pp. 4.

³ *BSA*, VII, p. 62, fig. 19; Evans, *ibid.* pp. 574.

In the early days of the excavations these sunken areas were called *impluvia*, because they show a certain analogy to the *impluvium* of the Roman atrium¹. This was soon found to be erroneous², and they were explained as bathing tanks. But this explanation also had to be abandoned because there is no inlet or outlet for water and numerous finds show that the Minoans were in the habit of bathing in tubs. Now Sir A. Evans considers these sunken areas as having a religious purpose and calls them lustral basins. The basin in the S. E. part is situated in a part of the palace where a shrine was set up at a later date and which perhaps also in an earlier age had been some sort of sanctuary. Of the basin near the northern entrance Sir A. Evans says that it seems to have been the scene of lustral functions performed by pilgrims and others approaching the Palace Sanctuary with religious intent. The Throne Room with its basin is the centre of the conglomeration of small shrines that form the West wing of the palace. Sir A. Evans adduces as a close analogy the Hall of Initiation discovered in the sanctuary of Mên Askaēnos near Antioch in Pisidia in which there were a throne in the middle and a basin at one side drained by a channel³.

This explanation also seems doubtful, though I have no other to put in its place. If these basins which are from two to two and a half metres square had contained water some means of drainage was to be expected, but there are none. Moreover many of them at least are built or plastered with gypsum blocks and slabs⁴, and it is well known that gypsum

¹ *BSA*, VI, p. 38.

² Cf. *BSA*, XI, p. 8.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 4; the sanctuary *BSA*, XVIII, pp. 39.

⁴ The basin near the northern entrance is paved with gypsum slabs and the walls have a gypsum lining, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 408. The walls of the basin in the Throne Room are constructed of gypsum slabs, *BSA*, VI, pp. 38. The sunken area in the Little Palace seems originally to have been paved with gypsum slabs, Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes, Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 61. The gypsum slabs of the pavement of the so-called 'bath-room of the Ladies' north of the Central Court in the palace of Phaestus are in a perfect state of preservation, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 384. In the two bath rooms of the S. W. wing (plans 19 and 21) no pavement was found, and the walls have a clay coating, *ibid.* XII, p. 45.

was only used in those parts of the buildings which were protected by roofs because it is destroyed by water; the floors of the light-wells are therefore recognisable on account of their being cemented. Every one who has seen the terrible weathering of the door jambs and other gypsum blocks in the palaces of Phaestus and H. Triada which are left without shelter exposed to the rain must realise that they will be completely ruined in quite a few years. Even if the water needed for lustration and splashed about in the purifications may not have amounted to much, it is by no means sure whether the gypsum blocks would have been able to stand the constant wetting. At all events the use of gypsum in constructions which were intended to be constantly exposed to water is contrary to the foresight with which the Minoan architects chose and used their materials, especially with regard to their capacity or inability to withstand the action of water.

The most interesting constructions of a sacral character in the palace of Phaestus are a group of four small chambers, three of which lie in a row in front of and one behind the boundary wall of the earlier palace. In the time of the later palace they were buried beneath the West Court¹. According to the vases found in it this sanctuary belongs to Middle Minoan II. The

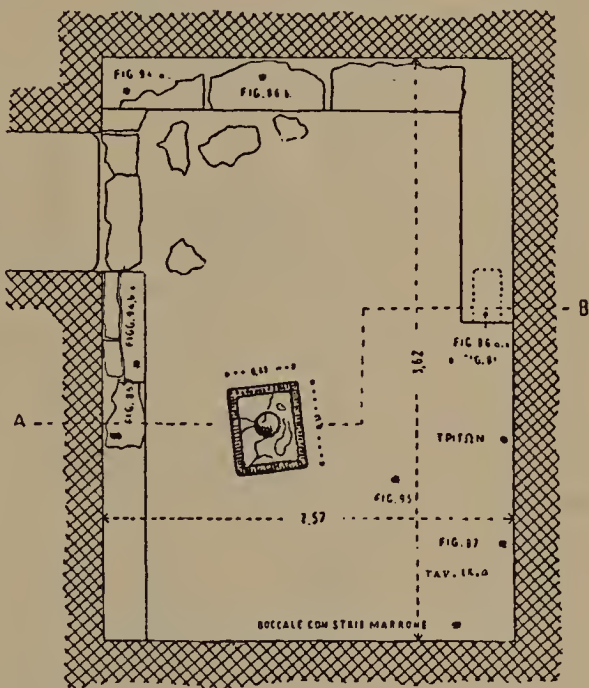


FIG. 4. THE INNER ROOM OF THE SANCTUARY AT PHAESTUS.

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XII, pp. 33; XIV, pp. 405, figs. 37—39; the implements pp. 477, figs. 86—95, some of the vessels *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. X. Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 218, figs. 163—165 (plans). A view of the ruins *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pl. XXIX and XXX; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. II.

southernmost room has its door in its southern face and is not accessible from the middle one. The entrance to this middle room is on its west side; on the left of this is the door leading to the northernmost room, while opposite through the back wall, which at the same time is the boundary wall of the earlier palace, is the door to the inner room. The three chambers west of the wall are less important. In the southernmost room several vase fragments, a small trapezoidal tablet of white marble with slightly raised edges¹, stone fragments and carbonized animal bones were found; in the northernmost only vases and vase sherds². The middle room has benches along its western and eastern walls; at the end of the latter there is a small quadrangular basin. In this room were found several vases of clay and stone, small quadrangular bowls of libation with a circular cavity. This chamber gave access, through an opening in the wall of the Palace façade, to what seems to have been the sanctuary proper (fig. 4). This was a little larger, 3,65 by 2,60 metres. On the western and northern sides and on the northern half of the eastern side there were benches coated with gypsum slabs covered with painted stucco. There are traces of a pavement of gypsum slabs. In the end of the last mentioned bench a niche opened which could be closed with a slab; in this some stone pounders, vessels and seal impressions were found. Some clay and stone vases were found on the benches. In the filling were found fragments of Kamares vases and lamps and one triangular dagger. On the floor numerous sherds of vases occurred. In the middle of the room, embedded in the floor *in situ* there was a quadrangular clay libation-table, the borders of which were stamped with animal designs and S-shaped figures (fig. 9, p. 105)³. On the floor there was also a fine blue steatite libation-bowl decorated with rosettes and tangential loops⁴, and a triton shell. Among the painted pottery there were some miniature vessels.

In the palace of H. Triada (fig. 5) the discovery is re-

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 110, fig. 42.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pp. 341.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pl. XXXVI; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. IX.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 479, fig. 87; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. X, 6.



FIG. 5. PLAN OF THE PALACE OF H. TRIADA.

ported of two shrines situated in the two extremities of the palace the plan of which resembles an L. In the N. E. wing is a small chamber¹ on the threshold of which there is a granite column base unique in form; it is quadrangular, with the angles cut off and stepped. The report of Dr Paribeni² says that it is tempting to try and see a shrine in this room because of the objects found in the neighbourhood, stone bases in the forms of truncated pyramids covered with a painted coating. Remains of terracotta figurines and votive animals of bronze were found dispersed but especially on the lower landing (No. 33) of the great staircase immediately east of this part of the palace³. The votive deposit of this sanctuary is described by Halbherr, who gives no information about the circumstances of the finds⁴. It contained numerous fragments of votive animals, especially oxen and birds, painted with groups of lines and spirals, some fragments of human figurines⁵, and some male heads with the upper lip shaved⁶. If this description is correct, these heads must belong to the very end of the last Minoan period; for the Minoans are always clean shaved, and the custom of letting the beard grow but shaving the upper lip seems to be introduced by the Greeks. On the whole this deposit is said to be richer in types but apparently later than the other.

This second deposit was found in the southernmost part of the palace, which is supposed to be the abode of the slaves and the farm-hands. Here there are some magazines and chambers on both sides of a corridor; it is supposed that a shrine destined for the use of the servants was in one of the chambers to the west of this corridor⁷. This deposit is also summarily described by Halbherr⁸, and is said to be less rich in types but of more

¹ No. 23 on the plan, *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere etc.*, XXI, pl. I (here fig. 5).

² *Rendiconti della R. Acc. dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali etc.*, XII, 1903, p. 338.

³ *Mem. Lomb., loc. cit.*, p. 242.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, pp. 73.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 108, fig. 8; p. 74, figs. 56, 57; pl. XI, 4, 5.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pl. XI, 3.

⁷ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XII, 1913, pp. 323.

⁸ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, pp. 72.

ancient appearance than that of the N. E. shrine. Most conspicuous is a series of bell-shaped female idols with prominent breasts; the arms are opened or stretched forwards, or raised or curved over the breasts¹. The surviving part of the largest of these idols, whose lower half is wanting, is 12 cm. high and shows traces of painting. Beside these female idols, there are two or three terracotta birds painted with red stripes. The character of both these finds is that of a deposit, but especially in the last described case it seems probable that there really was a shrine.

To the east of the court in front of the northern side of the west wing of the palace, on an area called the *piazzale dei sacelli* by the excavators a curious and important discovery was made². Almost in front of the landing of the great staircase east of this wing of the palace there is a curious rectangular construction (No. 39), which has the appearance of an altar, being formed of large slabs set up vertically with a small cavity in the middle. A paved way of great slabs resembling that in the west court of Phaestus, but only in part preserved, comes from the more northerly, unexplored part of the court and abuts on this construction. Around it a series of terracotta and bronze votive figurines was found, and a few metres further westwards on a lower plane deposits of carbonized stuff with fragments of bones occurred. The sign of the double axe was incised in several places on the pavement slabs of this court. Numerous bases of the form on which double axes were commonly set up were found in the ruins below this place. Here we really seem to have a place of sacrificial cult.

Foundation stones and traces of the pavement of another sanctuary were found in the eastern part of the hill with a votive deposit containing rough human and animal figures of bronze and terracotta, human heads, and fragments of terracotta altars with horns. This deposit is later than the second palace, a part of which is covered by the slabs of the pavement³,

¹ *Loc. cit.* fig. 55.

² *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XIV, 1905, p. 370.

³ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, pp. 318.

and consequently belongs to the very latest part of the Minoan age or to the transitional period. The cult continued down into the Greek age, and the subsequent excavations show that it in this age belonged to Zeus Velchanos¹.

Unfortunately the smaller sites of Crete are often neither described nor published in a clear or adequate manner. This is especially the case with Koumasa, whose sanctuary seems to be most interesting but is very imperfectly known. A short second-hand notice not of very recent date² runs to the effect that it consists of several rooms, is plastered, and had a wooden column in the middle, the base of which is still *in situ*: a tube-shaped idol and a table of offering still stood in their places; other idols surrounded by snakes and similar to those from Gournia and the later ones from Prinia show that the cult continued down into the late Minoan age. It is not, however, possible to make a sure inference as to the date from these idols, since owing to religious conservatism they retained the same form through a long period of time. The explorer of the site, Xanthoudides, has recently given some short notices about it, and published the objects found (fig. 6)³. In searching for the settlement to which the *tholos* tombs of Koumasa belong he undertook trial excavations on the twin-peaked hill called Korakiés. On one of the peaks he discovered an extensive settlement of Middle and even Late Minoan date; on the other peak it would appear, he says, that there was a Middle Minoan shrine — the sanctuary in question — in which were found two tube-shaped vessels with vertical rows of four handles like those from Gournia and Prinia, two other similar vessels but without the loops, another elongated conical object of clay, a fragment of a sacred table of clay like the sacred table from the M. M. shrine at Phaestus, a sacred vessel of stone like another from the same shrine, a stone object like a pulley, and a few M. M. clay vases. Unfortunately nothing is said of the structures and

¹ *Loc. cit.*, XIV, 1905, pp. 380; cf. below, ch. XIV: 2.

² *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, p. 108.

³ Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, pp. 49 and pl. XXXIII.

other circumstances of the discovery, but Xanthoudides promises to discuss them elsewhere.



FIG. 6. CONTENTS OF A SHRINE FROM KOUMASA.

On a foot hill of Mt. Juktas at Trullos near the village of Arkhanes there is according to Sir A. Evans¹ a small palace

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 623.

with a sanctuary where an important sacral vessel was found¹ amidst Middle Minoan III pottery. He thinks that this sanctuary stands in a special relation to the peak sanctuary of the mountain as a starting point for pilgrims.

In the island of Pseira what was probably a domestic shrine has been found and is described as follows:² in house BR 4 pieces of a large clay bull's head were found near a narrow ledge of small beach pebbles which may have served a religious purpose, as the late shrine of Knossos shows that such pebbles were employed for altars. Near this ledge a triton shell cut out inside to form a vessel was found, and this again recalls the shrine of the Snake Goddess. The inference is made on rather slight grounds.

The little palace discovered at Nirou Khani some twelve kilometres east of Candia is described by Sir A. Evans as a sanctuary building of late Minoan I date replete with cult objects³. Although numerous tables of offering of the common round three-legged type — in one room three were found standing on a ledge — and four very large votive double axes of bronze were found in this palace, there seems hardly any evidence that any room of the building was especially destined for the cult. But a very interesting construction is built against the southern wall of the East Court — namely, some steps which lean against the wall and of which the middle part projects into the court⁴. In the right angle between these projecting steps in the middle and the longer ones at either side part of a very large pair of horns of consecration was found. The object was composed of two parts, of which only one is preserved, and the top of the horn is broken off. It may be suggested that the horns once stood upon the uppermost step, and consequently that the structure was a kind of altar.

This step-structure recalls not only the altar in the N. W.

¹ A 'ladle', see below, pp. 104.

² Seager, *Excavations on the Island of Pseira*, pp. 24.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 437 and 59; Xanthoudides, *Μινωικόν μέγαρον Νήρου*, *Eph. arch.*, 1922, pp. 1.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, plan p. 3, view p. 4, fig. 2.

angle of the Central Court¹, but also the large staircase against a wall on the northern side of the West Court of the palace at Phaestus. For a paved way of great slabs, which are slightly raised above the surface of the court, leads from the west porch of the earlier palace and abutting on the staircase continues upwards, the slabs of this continuation of the road being slightly raised above the normal surface of the long steps². A comparison with the construction at Nirou Khani, if the latter be rightly interpreted, may suggest that the raised steps of the large staircase also denote some sacred place.

In one of the rooms of the oval house at Chamaizi Sitias a broken table of offering was found and by the wall a layer of ash; the table resembles a very thick plate, and instead of legs it has two staff-like bars on its lower side³. Xanthoudides thinks that this may have been a domestic shrine, and that the idols, two male, one female, and a head, which were found outside the house⁴, come from here. The case is of course somewhat uncertain. Sir A. Evans may be right in calling the table simply a movable clay hearth⁵. The finds belong to Middle Minoan I.

At Mallia very interesting excavations which were begun by Hazzidakis and continued by the French School are now going on. A short preliminary report⁶ says that a small shrine resembling the 'Queen's Bath-room' at Knossos was found, perhaps only an ordinary so-called bath-room. Hazzidakis speaks of another small room which he supposes to be a domestic shrine because plenty of ash and numerous conical miniature vessels, and beside these, perforated pieces of

¹ See below, pp. 99.

² See the plan *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pl. XXVII; the narrow raised steps are visible just to the left on the view *ibid.*, XII, pl. III. It must be remembered that the long steps continue along to the left, so that the raised steps are more or less in the middle of the staircase; the excavation had not proceeded so far when the picture was taken.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1906, pp. 123 and 143; pl. VIII, 6.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 136, figs. 3-6.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 147.

⁶ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 524.

bronze were found in it ¹. In 1922 a most interesting discovery was made ², near the above mentioned bath-room. There was a room with thick walls of primitive appearance, which seem to have often been repaired, and one single entrance. An unshapely baetyl stood erect on a quadrangular base; about it there were vases from Early Minoan downwards, one with a hieroglyphic inscription; clay tablets with inscriptions were found in the same place, and further votive discs with a figure of an animal on one side and an inscription on the other, and others with seal impressions on the rim. The entrance had a portico with two wooden columns, the vestiges of which could be discerned on the pavement; they formed the frame of a baetyl marked with the deeply cut sign of a trident. The last quoted remark is not sufficiently clear, but it may be hoped that fuller details will soon be published concerning this apparently important discovery.

In the palace of Tyliossos many objects of religious importance were found, but, so it seems, dispersed and not under such conditions, as to admit of any room being identified as a shrine. The principal objects were two tables of offering resembling a lamp with a high stem, a quadrangular stone vessel with a narrow base, a pair of horns of consecration, a stepped base of steatite, double axes of sheet bronze, and a series of Middle Minoan idols comprising fragments of human and animal figurines, and those enigmatical bell-shaped objects which are known also from other sites ³. These objects were found in the rubble outside the house. Peculiarly interesting is a male clay figure inscribed with two linear signs of class A, clearly a votive figure ⁴. Although it is not possible to designate any particular room as a shrine, it will be safe to presume that a cult was carried on in the palace of Tyliossos.

¹ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, *App.* II, p. 16.

² Summary report *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 533.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 217, figs. 22 a and β, 23 β; p. 219, fig. 26; p. 218, fig. 25; p. 222, fig. 32; p. 229, fig. 37; Hazzidakis, *Tyliossos* (French translation of the same article), p. 47, figs. 22 a and c; p. 48, fig. 23 b; p. 51, fig. 26; p. 50, fig. 25; p. 59, fig. 32; p. 72, fig. 37.

⁴ Published by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 634, fig. 472.

There are some, though less evident, traces of a cult in the houses of Palaikastro. A narrow slit between room 20 in block β ¹ and the so-called megaron 6 contained four dozen plain cups and many other fragments packed in rouleaux, taller cups and jugs, bones of sheep and goats, bits of obsidian and pumice, a tiny lamp, and near the bottom fragments of a pair of horns of consecration. It seems to be a store room². Room 42 in the same block contained a trough with three cup-like depressions, possibly a table of offering, since near it were a miniature pair of horns of consecration and two pieces of stalactite brought perhaps from a cave sanctuary³. Room 44 in block δ ⁴ seems more certainly to be a domestic shrine. Here were found together with vases of early Late Minoan III the remains of forty-four rough conical-shaped cups, which had all been broken off some flat-topped linear support to which they originally were fastened. Mr Dawkins has already seen that they belonged to *kernoi*, and afterwards it was possible to piece together one such *kernos* from the fragments⁵. Besides these *kernoi* a so-called lamp-cover was found⁶. Most interesting is a series of terracottas, three female figures with outstretched arms, another long-robed figure, which was first called a snake-goddess but was found to be a lyre-player, and six birds of various sizes. The lower parts of three similar figures were found elsewhere. The figures stood on some sort of clay support as may be seen from the roughness of their bases. A fragment of a curved base may have belonged to this group or to another of which fragments were found, three odd arms and the head and breast of a woman whose hands were held to her breasts. From these fragments a group has been reconstructed showing three women dancing around the lyre-player in the middle. More doubtful is the reconstruction

¹ See plan *BSA*, IX, pl. VI.

² *BSA*, VIII, p. 314.

³ *BSA*, IX, p. 289.

⁴ *BSA*, X, pp. 216; *BSA*, *Suppl.* I, pp. 88.

⁵ *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, p. 90, fig. 75.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 74.

which puts one of the birds in the open space of the ring of dancing women (fig. 7) ¹.

The archaeological evidence for this domestic cult varies very much from quite certain to some rather uncertain and dubious cases. However, the instances are on the whole so numerous that there is reason to suggest that not only every palace but also private houses had a cult of some kind. Characteristic of these domestic cults are the horns of consecra-



FIG. 7. GROUP FROM PALAIKASTRO, RECONSTRUCTED.

tion and the tables of offering of some shape or other which occur almost everywhere, and to some extent the miniature vases. As for the deity venerated there is one characteristic idol, the bell-shaped type; sometimes the representation is less crude. The deity is female and accompanied by snakes and birds. It is curious that this crude form was preserved in an age which had attained to such artistic skill as the Minoan,

¹ A. Mosso, *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo e gli scavi di Creta*, p. 225, fig. 124; and *Palaces of Crete*, p. 282, fig. 136; without the bird *BSA, Suppl.*, I, p. 88, fig. 71.

though some of the objects belong to Late Minoan III, but this is to be explained by the same religious conservatism which in the classical age caused the crude wooden *xoana* to be considered the holiest and most venerable of all images and, to take an instance from the Minoan age, caused the officiants of the cult to dress themselves in animal hides.

CHAPTER III.

ALTARS, TABLES OF OFFERING, AND SACRAL VESSELS.

The cult needs an altar. In the classical age there were altars of different kinds, fixed and portable, and of varying forms. We shall presently see that the case was the same in the Minoan age. Fixed altars built of stones or blocks or slabs are recognized in many places. We have already mentioned constructions which must be considered as altars in the cave of Psychro and in the so-called cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos, and in the court of the palace of H. Triada¹. Where we find a quadrangular construction of some height upon which nothing has been superimposed, we may often infer that it was an altar. Sir A. Evans recognizes several such altar bases in the palace of Knossos, one in the West Court opposite the fourth magazine², another in the same court more towards the north³, a third in the middle of the Central Court facing the recess behind which the temple repositories were found, and a fourth in the Court of the Altar in the S. W. part⁴.

In the angle formed by the lowest step of the great staircase on the north side of the West Court at Phaestus and the wall on its western side there is a quadrangular base of rough stones which is tentatively described as an altar⁵. This cer-

¹ Above, pp. 56, 54, and 89.

² *BSA*, VI, p. 9, fig. 1.

³ *BSA*, VII, p. 5; 1,90 by 1,72 m., built of limestone blocks.

⁴ *BSA*, VII, p. 21. See the plans, especially *BSA*, IX, p. 37. But the supposed altar before the Shrine of the Double Axes has shown itself to be the central pavement of a chamber or lobby belonging to the earlier palace; see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 574.

⁵ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pp. 330 and fig. 9.

tainly seems rather doubtful. It is more probable that a construction in the N. W. angle of the Central Court (fig. 8) is an altar¹. In this angle two great blocks of limestone are superimposed on one another forming a cube more than one metre high; in front of these to the east along the north wall there are two slightly narrower blocks of which the lower is twice as long as the upper, which is on the same level as the cube. The structure consequently shows steps like those which are



FIG. 8. ALTAR IN THE N. W. ANGLE OF THE CENTRAL COURT AT PHAESTUS.

seen on the altar of the sarcophagus from H. Triada. Upon this construction several objects were found: a remarkable table of libation² and fragments of others, fragments of three painted animal figures, and a vessel in the form of a horse³.

As for the altars in the palaces of Knossos and Phaestus no direct evidence is forthcoming that they were altars; there

¹ It is to be seen in the illustration *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pl. XXIX, 2, and especially well pl. XXXI, 2. Cf. the construction in the court of the palace at Nirou Khani, above, pp. 92.

² See below, p. 112, and fig. 30, p. 129.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XII, pp. 62 and 127, fig. 54, p. 118, fig. 47.

are no layers of ash or carbonized bones or votive offerings such as are left round altars of the archaic Greek age and in the Minoan age round the altar in the cave of Psychro and that in the court of the palace of H. Triada¹. This remark is not meant to throw doubt upon the view that these constructions were altars, which may be regarded as probable. The remains of the sacrifices must of course have been removed since the courts of the palaces had to be cleaned. It must, however, be pointed out that the identification is supported only by general inferences from their appearance.

For more definite evidence concerning the altars and their varying types we must turn to the examples shown in representations of cult scenes with which certain finds of small, portable altars are to be compared. On one side of the sarcophagus from H. Triada² three men with offerings are seen approaching a god or hero standing in front of his shrine. Before him there is a square altar of ashlar masonry; the front side has three steps, the bottom one being the highest; the back is lost but must have been straight. A stray find from Knossos, a fragment of a steatite pyxis³, shows an altar some distance in front of an enclosure wall behind which a tree rises. The altar is quadrangular, built of square blocks; on top is a slab which projects a little beyond the body of the altar, to form the surface; on this stands a pair of horns of consecration.

On the other side of the H. Triada sarcophagus a priestess is seen performing a sacrifice at an altar on which a basket is standing, while another basket and a libation jug appear in the free space above the altar, but this is certainly a conventional artistic representation; they must be thought of as standing on the altar. The altar is square, the upper part being a little larger than the body so as to form a projecting cornice; the base, which does not project, is indicated as a separate part by means of painting; it is divided into three zones, red and yellow, separated by black lines. The main part between the base and the cornice is divided vertically into three fields of

¹ See above, p. 56 and p. 89 respectively.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pl. I—III (in colours); *Ant. créét.*, II, pl. XLIV et seq.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 103, fig. 2.

which those at each angle are again divided by black lines into three stripes, two yellow, and the innermost white. The yellow zones give an impression of being posts or boards. The somewhat larger middle field is decorated with a spiral meander. The construction with the holy tree behind this altar is taken by Dr Paribeni to be a second altar; it will be discussed below¹. It is represented in a similar manner, but has no base and above the body there is a row of round disks resembling the projecting ends of beams. This is probably meant to imitate a construction of stone coated with painted stucco.

The altar model from the so-called Shrine of the Dove Goddess at Knossos² is similar to these altars. It shows a projecting base and a cornice, the latter evidently being part of the slab which forms its upper surface; on each side of this slab there is a pair of horns of consecration. On the body of the altar there are traces of painted chequer work, and the angles are formed of what may be described as narrow posts. The type of altar here implied would seem to consist of a body of rubble masonry coated with painted stucco and capped by a stone slab. The angles were protected by narrow boards, a usual feature of this kind of architecture; but it may be that these protecting boards have dwindled down to a purely ornamental decoration. The square blocks, on which daemons are pouring out libations, shown on a glass plaque from a tomb in the lower town of Mycenae³ may be altars, although Sir A. Evans regards them as pillars. An ivory seal from Phylakopi (fig. 36)⁴ shows an altar with horns of consecration consisting of chevrons and irregular ovals, probably representing rough stones. Apart from the horns of consecration all the altars described have a striking resemblance to the altars of the Greek age.

Another common form is a small round altar with a strongly incurving middle part; it seems to have been portable. Such an altar stands before the goddess on the painted limestone tablet from Mycenae⁵ and also, together with a pair of horns

¹ Below, pp. 228 and 233.

² Above, p. 81; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 220, fig. 166 A.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 117, fig. 13.

⁴ *Excavations at Phylakopi, JHS, Suppl.*, IV, p. 193, fig. 162.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1887, pl. X, 2; *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, pl. VIII.

of consecration and some sacred boughs, before a woman blowing a shell trumpet on an intaglio from the Idaean cave¹. A fragment of a relief *pithos* from the cave of Psychro² shows a similar altar upon which a pair of horns of consecration stands; the points of the horns are wanting, and between them there is an undefined object which seems to be some sort of offering. A model altar of this kind was found in the so-called Shrine of the Dove Goddess at Knossos³, and if the object from Zakro which Dr Hogarth identifies as an altar really is one, it belongs to this class, though the sides are less incurving⁴. There is certainly a formal connection between these altars and the tables of offering of the shape of a standing lamp⁵; they may be said to be a taller and slimmer variant of the same type.

On a gem from Vaphio⁶ two daemons are seen watering the sacred boughs set up between the horns of consecration. These are placed upon an altar the upper part of which resembles those already mentioned, but its base is reduced to a button-like shape. It may perhaps be said that here this is due to the want of space along the edge of the gem between the feet of the daemons, but on the other hand tables of offering of precisely this shape occur, e. g. that from H. Nikolaos⁷ and one unpublished from Zakro. Bases of both these forms occur further on gems showing the heraldic scheme, the animals standing with their forefeet upon them⁸.

As regards the tables of offering and the vases of libation the case is reversed. Such vases, except the high-necked libation jug which forms a very special type, are not found in the representations of cult scenes. With regard to shapes, the

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 142, fig. 25; *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 222, fig. 167.

² *BSA*, VI, p. 104, fig. 34, 4; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXX, 9; cf. below, p. 143.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 220, fig. 166 H.

⁴ *BSA*, VII, p. 136, fig. 47.

⁵ Cf. below, p. 107; e. g. from Tylissos, *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 217, figs. 22 *a* and *β*.

⁶ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 101, fig. 1.

⁷ *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, p. 138, fig. 119.

⁸ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 158, figs. 36—38.

real reason why some are considered appropriate for religious implements only is their unfitness for practical use, e. g. the composite vessels; that some types are destined for religious use is shown by their being commonly found in sanctuaries and deposits of sacral character. Sometimes both conditions coincide, e. g. as in the case of the miniature vessels found in the Loom Weight area in the palace of Knossos together with the deposit of the Shrine of the Dove Goddess, in the shrine of Phaestus, at Petsofa, and in other places. In the Greek age miniature vases are also commonly found in sanctuaries; but there they are rather to be regarded as votive objects than as cult implements.

The vessels etc. which can be considered as cult implements proper may be divided into two classes: single and composite. I begin with the former class and with that type of vessel which has been found *in situ* among the cult implements of the shrines, a round table of plaster or clay with a shallow depression on the surface and three short legs. Such a table was found in the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, its feet being embedded in the raised dais in front of the ledge on which the idols and the horns of consecration stood; and also in the middle of the shrine at Gournia surrounded by cult implements¹. In the small palace of Nirou Khani a great number was found closely stacked together in piles of five, many only in fragments². Of the complete specimens some are unusually large with a diameter of nearly a metre, seven others have a diameter of about half a metre. The rim is painted and shows on its upper surface a black and a white zone and on the side three zones, alternately red, white, and black. In the recent excavations of the British School at Mycenae so many fragments of one such table were found that it was possible to restore it; further fragments of at least one more were also discovered³. By the aid of this discovery some fragments found long ago in the excavations of Tsoundas were recog-

¹ Above, pp. 73 and 76 with fig. 3 a, 7.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1922, p. 15 and fig. 12.

³ *BSA*, XXV, pp. 225, fig. 42 and pl. XXXVII. They are decorated with stripes and wavy lines, and the leg of one with a boar's tusk helmet.

nized as belonging to such a table. Fragments of apparently similar tables were found at Tiryns but they are unfortunately too small to admit a reconstruction¹. The importance of this discovery is that it shows that the same cult implements were used at Mycenae as in Crete. Finally we must mention that some fragments found in the prehistoric site on the top of Mount Kynthos on Delos were put together to form a similar table, but the other finds did not show Cretan influence². A quite similar plaster tripod was found in a chamber tomb at Zafer Papoura with charcoal on it³ — it may consequently have served as a hearth —, and another in a Late Minoan tomb at Gournes⁴. This use of the tripod seems to be derived from Middle Minoan I at least, for outside the *tholos* at Porti a very similar object was found. It is round and has a narrow raised border projecting slightly over the side; the three legs are missing⁵.

In the inner room of the Middle Minoan sanctuary at Phaestus a vessel (fig. 9) was found embedded in the floor which beyond doubt is of sacral character. It was a kind of rectangular tray made of clay with a depression of the same shape, the rim being stamped with designs of animals and double spirals. In the centre there is still another circular depression resembling a so-called *omphalos*⁶. Among the finds from Phaestus in the museum of Candia there are two small fragments of a similar tray of the same technique and colour, the rim being impressed with double spirals⁷.

Certain small triangular hearth or leaf-shaped vessels of

¹ *Tiryns*, II, p. 63

² See above, p. 62.

³ Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 39 and pl. LXXXIX a.

⁴ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, p. 77, fig. 21, 2.

⁵ Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, p. 63 and pl. XXXVII, 5074.

⁶ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pl. XXXVI; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. IX.

⁷ Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.* p. 16, considers the palettes found at Koumasa, Porti, and Drakones as tables of offering because of the absence of signs of colour or grinding. These palettes had no doubt a practical use, one specimen found in a house at Koumasa and two from the tomb of Porti showing a hollow caused by rubbing, but this does not of course exclude their use, in certain cases at least, as ritual tables.

stone or clay, called 'ladles' by Sir A. Evans, are distinguished by the occurrence of inscriptions. The longest inscription is engraved on the edge of the limestone 'ladle' from Trullos¹. Xanthoudides describes it as a casual find, Sir A. Evans has made out that it was found together with Middle Minoan III pottery in a small palace in which he supposes a shrine². In the inscription a group of four signs is notable because it recurs



FIG. 9. LIBATION TABLE FROM THE SANCTUARY AT PHAESTUS.

in other cases, e. g. on the table of libation from the cave of Psychro, and may be the name of some deity or some dedicatory formula. In the red stratum of the peak sanctuary of Mt. Juktas a fragmentary specimen of a similar limestone 'ladle' with three linear characters was found amongst Middle Minoan objects. Other specimens were found on the slope below³.

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1909, pp. 179; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 623 and fig. 462.

² Cf. above, pp. 91.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 624, fig. 461, and p. 159.

A still older specimen of clay was discovered in the Loom Weight Area of the palace of Knossos, where so many sacrificial objects were found, beneath a plaster floor of Middle Minoan I a¹. Another similar steatite 'ladle' was found at Palaikastro². While the specimen from Trullos is flattened underneath so as to enable it to stand easily, this last mentioned 'ladle' has a low base. A smaller 'ladle' of steatite was found at Phaestus, and finally there is one in the museum of Athens which comes from Mycenae³.

A common type of small libation table is quadrangular, tapering downwards to a small base below, and showing upon the square upper surface a shallow cup-like depression with a



FIG. 10. STONE VESSELS FROM GOURNIA.

raised rim; they are made of steatite. Such vessels were found in the Central Palace Shrine deposit⁴. One of the specimens from the cave of Psychro has an inscription of three signs⁵. They are further found at Palaikastro, and at Phaestus⁶; at Petsofa one with a longer inscription was found

at the mouth of the cave and fragments of two others⁷. A specimen from Gournia has a stepped base (fig. 10, 15)⁸. This receptacle seldom has a foot. One specimen from Gournia (fig. 10, 18)⁹ and one from Arvi¹⁰ have four low feet. The most

¹ *Ibid.* p. 623 and fig. 460.

² *BSA, Suppl.*, I, pl. XXX, C 2.

³ These are both unpublished; the latter mentioned *Eph. arch.*, 1909, p. 179.

⁴ *BSA*, IX, p. 41, figs. 20, a, b, d, e; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 497, fig. 355.

⁵ *BSA*, VI, p. 114, fig. 50; cf. pl. XI, 2 and 5.

⁶ *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 101, fig. 34, 4.

⁷ *BSA, Suppl.*, I, pp. 141 and pl. XXXI, 2 and XXXII.

⁸ *Gournia*, pl. V, 15.

⁹ *Gournia*, pl. V, 18; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. XXXVII, 12.

¹⁰ *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 357.

elaborate specimen belonging to the sanctuary of the S. E. house at Knossos has six feet. The square surface has a narrow rim and in the centre a raised square enclosing an oval aperture with a collar like that surrounding the cups of contemporary libation tables¹. One specimen, probably from Petsofa, with a much effaced inscription on the sides of the upper square part has a high foot² and another from the cave of Psychro a lower foot resembling the inverted base of an Attic-Ionic column³.

A great variety of forms is akin to this type. A unique specimen which was found at Roussolakkos (Palaikastro) and used for burning incense in the chapel of H. Nikolaos has its upper part cut out in zigzag form and a low round foot⁴. For other varieties I refer to the specimens found in the cave of Psychro⁵: No. 1, round with a shallow depression and a low and straight round base⁶. No. 3, square with a deep receptacle; the lower part of the receptacle is profiled; the foot resembles two Doric (but square) capitals superimposed, of which the lower is inverted. No. 6, square with a deep receptacle, foot resembling a Doric echinus with a short stump of the column.

It may easily be imagined how such a round table of offering grew larger and became a high foot. It will then resemble a lamp with a high foot but without the lips for the wick. Such a type is found in several sites, e. g. at Tylissos⁷. On the other hand this form is also akin to the 'fruit-stand' vases, although the hollow of the upper surface is very shallow. To this class the pedestal vases of the second city of Phylakopi belong; a curious circumstance is that the central boss of the shallow bowl is pierced with a hole and another hole is pierced through the flat base below. This lends colour to the

¹ *BSA*, IX, p. 6 and fig. 2; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 428, fig. 307.

² Only the inscription is figured *BSA*, *Suppl.* I, p. 143, fig. 125.

³ *BSA*, VI, pl. XI, No. 4.

⁴ *BSA*, *Suppl.* I, p. 137, fig. 119 A and pl. XXXI, 1.

⁵ Figured *BSA*, VI, pl. XI.

⁶ A similar specimen Evans, *Deposit at H. Onuphrios*, p. 122, fig. 121.

⁷ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 217, fig. 22 *a* and *β*; Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, p. 47, fig. 22 *a*, *c*.

supposition that they were for sacral use¹. It may, however, be difficult to say which of these vessels have served sacral purposes and which have not. Certainly vases of this type, as well as several others, may have been of both sacral and secular use.

Similar to the last mentioned specimen from the cave of Psychro but without the intermediate part resembling an echinus, is a specimen from Tylissos². Some other forms were found at Gournia. One specimen is round with a foot, and resembles a mortar (fig. 10, 14), another is oblong with a heavy cornice and a deep receptacle (fig. 10, 17), while a third is shaped and carved like a small chest with four feet (fig. 10, 19)³. An earlier kindred form occurs at Phaestus. First among these ranks the fine steatite bowl from the Middle Minoan shrine⁴. The tapering base is very low and the sides are proportionately larger; the corners of the square block are cut away, and these and the sides are decorated; the round depression is larger in proportion to the surface, the rim lower. On the whole this piece resembles a bowl more than the others mentioned above, but there are common features showing that it derives from the same prototype. There are four other similar but undecorated specimens of variegated marble⁵.

Still earlier the so-called 'bird's nest vases' were in vogue, but they continued down to the Late Minoan age. They are small bowls of stone, commonly steatite, less often of serpentine, slate, limestone, marble, breccia, and alabaster, with a receptacle small in proportion to the body of the vessel. They vary in size from 5 to 12 cm. but the usual diameter is about 7 or 8 cm. The greatest circumference is very high up, so that they have a broad and flat lip. There are specimens from Phaestus, plain or geometrically decorated (fig. 11)⁶,

¹ *Excav. at Phylakopi, JHS, Suppl.*, IV, p. 137.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 217, fig. 23 β; Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, p. 48, fig. 23 b.

³ *Gournia*, pl. V, 14, 17, and 19.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 479, fig. 87; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. X, 6.

⁵ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 471, figs. 77 and 78.

⁶ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pp. 473, fig. 81.

and a great number of them were found in the *tholos* tombs of the Messara, especially at Koumasa¹ and Platanos² from the end of Early and the beginning of Middle Minoan. Plain vessels and vessels of a similar form, which are called 'blossom-bowls', because the outside is decorated in a manner resembling the petals of a flower, occur also at Pseira, at Mochlos in Middle Minoan I, at Gournia, and at Palaikastro³; but here they seem to be of Late Minoan I date and are much rarer than at any earlier date. At Phylakopi they were found in the Third City only⁴. These small vessels often have a lid. They



FIG. 11. 'BIRD'S NEST BOWL' FROM PHAESTUS.

may have been perfume boxes, which would suit the fact that they are often found in tombs.

As for the composite vessels, there is a profound difference in technique between those of clay and those of stone. The former are made of separate vessels fixed to a common base of varying form, the latter consist of a solid block in which two or more cavities are hollowed out. This statement is

¹ *BSA*, XII, p. 16, fig. 2; Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, pp. 18 and pl. XXII.

² Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*, pp. 99, pl. XI and LII.

³ Pseira: Seager, *Excav. on the Island of Pseira*, p. 35, fig. 15, j, k; *Ant. cré.*, II, pl. XIX. Mochlos: Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos*, figs. 46, 47 and pl. IX, III a (with lids); Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 177, fig. 126. Gournia: *Gournia*, pl. V, 5—7, 10, 24; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXXVII, 1—5, and 7. Palaikastro: *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, p. 138 and pl. XXX, A 2, B 1, 3, 5.

⁴ *Excav. at Phylakopi*, pp. 196.

especially convenient for the earliest form, the so-called 'salt and pepper bowls', a small thick rectangular block of steatite, more rarely of some other stone, in which two deep cylindrical cavities are wrought; the sides are often decorated with incised lines and have holes for strings, probably for fastening a lid. They are seldom made of two pieces fitted together¹. These vessels belong to Early Minoan III and are especially numerous in the *tholos* tombs of the Messara. At Koumasa seven were found, at Platanos not less than seventeen². One specimen comes from Gournia³, another from Pseira⁴; two are exhibited among the finds from Palaikastro in the museum of Candia; it is said that they were not common at Palaikastro

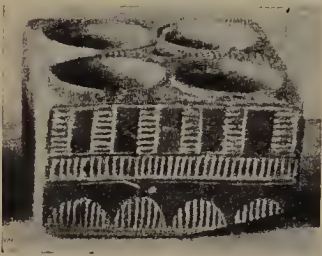


FIG. 12. 'SALT AND PEPPER BOWL' WITH FOUR CAVITIES FROM KOUMASA.

but that fragments of a few turned up in connection with the Early and Middle Minoan ossuaries⁵. These vessels generally have two cavities, but one from Koumasa (fig. 12) and another from Platanos have four.

The first step is to round off the ends of the block; six such vessels were found at Platanos and four at Koumasa. Lastly the stone is cut away also at the sides between the hollows, so that the object resembles a number of coherent cylindrical vessels. A specimen from Koumasa consists of three cups, of which that at one end has a spout and that at the other a handle⁶. A similar vessel of three cups with a handle is exhibited among the objects from Palaikastro⁷. The most complex vessel of this type was found at Palaikastro; it consists of eight cups in two rows of four; on the side of each of the two middle cups is a *Schmüröse*, a projection which is vertically perforated for a string⁸.

¹ Xanthoudides, *The vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, p. 99, n. 1.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 99 with pl. X and LII, and p. 17 with pl. III and XXIV a.

³ *Gournia*, pl. V, 25; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. XXXVII, 14.

⁴ Seager, *Pseira*, p. 35, fig. 15 c.

⁵ *BSA, Suppl.*, I, p. 135.

⁶ Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXXI, No. 686.

⁷ Inv. 447, mentioned *BSA*, XII, p. 13.

⁸ *BSA, Suppl.*, I, p. 135, fig. 116.

The second class of composite stone vessels is very rare; there are, so far as I know, only two specimens. It represents a further development of the square table of libation with a circular hollow in the centre; two or three such hollows are now made in the same block. This type is, on the other hand, related also to the trays with vessels attached. One specimen with two depressions, which, however, have no rim, comes from Phaestus (fig. 13)¹; the side is profiled and decorated with a band of vertical lines; in the corners of the underside there are four small holes which can only be explained as serving to receive the four legs of some support upon which the object was placed.

The other specimen is the famous inscribed table of libation from the cave of Psychro of which two fragments were found². It is wrought from a slab of dark steatite, about 24 by 40 cm. and once had three hollows surrounded by a rim of which the middle one is a little larger than the others; the

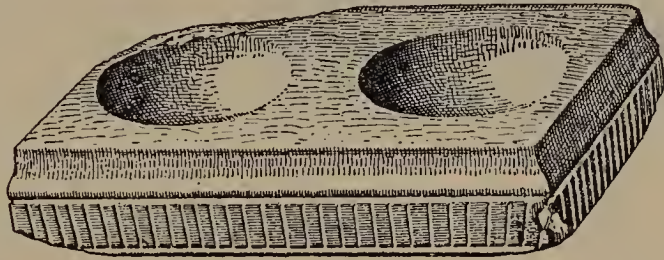


FIG. 13. TABLE OF LIBATION FROM PHAESTUS.

border of the square plaque also shows a similar rim. The inscription is engraved on the free surface between these rims. The side view exhibits three zones somewhat resembling the *fasciae* of the Ionic frieze, but in the inverse order. The underside has projections in its corners and in the centre. Those in the corners are smaller, square but with a slightly raised round disc recalling a column base on which the lowest drum of the shaft has been roughly cut out; the central projection is much larger and higher. Sir A. Evans' reconstruction gives

¹ *Mou. ant.*, XIV, p. 472, fig. 79.

² See above, p. 56. It is often reproduced; the first fragment *JHS*, XVII, 1897, pp. 350, figs. 25 a—c from all sides; the second fragment described *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXVI, 1902, pp. 580. For Evans' restoration see *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 114, fig. 7; *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 627, fig. 465; upper view of both fragments which together form about a half of the table *loc. cit.*, p. 628, fig. 466.

four slim round supports in the corners and another larger and conical support in the centre. This reconstruction has been contested¹, but it is very difficult to explain the projections in the four corners of the underside, especially with regard to their form, if they were not destined to rest on some support. The cutting of the central projection is not, however, such as would imply a support beneath it. Hence the assumption of a central support must be considered as doubtful, even if analogies in later Greek art are adduced to confirm it. It may be that this projection is due to the greater size and depth of the central cup. Its original form and the interpretation as a baetyl is another question which must be discussed in another place². There were similar vessels of clay; one is mentioned from Palaikastro³.

The common feature of the composite clay vessels which are to be treated here is that they all consist of small vessels fixed to a common support, though this support is of very varying form and the small vessels differ in form, number, and size. The chief forms of the support are either a plaque or a base or ring. The first class is represented by the tables of offering found on the altar-like construction in the N. W. angle of the Central Court of Phaestus. The complete one (fig. 30, p. 129)⁴ consists of a rectangular plaque, 70,5 by 26,8 cm., and about 2,5 cm. thick. In the middle a row of six small one-handed pitchers (height 8 cm.) is fastened; three of them are broken off. On either side of this row there are two large double spirals in relief surrounded by a border of the same form. The object is covered with red paint. At each end there is a plain narrow painted border of uncertain purpose⁵. In the same place fragments of two similar tables decorated

¹ Demargue, *Bull. corr. hell.*, *loc. cit.*; Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LI, 1905, p. 32, n. 1.

² Below, p. 221.

³ Above, p. 95.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XII, pl. VIII, 5 and pp. 126; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XI. Cf. above, p. 99.

⁵ Pernier's conjecture, *loc. cit.*, that horns of consecration were placed upon the borders is certainly inadmissible; they are too narrow. Karo, in the text to the second edition of the *Ant. cré.*, thinks that they served to push the plaque into a wooden framework.

with spirals without a border were found. All these tables belong to Late Minoan.

Other kindred objects from Phaestus are still unpublished. One is a base on which three small cups were once fastened, only a fragment of the bottom of one of the vases being preserved. The other is a fragment of a red-painted rectangular plaque upon which at least two rows of enigmatical objects were fixed; between the rows there is a decoration of oblique crosses linked together. The objects in question may be described as small horizontally fluted cones fixed upon bases with incurving sides.

An intermediate form between those hitherto discussed and the *kernos* is a table of offering found in a Late Minoan tomb at Gournes (fig. 14)¹. It consists of a round plate or disc with a high border and two nearly vertical handles; four cup-like vessels are fastened to the surface of the plate, a fifth and smaller to the border.

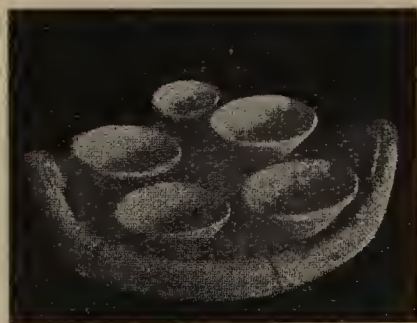


FIG. 14. TABLE OF OFFERING FROM GOURNES.

Sir A. Evans finds the prototype of the *kernos* in a vessel, round or oval and of dark burnished clay, which makes its appearance in Early Minoan II². It consists of a flat-bottomed pan supported on a pedestal topped by a flat table and shows a parallelism with early dynastic Egyptian tables of offering. One specimen comes from Sphoungaras, another from Mochlos, while others occurred at Pyrgos and in the *tholos* tombs³.

The type of composite vessel which shows the smaller vessels fixed upon a base is now called a *kernos*, since Xanthoudides in an illuminating paper⁴ has shown its relation to

¹ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, p. 77, fig. 21, 1.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 76, fig. 43 a and b.

³ Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 49, fig. 22 f; Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 4 and p. 71, fig. 40; *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, p. 157, fig. 12: 86-87; Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ Xanthoudides, *Cretan Kernoi*, *BSA*, XII, pp. 9. But I am unable to agree with him in calling the 'salt and pepper bowls' *kernoi*; they are of a different order.

the Greek cult vessel which is called by this name. Of the Minoan specimens from Crete published by him one was found in an Early Minoan tomb at Koumasa ¹



FIG. 15. KERNOs FROM KOUMASA.

It is hand-made of dark clay, and consists of a hollow cylindrical foot closed above and below by discs, the lower of which forms the slightly spreading base whilst the upper one is flat and supports three small spherical receptacles, fixed to the edge of the disc and to one another; each receptacle has on its shoulder two opposite projections with two vertical holes (*Schnurösen*), and a domed cover with two holes corresponding to those on the shoulder and a small knob in the centre. From the point where the three receptacles join a bar runs up from the centre of the support, and is pierced at the top with a large hole. (Total height 14 cm.) The decoration consists of incised concentric circles and herring bone patterns.

A series of kindred vessels comes from Melos (cf. fig. 16). The simplest of these was found in a Cycladic grave near Phylakopi ²; it is hand-made and consists of a hollow stem spreading below into a trumpet-shaped foot, around the upper part of which three cups with swelling bodies and contracted mouths are symmetrically grouped. The similarity between this vessel and the *kernos* of Koumasa is noted by Xanthoudides. The other more complicated vessels are dispersed through several museums, but so far as their provenance is known, it is Melos. They were collected and discussed by Bosanquet ³. In



FIG. 16. SIMPLE MELIAN KERNOs.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 11, fig. 1; *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, pl. I, No. 4194.

² *BSA*, III, p. 54 and fig. 3.

³ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 57, and pl. IV. For the specimens in the British Museum see *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, I: 1, A 343—345, pp. 63.

the excavation at Phylakopi one complete specimen was found in a tomb. They were a very common article of tomb furniture, but were not made exclusively for sepulchral use, a good many fragments being found in the houses¹. These vessels are wheel-made, show a geometric decoration of lines, and are contemporary with certain beaked jugs and other painted pottery of the latest pre-Mycenaean age. They consist of a stem, usually a central bowl, and round this one or two circles of small cups. Bosanquet distinguishes two groups. In the first group (3 specimens) the central bowl is a continuation of the stem and supports a circle of cups which are attached to its circumference by horizontal ties². In the second group (6 specimens) the central bowl and an outer circle of cups are suspended by horizontal ties from an inner circle of cups which spring from the edge of the stem³; one specimen has, however, only one circle of cups, and another no central bowl.



FIG. 17. PROTOTYPE OF KERNOS WITH TWO CUPS FROM PYRGOS.

The true prototypes of these vessels were discovered in the great cemetery of Pyrgos near Knossos dating from the earlier periods of the Early Minoan age. Among the different forms of composite vessels found there one is very characteristic. It consists of a stem spreading downwards into a base;

¹ *Excav. at Phylakopi, JHS, Suppl.*, IV, p. 102 and pl. VIII, 14 (fig. 16).

² *BSA*, III, pl. IV, 1; Dussaud, *Civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 110, fig. 80, 2. There is a fourth specimen of this group in the National Museum of Copenhagen, *Corpus vas. ant., Danemark*, fasc. I, pl. 34, 10, and a fifth in the Lewis collection, *JHS*, XLI, 1921, p. 231, fig. 3.

³ *BSA*, III, pl. IV, 2-4; Dussaud, *loc. cit.*, fig. 80, 1.

at the top of the stem two cups are fastened by the rim or a little below the top, so that the stem projects above the cups (fig. 17)¹. One specimen (fig. 18) shows three cups and resembles very closely the simplest 'kernos' from Phylakopi; the difference consists in the shape of the small vessels, which in the latter case are widest round the middle and are fastened there to the stem so that they project above its end. These vessels are of black *bucchero* ware and have an incised geometric decoration.

It has already been mentioned² that remains of forty-four conical-shaped cups which had all been broken off from some supports or other, probably the rims of larger vessels, were found



FIG 18. PROTOTYPE OF KERNOS WITH THREE CUPS FROM PYRGOS.

at Palaikastro and recognized by Dawkins as belonging to *kernoi*. The vessel, which was reconstructed³, consists of a deep bowl with a very low foot; upon its rim four cups are fastened, which are connected with each other

by a broad tie. They were found together with vases of early Late Minoan III style⁴.

The second Minoan specimen, from Kourtes (fig. 19)⁵, belongs to another type, the ring-shaped vessel. It is later and

¹ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, p. 150, fig. 8: 47, 48; pl. A, 2, 3.

² Above, p. 95.

³ *BSA, Suppl.* I, p. 90, fig. 75.

⁴ A specimen from a much later age is a chance find from H. Nikolaos in the province of Mirabello, the site of the old town of Lato. It consists of a large deep bowl (height 11 cm., diameter 25 cm.), with a low foot and two handles below the broad, level, and projecting rim upon which are nine small handleless bell-shaped cups (height 2—2,5 cm.) arranged in a circle. It is probably of late Greek or Roman date. See *BSA*, XII, pp. 18.

⁵ *BSA*, XII, p. 16, fig. 3.

was found in a burial place with numerous Late Minoan III vases. It consists of a hollow ring (diameter 19 cm.) upon which six small jugs with narrow necks and spreading mouths are placed alternately with three coarsely made human figurines, of which one holds his arms to his head, another to his breast, while the third grasps the handles of the vases next to him. As Xanthoudides justly remarks, this very peculiar feature connects the vessel with the group of dancing women fastened on a common ring-shaped base from Palaikastro¹.

Although ring-shaped vessels occur in early Cyprian as well as in Corinthian pottery there are Mycenaean specimens which must evidently be connected with the *kernos* from Kourtes.

In the Louvre there is a Late Mycenaean vessel from Cyprus (fig. 20) consisting of a ring upon which three vessels, two with narrow mouths and one a cup with a handle, and a bull's head are fastened². Another fragmentary ring-shaped vessel from Mycenae is



FIG 19. RING-SHAPED VESSEL FROM KOURTES.

in the Museum of Athens (fig. 21, inv. 5427). The ring, on the outside of which an undulating string of clay, painted red, with double rows of white spots, is laid, is decorated with ornaments in the form of a star with a central dot. A high cup with a handle is fastened to the ring, and traces show that a second is broken off. Between the two cups there is a trace of some object which was fastened to the inner side of the ring and cannot have been a cup.

With the *kernoi* some other peculiar vases may be connected. From the cave of Psychro comes a fragment showing

¹ Above, p. 95 and fig. 7.

² Dussaud, *Civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 356, fig. 262.



FIG. 20. RING-SHAPED VESSEL FROM CYPRUS.



FIG. 21. RING-SHAPED VESSEL FROM MYCENAE.

two rows of five small cups¹. Among Early Minoan objects from Palaikastro a vessel is exhibited resembling a three-legged cooking pot with a handle; its inner side is covered by a great number of rings or small discs with a hole in the centre. In the Ashmolean Museum there is a cup of typical Middle Minoan shape on whose inner side are three horizontal rows of small objects which may be described as small cones tapering downwards with a hole in the upper broad end; they recall somewhat the cells of a beehive. At Petras a cup with a spout was found together with Kamares ware, the interior of which is provided with five rows of tiny cells similar to those mentioned (fig. 22)². Sir A. Evans mentions³ a fragment from Knossos which shows in the interior miniature vases of a funnel-shaped type. A conical cup with a spreading foot comes from Tylissos; its interior is covered by a thick clay spiral in which there are a number of small holes (fig. 23)⁴. Similar objects are found elsewhere; Hazzidakis calls them *thymiateria*, but I cannot see how they can be suited for burning incense. It is perhaps probable that all these vessels are a degenerate representation of *kernoi* in which the cups have dwindled down to small discs or holes. The fragment from the cave of Psychro shows an intermediate form in which the cups can still be recognized as such.

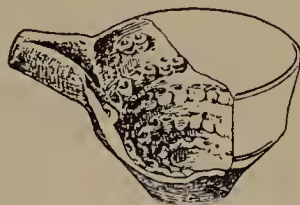


FIG. 22. CUP FROM PETRAS.



FIG. 23. CUP FROM TYLISSOS.

With these vases Sir A. Evans⁵ justly compares some vases from Middle Minoan I chiefly found at Palaikastro, bowls with animal figurines modelled in their interior⁶.

¹ *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXX, 4.

² *BSA*, VIII, p. 285, fig. 5.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 180, n. 8.

⁴ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, pl. XIV b; Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, pl. I.

⁵ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 180.

⁶ *BSA*, VIII, p. 294; IX, p. 301 and figs. 1, 5 a; *Suppl.*, I, p. 12 and pl. VI, C, D and VII; Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 180 and fig. 130.

One specimen found in an ossuary shows a flying bird painted white; another a small quadruped, probably an ox; the most remarkable, which was found outside the above mentioned ossuary, is almost covered on its inside with a herd of tiny sheep, or perhaps oxen, to the number of nearly 160, although a few may have been broken off, all arranged in rows in front of the herdsman who is standing towards the edge. Fragmentary examples were found at Knossos and elsewhere. A somewhat similar bowl with a central ornament in the form of a flower was found at Sphoungaras (fig. 24)¹. These bowls with animal figurines have numerous Egyptian parallels, and there can be



FIG. 24. BOWL FROM SPHOUNGARAS.

no doubt that they were made for votive or sepulchral purposes².

As for the occurrence of these various types of vessels some differences are to be noted both in regard to place and date. An earlier group consists of vessels chiefly found in tombs of the Early Minoan and the beginning of the

Middle Minoan period, but in this case it must be remembered that the relics of these periods are chiefly known from tombs,

¹ Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 57, fig. 29.

² There are some other vases which Xanthoudides in his work, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, takes to be sacred because of their strange shape and unfitness for practical use. These are a vessel from Koumasa (p. 39 and pl. XXVIII, 4992) with a cylindrical body pulled out at the top into a pair of horns or ears which project upwards and outwards from each other at about a right angle; a pair of holes, one on each side of the vertical handle, suggests a faint resemblance to an animal's head. Further, two vessels from Kalathiana (p. 85 and pl. XLV, 5703, 5704) show a cylindrical lower part, a domed shoulder and a round mouth on the top, and two large horns projecting from the body. In my opinion there is a certain likeness to the above mentioned vessel. Xanthoudides thinks that they resemble the so-called sheep-bells which will be discussed below, pp. 160, but the similarity is not very striking. No decision can be arrived at concerning the purpose of these vessels, for a fanciful shape is by no means a certain argument for sacral use.

and that on the other hand very few tombs from the developed Middle Minoan age are known. To this group the 'bird's nest bowls' belong, although these occur at Palaikastro in Late Minoan, the 'salt and pepper bowls', and those composite vessels which consist of a stem to which smaller vessels are attached. On Melos these seem to survive longer, but this is a local development. Thus we may surmise that although these vessels were found in tombs, yet they probably correspond, like other funeral paraphernalia, with objects of daily life. On the other hand, they may have been designed exclusively for funeral use. This question seems very difficult to settle.

To Middle Minoan I the bowls with the animal figurines from Palaikastro belong, one of which was found in an ossuary. Middle Minoan is represented by the earliest finds from a sanctuary, the stone 'bowls and clay trays from the early shrine of Phaestus. To this and the period immediately following the 'ladles' which are conspicuous by their inscriptions belong, and the tables of libation with two or three shallow depressions, which on the whole are later than the last mentioned objects. The same is the case with the small tables of libation with one hollow which were found in great numbers in the Central Palace Sanctuary and in the cave of Psychro.

To Late Minoan the round three-legged tables of offering belong, which are found both in shrines and in graves, the trays with vessels affixed from Phaestus, the second form of the *kernos*, the ring-shaped vessels, and also the type derived especially from Palaikastro which shows the smaller cups fastened to the rim of a bowl. One of the ring-shaped *kernoï*, from Kourtes, was found in a cemetery.

It must be stated that the majority of the finds come under the heading of funeral furniture. Those which do not are chiefly the trays with or without vessels affixed, the small tables of libation with one depression, the tables of libation with two or three shallow depressions, and the tripod tables.

The vessels which have been mentioned here are for the most part of a shape which makes them unfit for practical use. Although the form of some can only be attributed to that love of quaintness which is not wanting in other ages and countries

and already existed in the Minoan civilization, the shape taken together with other circumstances is a strong argument for the sacral character of these vessels. On the other hand it must be remembered that the same vessel may have been used in daily life as well as in the cult. A certain instance of this kind is the plaster tripod. It is found in shrines serving as an altar table, but in a tomb at Zafer Papoura there was a similar plaster tripod upon which charcoal was laid. It serves here the same purpose as the portable furnaces for charcoal which are not infrequently found in Mycenaean graves. There may also be other instances, e. g. the great vessels, from which and into which libations are poured, on the sarcophagus from H. Triada.

To this class also the *rhyta* must be assigned, viz. vessels of metal, stone, or clay in the shape of a man or an animal or a part of either, especially the head. I do not propose here to collect all instances of such vases, but refer to the valuable paper by Professor Karo¹. Vessels in the shape of a whole man or animal appear in Early Minoan III and Middle Minoan I and then again in Late Minoan. From the earlier period I mention the grotesque bird from Koumasa, the bulls with men clinging to their horns, the 'dove vase' from Knossos², and the rarer human-shaped *rhyta*; the upper part of a woman holding her breasts, which are perforated so as to form spouts, from Mochlos³, and the seated woman from the Reoccupation period of Gournia⁴. In the later period, moreover, the bull-figures are most common, but there are also hedgehogs, a stag, and a horse with a load⁵.

¹ Karo, *Minoische Rhyta*, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 249; cf. de Mot, *Vases égéennes en forme d'animaux*, *Rev. arch.*, 1904, II, pp. 201; and E. Pottier, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXI, 1907, pp. 120 and pl. XXIII, 1. The bull's head from Caria, *ibid.* No. 2, is interesting but probably of too late a date to prove anything with regard to Minoan connexions; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 255.

² Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, pp. 40 and pl. II; other vases of human and animal shape from Koumasa, pp. 12 and pl. XIX and XX. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 116, fig. 85; p. 146, fig. 107; p. 188, fig. 137 a—c; and p. 190, fig. 137 d.

³ Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 34; Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 116, fig. 84.

⁴ *Gournia*, pl. X, 11; *Ant. créét.*, II, pl. XXIX.

⁵ Bulls e. g. from the cave of Psychro, *BSA*, VI, p. 104, from Mycenae, Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 144.

The *rhyton* in the form of a head appears in Middle Minoan II¹ and is common in Late Minoan. One in the shape of a human head was found at Phaestus²; among those in the form of animals' heads many are famous for the artistic skill employed in their making, e. g. the silver bull's head from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae, which is often figured in the erroneous restoration by Gilliéron with a double axe placed in the hole between the horns through which the liquid was poured into the vessel; the golden lion's head from the same grave; the marble lioness's head from Knossos, a fragment of a quite similar head being found at Delphi; and the steatite bull's head from the Little Palace at Knossos. From Late Minoan III there are several bull's head *rhyta* of clay³. Vessels of this type were extremely valuable and highly cherished. We see on the frescoes of the tomb of Rekh-me-re two *rhyta* with lion's heads, one with a bull's, another with a bull's, and a third with a gryphon's; and on a clay tablet from Knossos bull's head *rhyta*.

Although it is very often maintained, and especially by Sir A. Evans, that *rhyta* have a preeminently religious significance, the evidence seems hardly to bear out this assumption. That fragmentary specimens of animal *rhyta* were found in the

¹ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes, Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 89.

² *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XVI, 1907, p. 281 and fig. 4 a; *Ant. cré.*, II, pl. L.

³ For images I refer to the paper by Karo quoted above and to Evans, *The Tomb of the Double Axes etc., Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, pp. 80. — I happen to know where the *rhyton* from Rhodes, Karo, *loc. cit.*, fig. 11, was found, and may take this opportunity of giving some details. During my stay at Lindos in February 1905 the peasants of Lardos discovered and excavated some tombs at a place called Staphylia about one hour south of the village not far from the sea; the clearing of the cemetery and the untouched tombs was entrusted to me by the Danish expedition. The finds were not remarkable and were made up of the common Rhodian Late Minoan III ware; I mention especially only a marble triton shell. I had the opportunity of seeing the *rhyton* of Dr Karo in the hands of the finder a short time afterwards. The tombs were cut out in a small sharp ridge of conglomerate, the upper and east sides of which were spotted with tombs. Some were shaft graves, although owing to the steepness of the ridge, the fourth side was open; most of them had a dromos, but often the chamber had no roof.

cave of Psychro¹ is no conclusive argument, for vessels of daily use and of luxury were certainly also dedicated to the gods. About the connexion between certain animals and certain deities in the Minoan age we know very little. A circumstance which is to be treated more fully in another place² may be pointed out, namely that the skulls of the animals sacrificed were probably nailed up in the sacred grove and that detached heads of animals are represented on gems, but this will hardly suffice to establish an innate sacral character for the animal-headed *rhyta*, even if it may originally have been closely associated with them. They seem to have been fanciful vessels of luxury which were sometimes also dedicated to the gods or used in the cult.



FIG. 25. LENTICULAR IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The *rhyta* in the shape of a whole man or animal have even less claim to be considered as sacred. Dussaud is certainly wrong in considering the *rhyton* from Mochlos in the shape of a woman pressing her breasts as a representation of the Mother Goddess³. Something must also be allowed for the artistic fancy of man and not least for that of the Minoan race.

If we had to form our opinion of the sacred vessels of the Minoans from the pictures and engraved gems alone practically one single type would be considered as a special cult vessel, if we except the great jar and the pails into which and from which the priestesses of the H. Triada sarcophagus pour libations⁴: namely, the high-necked and high-handled libation jug which constantly recurs especially on the engraved gems. It also appears above the altar on the H. Triada sarcophagus. It stands between the horns of

¹ *BSA*, VI, p. 104 and fig. 33.

² Below, pp. 197.

³ Dussaud, *Civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 369.

⁴ Big jars are also figured on the bead-seal from Thisbe with a libation scene and on a seal impression from Knossos showing a seated woman pouring a liquid into a jar which is standing between the horns of consecration. Both have recently been published by Evans, *The 'Ring of Nestor' etc.*, *JHS*, XXXV, 1925, pp. 17, figs. 19 and 20.

consecration¹; two 'genii' water the sacred boughs placed between the horns of consecration with such jugs on a gem from Vaphio²; on the glass plaques from Mycenae 'genii' pour libations from similar jugs over altars or pillars, tripods and a cairn³. The new gold ring from Tiryns (fig. 26)⁴ shows four 'genii' approaching a seated goddess with jugs of this kind in their hands; a gem found near Kydonia⁵ shows a 'genius' with such a jug standing by the side of a god posing between the horns of consecration. A single 'genius' with a libation jug appears on a sardonyx from Vaphio⁶, and on a similar gem in Berlin⁷; a gem in the Castellani collection in Rome, which is said to have been found in Etruria⁸, shows two 'genii' with libation jugs

on either side of a male figure. A large bronze vessel in the Cyprus museum found on the site of Curium has five pairs — one above each other — of such 'genii' arranged facing each other



FIG. 26. GOLD RING FROM TIRYNS.

symmetrically on either side of a tree; their near forepaws are lowered along-side their bodies, the others are raised above their heads in the act of adoration; the rim of the vessel is adorned with the libation jug repeated seventy times⁹. Another bronze

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 77, and a gem in the British Museum, *Catalogue of Gems*, I, pl. I, 22 (fig. 25).

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 101, fig. 1.

³ *Ibid.* p. 117, figs. 12—14.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, 1916, p. 147, fig. 5; *Arch. Delt.*, II, 1916, *App.*, pl. I, 1.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 708, fig. 532.

⁶ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 31; *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 36.

⁷ *JHS*, XIV, 1894, p. 106, fig. 8.

⁸ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 37, fig. 16.

⁹ *BSA*, XVIII, pp. 95, and pl. VIII.

vessel from Cyprus, now in New York¹, shows on each handle three bucrania and above them six 'genii' with lifted libation jugs arranged in pairs standing upright and facing each other in an antithetic scheme. On gems jugs of this form are especially associated with boughs which are placed at their side².

A remarkable seal stone from Sphoungaras (fig. 27)³ shows a variation of the type. To the left is what may be the left part of a pair of horns of consecration, to the right an enclosure with two trees, in the middle a jug of this type, though with a somewhat larger base, a horizontal mouth and above it a triangle filled with net-work. The handle is to the left, and to the right a staff-like ornament ascends from the body



FIG. 27. SEALSTONE FROM SPHOUNGARAS.

of the jug inclining a little outwards. In all other respects the type is that of the libation jug with two handles which occurs surrounded by boughs on another seal stone from Sphoungaras (fig. 28)⁴ and on one side of a prism-seal from Crete⁵. This two-handled jug has of course a horizontal mouth, and it is perhaps to be surmised that the line to the right of the jug on the first mentioned gem from Sphoungaras is the remains of the second handle which for want of space was reduced to such a line. On



FIG. 28. SEALSTONE FROM SPHOUNGARAS.

the prism seal there is also the triangle with net-work above the mouth, on the seal D from Sphoungaras it has degenerated to some irregular lines. I think that this triangle is ornamental⁶.

The form of this libation jug is always essentially the same, though varying somewhat in detail. On the H. Triada sarcophagus the lower part of the body is lost but it was of

¹ *JHS*, XIV, 1894, p. 104, fig. 5.

² See below, pp. 227.

³ Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 70, fig. 45 F. With regard to the decoration with transversal lines on this and the seal stone quoted in the following note cf. the votive tablet from the cave of Psychro, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 632, fig. 470.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* D.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 47 γ.

⁶ Cf. below, p. 235.

fair size; the neck and the mouth, which is drawn slanting upwards, are narrow though comparatively large; the high-curving handle terminates at a point a little below the neck where it is fastened to the body. The gem from Vaphio and the ring from Tiryns show a ring between the neck and the body and a foot spreading outwards so as to form a small base. The glass plaques are on too small a scale for accurate details but indicate the same form. The Cyprian bronze vessel from Curium shows a more elongated form of the body, and the other in New York a still more abnormal shape, the neck being relatively short and thick, while the mouth has only a small spout. The representations on the gems show a smaller, sometimes a very small, spherical body and proportionately larger neck and mouth, this part of the vessel resembling a filler with a very oblique upper part. The handle ends below in a curve which is not always connected with the body of the vessel¹.

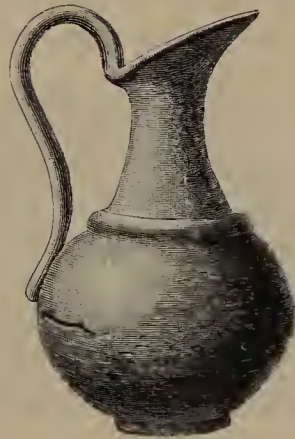


FIG. 29. SILVER JUG
FROM MYCENAE.

It is remarkable that jugs of this form are very seldom found. The only specimen closely resembling them is a silver jug from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae (fig. 29)²; it has the oblique mouth, the long neck, the high handle, the ring between this and the body, and the spherical body; the base is very low. A kindred type is represented by a well known class³. But there is a marked difference. The body of the libation jug is spherical or has its largest circumference below its middle part; some illustrations show, however, a more elongated form with the cir-

¹ Evans remarks, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 19, that these features meet the requirements of wholesale production by a rapid use of the engraver's wheel and blunt point.

² Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 280, fig. 353.

³ E. g. the clay jugs Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos, Archæologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 69, fig. 75; p. 123, fig. 117, 64 a; p. 124, fig. 118, 1a; *Aut. créét.*, III, pl. XLV, 2, 3; the beautiful stone jug, *ibid.* pl. XXIX, 2, has a horizontal mouth like many similar specimens of bronze.

cumference higher up¹; a base is added below. The jugs mentioned above have their largest circumference high up above the middle part of the body and taper gradually downwards; in this case the contour, unlike that of the libation jugs, does not show a markedly ovoidal profile as it curves outwards. The lowest part of the body itself forms the base, going straight downwards or curving only slightly outwards. The most marked difference is, however, that these jugs when actually found have short necks and small handles. A closer analogy may be found in the jugs with a long narrow neck and an almost spherical body from Phylakopi², but these also have their greatest circumference above the middle and, a still more important discrepancy, a broad horizontal mouth. To judge from the ring shown on the Vaphio gem etc. and the very high-curving handles the libation jugs were probably of metal, but the metal jugs actually found are still more dissimilar except the one from Mycenae³.

The form in question appears already in Early Minoan. At Vasiliki jugs from E. M. III were found with a body of analogous shape but with a larger oblique spout of the common E. M. III form which certainly recalls the large spout of the libation jugs⁴. The form of body, neck, and mouth, however,

¹ The gem from Cydonia, the Castellani gem, the Cyprian bronze vessels which, however, may represent a local form; cf. above, p. 127.

² *Excavations at Phylakopi, JHS, Suppl.* IV, pl. XXVII, 8 and 9.

³ In the *tholos* tomb at H. Triada the neck together with a long oblique spout of a vase which is compared with the libation jugs was found, but the shape of the body is unknown. The decoration is geometrical and leaves doubt as to the age of the vessel; *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, p. 341; *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pp. 689, fig. 6. — In this discussion the remarkable Late Minoan II jug from the Little Palace of Knossos cannot be passed over (Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes, Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 77, fig. 86; *Ant. crét.*, III, pl. XLII). The body is not dissimilar to that of the libation jugs but slightly ovoidal and has a narrow base; but the handle is very small, the neck short and bent backwards so that the mouth is horizontal. Evans justly notes the similarity in form to the Melian 'bird-vases'. The decoration is partly in relief and of this a figure of the *ankh* is especially noteworthy; cf. p. 178.

⁴ *Ant. crét.*, II, pl. XXIII, 9—11; similar jugs were found elsewhere, e. g. in burial-enclosures at τὰ Ἑλληνικά near Palaikastro (*BSA*, X, p. 197, fig. 1 a—e), Sphoungaras, Mochlos, etc.

varies considerably. A kindred but taller form is found among the mottled ware of the same place¹. There are also jugs with almost spherical bodies². The specimen most resembling a libation jug is an Early Minoan I jug from the H. Onouphrios deposit³, which looks like the prototype of the familiar form from gems etc. It has a spherical body without a base, a large oblique spout and a somewhat high curving handle. If it had a taller neck and a base it would have the shape of the libation jug. The usefulness of searching for the prototype of this jug among the clay vases is, however, impaired by the fact that it was made of metal; but it seems probable that the type shown on gems etc. belonging chiefly to the latter part of



FIG. 30. TABLE OF LIBATION WITH SIX JUGS FROM PHAESTUS.

Late Minoan is derived from Early Minoan I and was preserved in the cult because of the usual religious conservatism.

To test this suggestion a short reference to the Middle Minoan types is of interest. I note in passing some M. M. I types, e. g. those discovered in houses south of the palace of Knossos⁴: a beautiful three handled ovoidal jug with a very short neck⁵, and high jugs with a very long tapering lower part, a short neck and three handles. Of special importance are the small jugs fastened to the table of libation from

¹ *Gournia*, pl. B 1; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 77, fig. 46 A.

² Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 36, fig. 1 b; Evans, *ibid.*, p. 74, fig. 42 etc.; *Gournia*, pl. A 3; Evans, *ibid.*, p. 62, fig. 26.

³ Evans, *ibid.*, fig. 25.

⁴ *Ant. crét.*, III, pl. XL; *JHS*, XXI, 1901, pp. 84, figs. 7—9 and pl. VI, 1.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 179, fig. 128; cf. pp. 173, figs. 122, 1; 123 a; 128; continuing down into M. M. II, e. g. p. 267, fig. 198 a.

Phaestus (fig. 30)¹. They have a spherical body and the narrow base, but the neck is shorter and larger, the handle lower, and the mouth horizontal. The high narrow neck and the ring between the neck and the body appear in some knobbed Middle Minoan III jugs from Knossos², but their bodies are of varying forms, the mouth usually horizontal but sometimes oblique. Hence it looks as if the Late Minoan libation jug of the cult scenes is a Middle Minoan adaptation of an old Early Minoan form.

Various sorts of cockle shells are often found in Crete. Cockles may have been eaten and the shells may thus be remains from meals, but the Minoans were also fond of using shells as ornaments, made shells in stone, faïence, and clay, and painted them on their vases. There is no reason to suggest that the shells had a special sacred use, although they may have been used for paving the floors of small shrines. I will only refer to the shells found in the Central Palace Sanctuary³. The only kind which is of special religious interest is the triton-shell, because a well known gem from the Idaean cave⁴ shows a woman apparently blowing a triton shell trumpet before an altar with horns of consecration and a sacred bough. Triton shells are often found in tombs and deposits from the neolithic period onwards⁵. Sometimes they are hollowed out inside so as to form a vessel⁶. That they were used in the cult is shown by the discovery of a triton shell in the chief room of the early shrine of Phaestus⁷.

¹ Best seen in the illustration *Arch.f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, p. 141, fig. 20.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 566, fig. 412; *BSA*, VII, p. 85, figs. 26 and 28; *Ant. cré.*, III, pl. XLIX.

³ Above, p. 78.

⁴ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 142, fig. 25.

⁵ E. g. in the neolithic settlement at Magasa, *BSA*, XI, p. 266; in the early cemetery on the ridge at Palaikastro, *BSA*, VIII, p. 296; in the E. M. cemetery at Gournes, *Delt. arch.*, I, 1915, p. 62; in the early burial-enclosure at τὰ Ἑλληνικά near Palaikastro, *BSA*, X, p. 197; at Palaikastro in room 6 of block γ, *BSA*, IX, p. 291; at Knossos in the Plaster Vase Closet, *BSA*, VIII, 89.

⁶ Seager, *Pseira*, pp. 25; at Palaikastro in a house on the cliff concealed in a cist of thin slabs of slate, *BSA*, VIII, p. 308.

⁷ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 409.

Shells imitated in other material are common; some were adapted as drinking vessels¹. There is no need of an exhaustive list. Triton shells and imitations of them are also found in Late Minoan tombs; I will only mention the one found in the tombs at Staphylia in Rhodes². I think that the triton shells and other shells belonged to the objects to which the Minoans took a fancy and were used in daily life as drinking vessels and ornaments and in the cult as votive objects and trumpets; the latter use still persists in Crete³. In this respect they may be compared with the much rarer ostrich eggs.

There is no need to describe other vessels which were certainly used in daily life and may also have been used sometimes in the cult: e. g. the strainers or fillers, which are seldom found single but usually in greater numbers⁴ and are depicted in the procession frieze from Knossos.

¹ Alabaster vase in the form of a large triton shell, the lip of which shows perforations probably for a metal border, found in the room of the Stone Vases near the East Pillar Room at Knossos, *BSA*, VI, p. 31; IX, p. 36; *Ant. créét.*, pl. III, pl. XXX, 2; another from the cemetery of Phaestus, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 556, fig. 40; a large and beautiful specimen of black stone from H. Triada, *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, p. 334; one of faïence from a tomb at Isopata near Knossos, Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archæologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 31, fig. 43; miniature clay models from the deposit containing the relics of the so-called Shrine of the Dove Goddess at Knossos, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 221.

² See above, p. 123, n. 3.

³ Xanthoudides, *Eph. arch.*, 1906, p. 154.

⁴ Seager, *Pseira*, p. 31.

CHAPTER IV. SACRAL DRESS.

The Minoan costume is well known: the loin cloth of the men, the skirt and the open bodice of the women. In the representations of cult scenes, however, other types of dress occur, which consequently must be considered as having a sacral or ritual character. The most peculiar of these is the animal's hide wrapped round the lower part of the body which was recognized by Dr Paribeni in his valuable interpretation of the pictures of the H. Triada sarcophagus¹. The chief officiants at the sacrifice, on the one side the priestess who is standing before the altar, on the other the priestess who is pouring a libation into the big jar between the double axes, and the three men who carry the offerings to the god or hero, are clad in a garment which begins at the waist and is fastened there with a girdle. It falls straight down without folds; its lower outline is rounded and almost semicircular, but has at the back a curious small pointed appendix like a short tail. Its surface is white, dotted with short red or black undulating lines. The men have the upper part of their body nude, but the women also wear the open bodice decorated with broad bands. The figure to the right, which is either a god standing before his shrine or a hero standing before his tomb is wrapt in a garment of the same stuff but of different cut. It covers the upper part of the body as well, and the arms, which are not visible, and has a large broad band in front. In design it recalls the dress worn by the other personages to which we shall return later².

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 1.

² The 'stole'; see below, pp. 135.

Dr Paribeni has shown beyond doubt that this dress is an animal's hide¹ and recognized the same costume on certain seal impressions², which show figures in the baggy garment sometimes called knickerbockers, but the curved lower outline and the small pointed tail leave no doubt that the same garment is intended. These seal impressions are also of religious significance. Two of these were discovered in the palace of H. Triada³. One (fig. 31) shows two men marching towards the left, while to the right are what appear to be columns perhaps of a shrine. Both wear the garment in question, the one in front has the upper part of his body nude, the other wears



FIG. 31. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM H. TRIADA.

also another kind of sacred garment resembling a cuirass⁴. The other seal impression (fig. 32) shows a woman, presumably a goddess, with a flounced skirt and a peaked cap and on each side an attendant in the said garment holding a double axe aloft⁵. Two other seal impressions come from Zakro⁶. The first shows two men or women, one adoring a double axe,

¹ Miss Harrison expresses with some hesitation the view that it is a ritual feather dress in her lecture, *Bird and Pillar Worship etc.*, *Transact. of the 3rd Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford*, II, p. 155.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 19 and 22.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 41, fig. 35, and p. 39, fig. 33.

⁴ See below, pp. 136.

⁵ The figure in *Mon. ant.* is reproduced from an imperfect example, on which the double axes, clear on some impressions of the seal since discovered, do not appear, Evans, *BSA*, IX, p. 60, n. 1.

⁶ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 78, figs. 5 and 6.

the other cuirass in hand; the second has three men marching towards the left. Finally a seal stone from Crete of dark grey steatite, now in Copenhagen (fig. 33 and pl. I, 7), shows two persons in this dress marching towards the right; they seem to be shouldering some object but the upper parts of their bodies are very carelessly designed having come too near to the edge.

The animal's hide was man's first garment, and no doubt was once worn by the first inhabitants of Crete as well as by other savage peoples, and was preserved in the cult because of religious conservatism. Dr Paribeni adduces as an analogy the Semitic *sak*, the garment which according to the



FIG. 32. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM
H. TRIADA.



FIG. 33. SEALSTONE IN THE NA-
TIONAL MUSEUM OF COPENHAGEN.

Old Testament was worn by mourners and persons in affliction; but it is nowhere said that the *sak* was made of hide, though this is not improbable. It is curious that Dr Paribeni, who has so carefully collected all Egyptian analogies to the representations of the sarcophagus, has not observed that there is a very close analogy in just this case, although he touches upon the subject in a note¹. In the Old Kingdom a leopard skin was worn both by men and women as a gala dress, but in the New Kingdom it occurs only as the dress of certain priests, the high priest of Heliopolis and especially the *sem*, the priest officiating at the funeral sacrifice². Another Egyptologist³ says that in the tombs of the Old Kingdom the leopard skin is the

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 19, n. 1.

² A. Ermann, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben*, 2nd ed., pp. 232, 235, and 337.

³ G. Bénédite, *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, p. 52.

characteristic dress of the proprietor of the tomb, but later of the one offering the funeral gifts, especially the heir of the throne as the priest of the deceased king. The persons clad in this garment belong to two classes, the priests officiating in the cult of the dead, and those officiating in the procession of the divine barque. Whether there is a real connexion here, an imitation of Egyptian customs, or what may also be reckoned with, an independent Cretan traditional usage, cannot be discussed here ¹.

The other type of dress shown on the sarcophagus recurs on a very similar fresco from H. Triada (fig. 108 a) on the fragments of which two of the figures to the left from one of the long sides of the sarcophagus are repeated ², the lyre-player and the woman carrying pails on a pole across her shoulders. This dress is a robe covering the whole body and falling straight down without folds. It is worn both by men and women. It has a broad band on the shoulders and below, and a similar band runs down the side from under the arm. The colour varies. The seated goddess on the gold ring from Tiryns (fig. 26, p. 125) ³ is clad in a similar robe.

Sir A. Evans pointed out the sacral character of this dress when speaking of a fragment of painted stucco discovered in the palace of Knossos ⁴. It shows the heads and the upper part of the bodies of two small figures, each of whom was clad in a kind of white stole with a broad band running down from the shoulder. In front of them was the upper part of a column with a very prominent torus. He compares a similar dress worn by male figures on some seals and seal impressions where, however, the band is not visible. On some of these the figure carries a single-edged axe. Several such seals and impressions are quoted, among them a seal impression found at Knossos ⁵ and others in the museum of Candia ⁶. Two

¹ Cf. below, ch. XIII.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 69, figs. 21—23.

³ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1916, p. 147, fig. 5; *Arch. Delt.*, II, 1916, *App.*, pl. I, 1.

⁴ *BSA*, VII, p. 20.

⁵ Unpublished, mentioned *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶ One is published *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 85.

gems from the Vaphio tomb show a man clad in the same dress; in one carrying a single-edged axe, and in the other leading a griffin¹. In all three cases the garment has no vertical but several horizontal or oblique bands.

To these examples the god or hero from the H. Triada sarcophagus must be added; his garment is of the same order, although it seems to be made of hide and the vertical band runs down the front. Very similar is the dress of the seated figure on a gem in the British Museum², probably a deity because it is seated on an animal's head between two lions. It is tightly wrapped in the garment which hides its arms; there are two horizontal bands below and one vertical band running down the front.

This dress is certainly not one for everyday life but is reserved for deities and officiants of the cult. As the sarcophagus shows it to be of the same stuff as the hide-dress, it may be a modification in cloth of the hide garment, which was extended so as to cover the upper part of the body also. Finally I note a unique specimen on a seal impression from Zakro³: there are two figures, the first a woman in the common bell-shaped skirt; the second, who is carrying a single-edged axe on her shoulder, is apparently clad in a similar skirt and a peaked cap and wears a short cloak on her shoulders.

The man who conducts the procession on the famous Harvesters' vase from H. Triada⁴ is clad in what Savignoni holds to be a cuirass. It covers the upper part of the body and consists apparently of semicircular scales pointing upwards; it terminates below in a band or belt, and to this is affixed a broad piece of pleated cloth. It curiously resembles a Greek cuirass with its fringe of leather strips hanging down beneath it, but both 'cuirass' and cloth are evidently in one piece. The same garment appears on an above-mentioned seal impression from

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 26 and 32; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 39 and 47.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 165, fig. 45.

³ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 78 with pl. VI, 10; better *BSA*, XVII, 264, fig. 1.

⁴ Published by Savignoni, *Mon. ant.*, XIII, pp. 77, pl. I—III; often reproduced, e. g. *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXII.

H. Triada¹, which shows a man clad in the hide garment and over this the 'cuirass'. The 'cuirass' here shows zig-zag lines, but the belt is plain and to this the pleated cloth is affixed. Savignoni, however, explained the procession of the Harvesters' vase as marching soldiers with their weapons; since this interpretation was universally rejected and a procession of harvesters carrying forks is recognized, it follows also that the dress of the headman is sacral and not military². This is confirmed by the above-mentioned seal impression showing the 'cuirass' worn over the sacral hide garment and another man clad only in the hide garment.

The same piece of apparel is beyond doubt to be recognized on some gems and seal impressions. One is the above-mentioned clay seal from Zakro³, which shows two men clad in the hide garment; one of them adores a double axe and the other carries a 'cuirass' in his left hand. A Middle Minoan III gem from Knossos⁴ shows a woman shouldering the double axe and carrying the 'cuirass' in her right hand. The scales appear clearly, and apparently three flounces are affixed to the 'cuirass'.



FIG. 34. FAÏENCE KNOT FROM MYCENAE.

Sometimes there is a perplexing similarity between the representation of the 'cuirass' and that of a knot. Specimens of such knots have been found, one of ivory in the S. E. house at Knossos, and three pairs made of faïence in the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae (fig. 34)⁵. The upper part of such a knot is preserved on a wall painting in the main corridor of the

¹ Above, p. 133, fig. 31; also reproduced by Savignoni, *loc. cit.*, p. 114, fig. 9.

² Evans, *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 290, n. 14, pointed out that the 'cuirass' is only found in connexion with religious and ceremonial scenes and not in connexion with warlike equipment.

³ Above, p. 133. For reproductions see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 435, fig. 312.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* a and *BSA*, VIII, p. 102, fig. 59.

⁵ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pp. 278; figs. 350—352; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 431, fig. 309.

palace of Nirou Khani¹. These objects all show a loop, a knot, and two ends hanging down with a fringe below. The ivory specimen shows quadrangles separated by grooves somewhat resembling the scales of the 'cuirasses', the faïence specimens have a similarly painted check pattern. They have perforations for nails and it is suggested that they belonged to the faïence draught-board found in the same grave.

Sir A. Evans recognizes these knots in some cases² where it is really quite uncertain, whether a 'cuirass' is not intended. A gem found at the Argive Heraeum³ shows a bull's head between the horns of which hangs a double axe, and on either side there is a 'cuirass'. The quadrangular scales appear very neatly, but the intermediate part, the 'belt', is modelled in a manner not clearly intelligible; to this two *volants* are affixed. I consider this to be a 'cuirass' because the bull's head and the axe indicate a sacrifice. Gems from Crete and Mycenae⁴ show a lion and the object in question. A gold ring from the Vaphio tomb⁵ with a tree cult scene shows a great Mycenaean shield lying to the right and above this the same object, which may be a 'cuirass' represented on a small scale.

As far as these representations are concerned there is not much evidence for the sacral use of the knot. Knots with loops appear in connexion with the bull ring, whose sacral character is not demonstrable — one may tentatively conjecture that they are prizes —; two on a gold ring from Smyrna⁶, one on another gold ring from Arkhanes (inland from Knossos)⁷, and with double loops on one of the bead-seals from Thisbe⁸. The objects which hang down from the capital of a column to which two lions are attached on a gold ring from Mycenae⁹

¹ Restored *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 7, fig. 7.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 430; cf. *BSA*, IX, pp. 7 and fig. 4; and *JHS*, XLV, 1921, pp. 6.

³ Evans, *Palace etc.*, p. 435, fig. 312 c; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 42.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. III, 7, 49; *Eph. Arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 11.

⁵ Evans, *loc. cit.*, c; *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 176, fig. 52.

⁶ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 432, fig. 310 a.

⁷ *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 6, fig. 4.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 5, fig. 3 and pl. I, 1.

⁹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 159, fig. 39.

hardly seem to be knots. Mentioning this ring Sir A. Evans adds a seal impression from Knossos which is said to show a similar object hanging on either side of a palm-tree¹. It is unpublished and I am unable to give an opinion of the identification.

If the suggestion that the faïence knots from Mycenae were attached to a draught-board is correct, it appears that such knots were used as mere ornaments without any religious significance, and I think that the same may be said of knots worn by women, e. g. *la petite Parisienne* from the fresco found near the N. W. angle of the palace of Knossos, who wears a similar knot behind her neck. They may be nothing but a detail of contemporary fashion, as e. g. the open bodice, even when worn by goddesses and votaries.

The 'cuirass' is an enigmatical piece of apparel. The representations, especially that of the Harvesters' vase, can hardly be understood except as a kind of cuirass composed of scales. Such cuirasses occur among primitive peoples; the difficulty is that a cuirass is never worn by Minoan or Mycenaean warriors, and when the interpretation is certain, appears only in scenes with a religious significance. I must confess that I am unable to explain the origin and the meaning of this so-called cuirass. It may be that it is in some way connected with the knot which was made of stuff with a similar pattern, but this is also uncertain. The question whether a religious significance is to be ascribed to the knots, depends on the representations of the double axe with loops and tassels which will be discussed below².

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 431.

² Below, p. 176.

CHAPTER V.

THE HORNS OF CONSECRATION AND THE FAÇADE OF THE MINOAN SHRINES.

Concerning the vessels and other objects discussed in the foregoing pages it has often been difficult to decide whether they belonged to the cult or not; they may often have occurred both in sacral and secular use. Consequently they do not contribute much to our knowledge of Minoan religion. But there are other objects of preeminently religious character which are typical of the Minoan cult, above all, the horns of consecration and the double axe. They are so closely connected with the cult and with sacral architecture that here some of the most important questions of Minoan religion are answered.

I begin by enumerating the real specimens of horns of consecration which have been found. The most noteworthy discovery is that from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos where two pairs, made of stucco, were found standing *in situ* together with idols¹. Midway between the horns there is in each case a round socket in which some object was inserted. Sir A. Evans supposed that this was the shaft of a double axe; the steatite double axe which was found leaning against the left pair is, however, much too small to be used in this way. This discovery is of the utmost value because it shows the actual use of this implement in the cult. In the Fetish Shrine near the palace a pair was found resting on the balustrade on which one of the stone fetishes also was still standing; round it were traces of the usual layer of pebbles².

¹ Above, p. 73.

² Above, p. 83.

To the same period, that of the Reoccupation, the pair without a socket discovered in the S. E. House at Knossos¹ belongs. It was found not *in situ* but near a small platform of water-worn sherds, here used instead of the usual pebbles. It is very probable that it once stood upon this platform and that consequently we have here also an instance of its use in the cult.

One half of a very large pair, in plaster, was found in the small Late Minoan I palace of Nirou Khani near some steps which in fact seem to be a base or altar upon which the horns may once have rested². The room at Palaikastro in which a pair of horns of consecration was found seems to have been a store-room rather than a shrine³. The square miniature altar from the so-called Shrine of the Dove Goddess at Knossos shows on each side a pair of horns of consecration, and two other pairs belonging to the model shrine were discovered at the same place⁴. A pair from Gournia, made of limestone, from the north end of the Public Court, had a different use; it is stated that it formed a part of the cornice of the palace, — compare the illustrations cited below; a smaller pair was found in the Great House⁵.

In other cases the circumstances of discovery are less illuminating. A series of four horn-emblems of varying size carved in stone were obtained from Roussolakkos (Palaikastro)⁶. One pair comes from Tylissos⁷. In the museum of Candia there is half of a very large pair, in stucco, from *Πηλί* decorated with lines parallel to the base and with a blue square in the angle.

Another type is represented by three specimens which have a projection between the horns. The most remarkable

¹ Above, p. 77.

² See above, p. 92.

³ See above, p. 95.

⁴ See above, pp. 80.

⁵ *Gournia*, p. 48 and pl. XI, 25.

⁶ *BSA*, IX, p. 280, fig. 2.

⁷ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 219; Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, p. 51, fig. 26, in the middle of the second row.

of these was found in the cave of Patso¹. It is of clay and its outer face is decorated with lines; a broader stripe and a line follow the contour of the object, and in the space thus formed there are groups of parallel lines. The border line forms a pointed curve in the middle of the side but does not embrace the middle projection which is round and undecorated; unfortunately the extreme top is broken off. Between this and the horns on either side there are what seem to be loops or small handles. The small holes with which the object is perforated are probably intended to prevent it from cracking when fired. There are two similar but undecorated specimens, one from Patso² and the other from H. Triada.

Finally we must mention that a model of a pair of horns of consecration is found on one of the moulds from Palaikastro³. Fragments of terracotta altars with horns of consecration are mentioned from H. Triada⁴, and in the late palace stratum of Knossos a pair of miniature horns of consecration in bronze plate was found⁵. The horns attached to the tube-shaped vessels from Gournia⁶ do not belong to this series, but show yet once more the sacral connexion of the object.

A number of engraved gems, vases and wall-paintings give us further information with regard to the use and importance of the horns of consecration in the cult. They are seldom represented merely decoratively without special significance, like the double axes. There are only a few examples of this kind: on a funnel-shaped vase from Palaikastro⁷, on a perforated cover from the same place⁸, on a vase from Ialysos⁹, and on some seals, where, however, the symbol certainly has

¹ *Museo di ant. class.*, II, 1888, pl. XIV, 3; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 136, fig. 19.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 916.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1900, pl. III a.

⁴ *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, p. 319.

⁵ *BSA*, IX, p. 114.

⁶ Above, p. 76, fig. 3 b.

⁷ *BSA*, X, p. 214, fig. 5, and *Suppl.*, I, p. 105, fig. 88 a.

⁸ *Ibid.* XII, p. 7, fig. 5.

⁹ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. X, 63 A.

a more definite significance¹. A few fragments of a painted *larnax* showing sacral horns painted on fine yellow slip were found on the slope of Kastri (Palaikastro)².

With regard to the other representations it is often somewhat difficult to decide whether the construction upon which the horns of consecration are set up is an altar or a temple; we shall therefore do well to commence with the certain examples and proceed to the more or less uncertain. In this connexion it will also be necessary to discuss the exteriors of Minoan shrines, which are known solely from pictures.

A fragment of a steatite pyxis from Knossos shows a pair of horns of consecration standing on an altar of ashlar masonry³. Very often something is placed between the horns, but the only instance in which this can be a sacrificial offering is on a fragment of a relief *pithos* found in the cave of Psychro⁴, but no certain explanation can be given of this representation. It is first to be noted that the horns are very short and not pointed; they are hardly broken off, although they almost seem to have a kind of minute cavity at the top. The base resembles the Minoan altar with incurving sides. The whole might be interpreted as an altar with raised edges on its two sides, designed to prevent the fuel and offerings from falling down, such as are known in the Greek age by the name of *κατευταί*. On the other hand there is a well-marked horizontal depression dividing the base from the narrow border from which the horns rise. If this is taken into account, the representation may be understood as a pair of horns of consecration standing on a round altar base. Between the horns three cylindrical, staff-like objects are placed and beneath these two broad, flat discs; they cannot be interpreted otherwise than as some kind of offerings.

In all other cases the objects placed between the horns are either the double axe or the libation jug or boughs. A

¹ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 150, P 8 b, if the identification be correct, and p. 153, P 21 a.

² *BSA, Suppl.*, I, p. 154.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 103, fig. 2.

⁴ Cited above, p. 102.

vase fragment from Salamis in Cyprus has a broad frieze with a design consisting of alternate ox-skulls and horns of consecration, each pair supporting a double axe (fig. 35)¹. A vase fragment from Knossos² shows a pair of horns of consecration identically repeated twice. In the middle there is a low projection, resembling that of the specimen from Patso, in which a double axe is fixed; the shaft is decorated with leaves. Another fragment³ shows a part of a richly decorated double axe and what seems to be the point of a pair of horns of consecration. The *larnax* from Palaikastro⁴ shows on one face a pair of horns of consecration placed upon a base resembling a very slim column and between the horns a double



FIG. 35. VASE FROM SALAMIS IN CYPRUS.

axe placed upon a stepped base; on the other face there is a winged animal and above this two other pairs of horns. Another very late *larnax* from Episkopi near Hierapetra⁵ shows on one face two bulls, a bird, and three pairs of horns of consecration, one with the double axe.

It was mentioned above⁶ that two gems show the libation jug placed between the horns of consecration. The specimens showing a bough placed between the horns are still more illuminating because many of them also represent some religious act. The gem from the Idaean cave⁷ shows a woman blowing a shell trumpet before a pair of horns of

¹ A fragment illustrated by Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 107, fig. 3; the vase is now restored and illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, I: 2, p. 82, C 401, fig. 138; cf. Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 107.

² *BSA*, IX, p. 115, fig. 71.

³ *JHS*, XXIII, 1903, p. 204, fig. 15.

⁴ *BSA*, VIII, pl. XVIII.

⁵ *Delt. arch.*, VI, 1920—21, *App.*, p. 158, fig. 5; below, fig. 107.

⁶ Above, p. 125, n. 1.

⁷ Above, p. 130.

consecration with boughs, and the gem from Vaphio shows 'genii' with libation jugs watering the boughs placed between the horns: in both cases the pair is placed upon an altar with incurving sides. A pair of horns with a bough between them occurs by the side of a stag-man on a gem from Knossos¹, and on a gem from Palaikastro² together with a wild goat and its kid. Three pairs, all with boughs between the horns, occur on the bronze tablet from the cave of Psychro, here with a bird perching upon one of the boughs³. A seal stone from Sphoungaras mentioned above⁴ shows besides a libation jug and two trees to the left something that can only be understood as horns of consecration, although the right horn is wanting. An ivory signet ring from Phylakopi shows a woman worshipping before a pair of horns of consecration; the object between them seems to be a bough; behind the votary there are two conventionalized branches (fig. 36)⁵. This connexion between the horns of consecration and the sacred boughs may explain why the horns themselves are transformed into a vegetable motif on two gems in the British Museum (figs. 37 and 38)⁶. The form of the horns of consecration is easily recognizable, although the base projects beyond the horns on both sides. The horns have the appearance of boughs with leaves, and between them there is another



FIG. 36. IVORY SIGNET RING FROM PHYLAKOPI.

¹ *BSA*, VII, p. 19, fig. 7 b.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 154, fig. 31. It is very remarkable that this is one of the very rare gems with a linear sign. The same sign recurs on a gem in the museum of Candia showing a bull laid out on the slaughtering table, below, p. 195, fig. 62. Can we venture to conclude that the sign refers to an animal sacrifice?

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 632, fig. 470.

⁴ Above, p. 126, fig. 27.

⁵ *Excavations at Phylakopi*, *JHS*, *Suppl.* IV, p. 193, fig. 162.

⁶ *British Museum, Catalogue of Gems*, 2nd ed., I, pl. I, 25 and 26.

similar bough. It may be noted in comparison that the shaft of the double axe is often decorated with leaves¹.



FIG. 37. SEALSTONE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The most striking testimony to the sanctity of the place between the horns is to be seen on a gem found near Kydonia². A nude male figure stands between the horns of consecration, to the right there is a 'genius' with a libation jug, to the left a winged goat. No representation could be more illuminating; here the god himself takes the same place as the sacred boughs or the libation jug in the other cases³.

Finally I recur to the three specimens mentioned above, pp. 141, which have a projection between the horns. The decorated specimen from the cave of Psychro proves that this projection, being undecorated, does not strictly belong to the sacred horns. Consequently it looks as if this projection is derived from an object placed between the horns which was incorporated with them. Unfortunately it is not possible to say what this projection represents.



FIG. 38. SEALSTONE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Pairs of horns of consecration form a consistent and characteristic feature of Minoan shrines, the appearance of which is known through several representations. The only specimen preserved practically intact is the one made of gold leaf from Mycenae of which two copies were found in the

¹ Below, p. 174.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, p. 708, fig. 582.

³ A gem at Naples published by Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 37, fig. 15, and repeated by Gaerte, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XXI, 1922, p. 77, fig. 6, shows a seated woman while before her stands another woman with something in her outstretched arm which is interpreted as a pair of horns of consecration. But the picture is not clear and the interpretation seems doubtful because no other representation shows the horns of consecration in the hand of a man.

IIIrd and three in the IVth shaft grave ¹. The structure has three compartments; within each of these there is a Mycenaean column and a pair of horns of consecration. The two side-compartments are each crowned by a pair of horns of consecration upon which a bird has alighted. Above the central compartment there is a construction resembling an altar with incurved sides upon which another pair of horns rests and between the horns there is a smaller similar pair. With this representation a seal impression from Mycenae ² has two important points in common: a smaller pair of horns of consecration being inserted between the horns of a larger one and a bird perching upon them; they are resting upon a column on either side of which are a quadruped and a bird. Another piece of gold leaf, on which the representation is rather obscure, was found in the *tholos* tomb of Volo in Thessaly ³. It shows a construction of ashlar masonry or bricks with an intermediate course of round beam heads; in the centre there is a high door. The upper part of the foil is damaged and its interpretation is uncertain, but the construction may have been crowned by horns of consecration ⁴. The Mycenaean gold leaf has served as a model for the reconstruction of fragments of a wall painting from Knossos found in the Room of the Spiral Cornice and belonging to the miniature fresco ⁵. This picture likewise shows three compartments but the central one is elevated and has a separate substructure.

¹ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 306, fig. 423; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 191, fig. 65. Cf. K. Müller, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, p. 303.

² *BSA*, XXIV, p. 205, fig. 1.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1906, pl. XIV.

⁴ So Bulle, *Orchomenos, I, Abh. Akad. München*, I Kl., XXIV: 2, p. 78, n. 1.

⁵ *BSA*, VI, pp. 46; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pl. V, restored p. 192, fig. 66. Subsequently Sir Arthur Evans has given a somewhat different restoration, *Journal of the R. Institute of British Architects*, XVIII, 1911, pp. 289, incorporating the fragment with a row of round beam heads shown in *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 136, fig. 18, but he has been kind enough to inform me in a letter, which I mention with his permission, that this piece does not belong here and that the true restoration should be based on the wings. Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, pp. 35, who gives a restoration (*loc. cit.* fig. 18) differing from the first of Evans' chiefly by rows of horns placed above the compartments. A small fragment of a similar wall painting was found at Tiryns, see *Tiryns*, II, pp. 16 and pl. I, 1.

This compartment has two columns and behind each column a pair of horns of consecration. Whether or not the structure was crowned by horns of consecration is uncertain, because the whole upper part is lost. Before the shrine there is a dense crowd of men and women. Fragments of another fresco which have fallen down from an upper storey into the 13th magazine show three columns — in the one surviving capital white objects in the form of double axes are inserted — and between them horns of consecration¹. Below there is a high substructure decorated with rosettes. The fragments preserved give no division into compartments, but a dividing wall occurs on another fragment, and another contiguous fragment shows the round beam ends of the entablature and upon this the lower part of a pair of horns of consecration². A vase from Knossos³ shows a column with capital and base and the extremities of a pair of horns of consecration; another column must have been depicted on the lost part; between the capitals there are garlands and boughs hang down from them.

The altar on the side of the H. Triada sarcophagus on which the animal sacrifice is depicted has been discussed above⁴. Behind the altar is a pillar with the double axe and behind this another construction above which is a tree with spreading branches⁵. Resting on the entablature are four pairs of horns of consecration. It is to be noted that both here and on the wall paintings the horns are always coloured white; they consist apparently of white-coated plaster like some specimens actually found.

A similar shrine is represented on a smaller scale on some gems and seals. On the seal impression from Knossos with the Mother of the Mountain⁶ there is, to the left, a construction consisting of a substruction and a superstructure with two columns and two pairs of horns, two other pairs crowning the entablature. Among a great mass of seal impressions found

¹ *BSA*, X, pl. II etc.; see above, p. 82, n. 1.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 42, fig. 14.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 494, fig. 353.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pl. II. See above, p. 100.

⁵ Cf. below, pp. 228 and 233.

⁶ *BSA*, VII, p. 29, fig. 9.

in the back rooms of the domestic quarter some are mentioned as having representations of cult scenes and of a shrine with sacral horns¹. In the house of the Fetish Shrine two fragmentary clay seal impressions were found exhibiting parts of façades of shrines. The one reproduced² shows a building with two columns, an entablature with round beam-heads, and above this a row of horns of consecration: the lower part is broken off so that it cannot be decided whether horns were placed between the columns. Before the temple there was an altar with horns of consecration. A seal impression from Zakro³ has to the left a structure consisting of a substructure and a superstructure with columns crowned with two pairs of horns; to the right an altar with one pair. A gold signet ring from Mycenae⁴ shows a woman standing in worship before a goddess with a mirror seated in front of a shrine whose column has a very large capital; at its base there is a pair of horns of consecration and two others are resting on the entablature. Another gold signet ring from the same place⁵ shows a female votary before a construction standing on a mountain or rocky hill; behind her is a tree. Two slender pillars on either side support an entablature consisting of an architrave and a cornice; a third member interposed between these two seems to consist of small squares, perhaps beam ends. On the cornice are the sacred horns and between them a slender curving object which can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as a bough or branch; two similar branches shoot up each side of the base of the shrine. There is no central column; the small dot between the pillars is obscure; Sir A. Evans thinks it may be a flying bird. An ivory signet ring from the early period of the third city of Phylakopi (fig. 36)⁶ shows a woman in adoration before an altar with a pair of horns of consecration.

¹ *BSA*, VIII, p. 77.

² *BSA*, XI, p. 12, fig. 5.

³ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 77, No. 1, fig. 1.

⁴ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 190, fig. 64; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 21.

⁵ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 182, fig. 56.

⁶ *Excavations at Phylakopi, JHS, Suppl.* IV, p. 193, fig. 162; cf. above, p. 145.

Between the horns, but unconnected with their base, there are some curving lines which may represent a bough. Behind are two conventional trees or palm branches. The workmanship is rude and somewhat geometric in character.

A badly preserved seal from H. Triada (fig. 39)¹ shows a woman worshipping before a construction which resembles a table with a garland hanging down beneath its leaf; on it rest what may be taken for two pairs of horns of consecration, although the objects seem rather to resemble pointed stones or some similar objects.

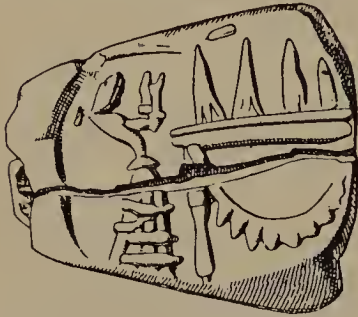


FIG. 39. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM
H. TRIADA.

A third gold signet ring from Mycenae² shows three female votaries before a construction which may be described as an altar table with four legs and a central column upon which rests a pair of horns of consecration; but it resembles very much the construction shown on the second gold signet ring mentioned above and is certainly better understood as a shrine. One horn is left out for want of space. A similar scene recurs on a gold plated silver ring from Mycenae³. The construction, which may be described as two columns without capitals supporting an entablature on which rests a pair of horns of consecration, is called a sacred gate-way by Sir A. Evans; its lower part is wanting. I prefer to think that it is a shrine; the upper course of the entablature shows a row of small squares which can hardly be explained otherwise than as quadrangular beam heads.

A curious construction is shown on a gem from Ligoroty with a female worshipper⁴. The very high substructure

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 42, fig. 36.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 189, fig. 63; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 44, fig. 21.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 184, fig. 58, and pl. VI, 4 respectively.

⁴ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 185, fig. 59. R. Vallois, *Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète*, *Rev. des Études anc.*, XLVIII, 1926, p. 124, takes some of the here quoted representations for altar tables. I prefer to think that they are shrines, but this difference of opinion is of less importance.

occupies only a small part to the left; the remaining space is filled with what seems to be a moon-sickle. Above this there are two low and three higher and narrower apertures — above the latter a tree rises — and on the extreme right a single horn. The apertures so much resemble the slits in the temple model from the shrine of the Dove Goddess that there cannot be any doubt about their identity. The horn must be taken as an abbreviated representation, although even this is not without its difficulties. A fourth gold signet ring from Mycenae¹ is also embarrassing. It shows two female votaries on either side of a curious construction which Sir A. Evans supposes to be a shrine on a peak surrounded by a *temenos*. The most plausible interpretation seems to be that the dotted squares in the foreground are the walls of a sacred precinct; from the door opening a paved way leads up to the shrine; at either side are two walls forming two angles, in one of these angles a tree rises. The shrine shows a quadrangular aperture and in this three columns although their form is slightly elliptical, and capitals are absent. The object upon the entablature is a pair of horns of consecration though of different appearance. The base projects beyond the horns as on the gems mentioned above²; the horns are thick and short and end in a tripartite ornament which most of all resembles the *aplustre* of a ship but must be taken to be boughs. Between the horns is a small object the nature of which cannot be determined.

Finally a fragment of a steatite vessel from Knossos³ must be mentioned. Two men are marching with bowls in their outstretched hands, clearly an offertory procession. Above their head is a construction, the preserved fragment of which shows isodomic masonry; above this is a cornice, above this again a pair of sacred horns, and on each side a slender pillar or post. As the right hand post goes deeper down than the one on the left and as there are traces of isodomic masonry to the right at a lower and to the left at a higher level than in the extant middle part, the construction has been restored

¹ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, fig. 57; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. VI, 2.

² Above, p. 146, figs. 37 and 38.

³ *BSA*, IX, p. 129, fig. 85.

with a high degree of probability as a kind of staircase balustrade, the single steps of which were adorned with horns of consecration.

The use and significance of the sacral horns are established with certainty through the testimony of the representations. They are justly called 'horns of consecration' by Sir A. Evans. They are neither cult objects venerated in themselves nor the place for offerings, a kind of altar in the ancient sense, but they are the place of consecration where objects of the cult are laid, — either the cult implements (e. g. the libation jug) or the actual objects of the cult themselves (e. g. the sacred bough.) To which of these classes the double axe is to be assigned is a question which will be considered later. The horns of consecration seem further to be employed in a more symbolical or even ornamental fashion on buildings where they cannot all, at any rate, have served as receptacles for cult objects or cult implements. That many of the constructions in which the sacral horns occur are shrines appears clearly from the presence of votaries standing in worship before them; this is especially true of the engraved gems. But notwithstanding this it may be doubted if all buildings in which the sacred horns appear are of a sacred nature, temples or shrines or altars. For it is a characteristic feature of Minoan art that emblems or even figures, e. g. the 'genii', which are of religious origin are transferred by the artist's fancy to mere artistic and ornamental use. We cannot believe, for example, that all vases adorned with the double axe are sacral vessels, though the horns of consecration seldom occur on vases as mere ornaments without visible religious significance. The question how far this applies to the buildings represented on the Knossian frescoes is raised by Professor Bulle¹. Concerning the shrine represented on the Miniature fresco he observes that the crowd gathered before it does not give the impression of being engaged in a religious act but has rather the appearance of a garden party². On the other hand he admits that the strict resemblance of this building to that of the Myce-

¹ Bulle, *Orchomenos, I, Abhandl. Akad. München*, I Kl., XXIV, 2, pp. 77.

² Cf. the fragments from the same fresco mentioned *BSA*, X, p. 2.

naean gold foil, which is proved to be a shrine by the birds which have alighted upon the sacred horns, speaks strongly for its sacral character. I think that this is decisive and proves it really to be a shrine.

On the other hand it is difficult to see how the construction figured on the steatite vessel from Knossos, which must be reconstructed as a kind of staircase, can have been a sanctuary. The offertory procession is passing alongside it, not approaching it. It must also be admitted that the building figured on the fresco fragments discovered in the 13th magazine differs in appearance from the shrines which are known from so many engraved gems and rings. These shrines show one or more compartments with one, or rarely two, columns and horns of consecration behind or between them. Here there is a row of columns and sacred horns, and the building was evidently an open hall. Other fragments show that it had a row of sacred horns crowning the entablature. Although two pairs of horns of consecration are standing in the Shrine of the Double Axes they are here almost too much in evidence. Attention should be called to the shrine from the H. Triada sarcophagus which is crowned by a row of four pairs of horns of consecration. I venture to think that the use of the sacral horns was here extended and that they ceased to be the actual horns of consecration between which cult objects and implements were placed and merely came to denote the sacred character of a building, in the same manner as the cross is set up not only upon the altar but also upon the tower of a church or the roof of a chapel. There are other sacred buildings besides shrines and temples, e. g. the treasure houses and halls in the sacred precincts of the Greek age, and it cannot be denied that the case may have been the same in the Minoan age. Sir A. Evans considers the palace of Knossos as being to a great extent of a sacred character. Therefore I suggest that buildings connected with a sanctuary other than a shrine were adorned with sacred horns in order to stamp them as sacred.

We shall do well to keep in mind the above established use and significance of the horns of consecration in approaching the difficult and obscure question concerning the origin

of this implement. The common opinion that it is a conventional imitation of actual horns of oxen, or rather a piece of the skull with the horns attached, was proposed by Sir A. Evans¹. This origin is suggested by the vase from Salamis on Cyprus² on which the double axe appears alternately between the horns of bucrania and between the horns of the implement in question. Sir A. Evans refers to the horns of the altar in Hebrew ritual, but there is the very important difference that these were attached to the altar and formed part of it whilst the horns of consecration are a separate entity placed unattached upon an altar, a shrine or some other construction³.

Miss Blanche Williams finds a striking similarity between the position of the arms of certain idols and the forms of the sacred horns suggesting comparison with an Egyptian predynastic figure of which the raised arms bear a strong resemblance to horns, and thinks that it is not impossible that in Crete, as in Egypt, there prevailed an early worship of a Great Mother in the form of a cow goddess and that a reminiscence of such a goddess is preserved in the curious attitude, although connecting evidence is lacking⁴. Dr. Zahn has taken up this suggestion⁵ but in the opposite sense; he considers the horns to be the sign of the raised arms of the goddess, i. e. an abbreviated cult symbol.

There are also other explanations connecting the horns

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 135; cf. Dussaud, *La Civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 339, etc.; Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 538.

² Above, p. 144, fig. 35.

³ Evans reproduces, *loc. cit.*, p. 137, fig. 20, an altar from a *stèle* dedicated to the god Salm from Northern Arabia which shows an object placed upon the altar and really very similar to the Minoan sacred horns; in this object the head of a bull appears. I must, however, own to some doubt about this. The contour of the lower part of the bull's head and the inner contour of the object in question are identical, that is to say, the contour owes its form to the bull's head and the object may be some device destined to hold it in position (cf. the coin from Ake (Ptolemaïs) in Phenicia, Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 553, fig. 431; this is also the opinion of Dussaud, *loc. cit.*, p. 330, n. 5.), the real contour of the object being concealed by the head. Anyhow this analogy is too far-fetched to be convincing.

⁴ *Gournia*, p. 48.

⁵ Zahn in K. F. Kinch, *Fouilles de Vroulia*, p. 34, n. 1.

of consecration with Egyptian cult symbols, and although they differ in details the common tendency is to consider the object as a symbol of a certain deity. Pater Lagrange¹ compared the bull's head *rhyton* from Mycenae with the Egyptian goddess Hathor who is represented as a cow; the rosette in the front of the *rhyton* was compared with the solar disc. Professor Kristensen took up this suggestion and developed it further². He thinks that the bull is the symbol of the earth from which comes fertility and refers to the Egyptian expression according to which the four cardinal points are called 'the horns of the earth'. Their Elysium is situated on the horizon and the horizon with the rising sun is represented by the Egyptians as two mountains with the solar disc between them in a manner very similar to the horns of consecration³. The sacred horns are said to be a symbol of the fertile earth. Consequently the earth is thought of as a bull and hence is explained the Egyptian custom of burying bulls so that the horns project from the ground⁴. Professor Kristensen lays further stress on the fact that the double axe, the weapon of the thunder god, occurs together with the sacred horns.

Professor Newberry refers to the same Egyptian symbol⁵ and says that that with two elevations is the hieroglyphic word-sign for 'hill' or 'mountain' and that with three elevations the word-sign for 'foreign country'; both derive from a cult object or a little known divinity in the N. W. Delta; with this he connects a rare title 'priest of the double axe' and points out the Minoan parallel. This suggestion is adopted with reser-

¹ Lagrange, *La Crète ancienne*, p. 83.

² W. B. Kristensen, *De heilige horens in den oud-kretenzischen godsdienst, Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 4th ser., XII, pp. 74.

³ See e. g. Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 162, fig. 42, for illustration.

⁴ Herodotus II, 41, corroborated by modern discoveries. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 508, points to a modern custom of the Dinka negroes of making a kind of shrine in the form of a mud heap with a pair of bullock's horns stuck into it. He thinks that the horned altar of the Mediterranean world originated as the shrine of a buried beast.

⁵ Newberry, *Two cults of the Old Kingdom, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool*, I, 1909, pp. 24.

vations by Dr Gaerte¹. In his opinion the sacred horns represent the earth and are symbols of the Great Minoan Earth Goddess who is akin to Magna Mater. The most important part of his paper is that in which he tries to prove that the sacred horns really represent mountains. For this purpose he collects and analyses the instances. He justly observes that there are various forms of the object. The one extreme is represented e. g. by the horns from Palaikastro²; these are very thick and massive and closely joined at the base; Gaerte calls this form the 'pure mountain type'. The next type, e. g. the small specimen of the same figure, shows the horns more separated from each other; another type shows the horns more pointed, e. g. the Vaphio gem and the horns from the Shrine of the Double Axes.

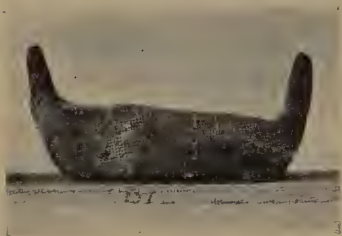


FIG. 40. HORNS OF CONSECRATION FROM MOCHLOS.

The other extreme is that which is found most commonly, where the implement consists of two horn-shaped projections connected by a stafflike base.

This series would only prove something, if it really represented a continuous development from older to later forms, but this is not the case. Gaerte

himself admits³ that the differences of form do not correspond to the differences of age; several types occur at the same time and in the same place. The bulk of the instances which can be dated with certainty belongs to Late Minoan, especially II and III. To Middle Minoan III the small pair from Palaikastro found together with a clay table of offering and pieces of stalactite belongs⁴, and to Middle Minoan II the models of altars and a shrine from the Shrine of the Dove Goddess. The latter show very neatly the horn-like form. In an Early Minoan votive deposit at Mochlos an object (fig. 40) was found which Seager with reason holds to be the prototype of the horns

¹ W. Gaerte, *Die Horns of Consecration*, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XXI, 1922, pp. 72.

² *BSA*, IX, p. 280, fig. 2.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 80.

⁴ *BSA*, IX, p. 280, fig. 92 b; cf. p. 289; above, p. 95.

of consecration¹. The base is very large and long, the horns small and pointed. If this interpretation is correct, the hypothesis of Gaerte is undoubtedly wrong.

Even if it is admitted that the type with massive horns is the original one, the interpretation of these as mountains is by no means self-evident and is in reality suggested by the Egyptian symbol of the mountain or the horizon represented by two mountains. The similarity of form is undeniable and the influence of Egypt on Minoan Crete was so strong from so early a period that it would be easy to understand the adoption of such a symbol. But there is a very wide difference: the Minoan horns of consecration are no symbol but a cult implement, the place of consecration for different objects, the cult vessels, the double axe, the sacred boughs. Consequently it must be as erroneous to connect the horns of consecration with a special deity as it would be, for example, to consider the altar as the symbol for a certain deity. Of course we cannot speak with certainty of the cult except in so far as we know it from the monuments. The Egyptian symbols in question appear already in the Old Kingdom and are used later chiefly as word-signs; the Minoan horns of consecration first appear in Middle Minoan II, if we except the specimen from Mochlos, which may be considered as dubious, and are common in the Late Minoan age.

Quite another view is taken by Dr. Paribeni². He recognizes horns of consecration, derived from the Minoan ones, in some curious objects (so-called *Mondbilder*) from the early part of the Iron Age in Central Europe and Italy, but this suggestion cannot be considered as well founded. The similarity is very remote, above all inasmuch as the so-called horns are small, not very prominent, and not horn-shaped, while the base itself is larger and broader. The explanation of the horns of consecration suggested to Sjövall by this connection is, however,

¹ Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 48, 31 and p. 93; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 57, fig. 16 C.

² Paribeni, *Corni di consecrazione della prima età del ferro europea*, *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana*, 3rd ser., XXX, 1904, pp. 304.

worth considering¹. He thinks that both these so-called *Mondbilder* and the horns of consecration, the common feature of which is that they both consist of a base with two projections at the extremities, are originally fire-dogs. If a fire-dog was regularly placed upon the altar, it could be understood how a cult implement such as the Minoan horns of consecration might have developed out of this practical appliance, because it was constantly connected with the sacrifice; but there is a serious difficulty, viz. that no fire-dogs are found in secular use in the Early Minoan or neolithic ages of Crete².

What the origin of the horns of consecration is must remain uncertain, but their use and significance in the cult is well established.

Some scholars recognize a survival of the horns of consecration in an object occurring on a number of vases of the Greek age³. It seems to have two horns pointed and slightly curving outwards and a third broader horn in the middle; this is wanting in one specimen only⁴. There is no need to collect and discuss the instances, since Professor Deubner has shown conclusively that the object in question is in fact a basket as it is usually called, and that the so-called horns are the handles of the basket which, however, were developed ornamentally and sometimes filled with basket work⁵. This is shown not only by the series of vase pictures which

¹ H. Sjövall, *Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration*, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XXXIII, 1925, pp. 185.

² As for a find from Asine, which may be such an implement, see Persson in *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1924—25, p. 63 and pl. XXVI, 1.

³ This opinion was first put forward by Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, pp. 45, repeated *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Text, II, p. 84. He identifies this object with the horns of consecration as depicted on Minoan gems which he erroneously takes for a basket. Furthermore he refers to the *στάφαι πάντων πλήρεις ἀγαθῶν* which according to Athen., VIII, p. 335 A, were offered to the goddess Brizo on Delos and supposes that these are the same vessels. Since finds have shown what the horns of consecration really are the object of the vase paintings was identified with these. See Kristensen, *loc. cit.*; Gaerte, *loc. cit.*; Bates, *Actes du IVe congrès d'histoire des religions à Leide*, 1912, p. 137.

⁴ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, XIII, 1909, p. 210, fig. 13; Gaerte, *loc. cit.*, p. 87, fig. 13.

⁵ Deubner, *Archäol. Jahrbuch*, XL, 1925, pp. 213.

he has collected¹, but also more especially by some clay imitations of this kind of basket with three big curving handles.

I will only add a few words. Where this object is carefully drawn it always has a narrow rim at its base indicated by two parallel lines. The curves between the so-called horns do not reach this rim: a part of this base consists consequently of the same material as the so-called horns. This part is, if painted, covered with what seems to be a net work; the lines are drawn zig-zag on the *stamnos* in the British Museum and seem beyond doubt to indicate basket work. The rim is the bottom of the basket which may have been made of wood². This explanation agrees with the manner in which the object is carried: so large an object must be rather light, like a basket, or it would not be possible to carry it on the outstretched arm. A pair of horns of consecration of stone or plaster would be much too heavy. The horns of consecration have a narrow base, the object in question presumably a broad one and three horns. Finally the use is quite different. The horns of consecration are never carried in the hand³; the object of the vases is usually so carried: in the battle around the altar of Busiris it is evident that the object has fallen to the ground from someone's arm.

At a first glance there is a strange similarity of shape

¹ Professor Deubner declines to give a complete enumeration but the instances collected by him are much more numerous than those in the above quoted papers. I only add two *stamnoi* with almost identical representations taken from the Athenian Festival of the Pitchers, the one in the British Museum (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, pl. XXXII facing p. 240) and the other in the Louvre (both figured by Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen*, 72. *Winkelmannsprogramm, Berlin*, pl. V and p. 12, figs. 26 och 27). Concerning their interpretation see my paper, *Die Prozessionstypen im griech. Kult*, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 328.

² I long believed like Professor Deubner, *loc. cit.* p. 221, that this basket had four horns or handles, the fourth in the middle of the back being concealed by that in front according to a common device of vase painting, but the clay imitations show that this opinion is erroneous. There were only three handles. There are other vases showing a basket of a kindred type with three low projections round the rim; for these I refer to the quoted paper.

³ Except a very dubious instance; see above, p. 146, n. 3.

between the two objects but this is accidental; the one is made of stone or plaster, the other of basket work. This is no survival of Minoan religion in the Greek cult.

I take the opportunity of adding a discussion of the enigmatical objects commonly called 'sheep-bells'. They belong especially to Middle Minoan I and are found chiefly at Knossos and Tylissos where they are very numerous, but only a few specimens are published¹. The form is always substantially the same, with small variations in details. The bell-shaped body has a loop handle on its top and a horn-shaped projection on either side. The top is seldom flat as in the specimen from Knossos figured by Sir A. Evans but usually rounded. The specimen mentioned has two perforations in its top, though they are usually found high up in the side. Of the specimens from Tylissos some have a larger loop and smaller horns, sometimes turned horizontally outwards. Two specimens have a flat top and deep vertical impressions in the middle of the lower part of the body; two have no loop and small horns. Five further specimens are double; one of these has in the angle at the point of contact a small ox, another a goat's head. Sir A. Evans mentions also this double form and says that in one case a bull's head appears between the 'bells'². A very curious specimen is figured by Hazzidakis³. It has no loop but an appendix to the right so that it looks like a snail with its horns raising its head.

As there is no conceivable practical use of these objects, they are supposed to be of a sacral character. Dr. Mackenzie and Sir A. Evans consider them as votive bells, the clapper being suspended by a string drawn through the afore-said perforations. This seems improbable because the perforations are usually found in the sides. They may be explained in the same way as the similar perforations of the sacred horns, viz. as serving to prevent the object from cracking when being fired. The interpretation of Hazzidakis who considers the 'bells'

¹ *JHS*, XXIII, 1903, p. 180, fig. 9; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 175, fig. 124; *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 229, and Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, p. 72, fig. 37.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 175, n. 3.

³ Hazzidakis, *loc. cit.*, No. 12.

as votive robes is hardly acceptable both in view of their form and the fact that they are often doubled. Gaerte brought the 'bells' into connexion with the sacred horns¹. There is a faint probability for this assumption, because the horns of the 'bells' are never absent; the loop is not essential and may be wanting; moreover the sacred horns from Patso² also show loops. Further, the 'bells' belong to a period previous to that of the horns of consecration. Against this connexion it may, however, be said that nothing can be placed between the horns of the 'bells', and this seems essential to the horns of consecration.

¹ Gaerte, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85.

² Above, p. 142.

CHAPTER VI. THE DOUBLE AXE.

ANIMAL SACRIFICE. ANIMALS' HEADS.

Of all the religious symbols and emblems that appear in the Minoan civilization the double axe is the most conspicuous, the real sign of Minoan religion and as omnipresent as the cross in Christianity and the crescent in Islam. Before we begin to discuss the question of the significance of the double axe a survey of the instances in which it appears, either as a separate object or painted or engraved, will be necessary.

The double axe was in the Minoan age as in later antiquity a tool of everyday life and many such double axes have been found in Crete and on the mainland¹. There are also other and more numerous finds of double axes which are unfit for practical use, either through being made of thin sheet bronze which cannot stand any wear, or because they are so small that they cannot have been a tool (they often have, for example, nothing but a small bronze pin for a handle); finally, there are others made of lead, soft stone etc. As such specimens are found principally in cult places, there would not be the slightest doubt about their religious associations, even if illustrations did not show the double axe set up between the

¹ E. g. Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 125, fig. 173, and *Tiryns*, p. 189, fig. 100; *Gournia*, pl. IV; *Ant. crét.*, II, pl. XXXIII; *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 463, fig. 71, cf. XII, p. 69 (Phaestus). The mattocks found at Zakro have the same form, *BSA*, VII, p. 135, fig. 46. See the paper by A. Mosso, *Le armi piu antichi*, *Memorie dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XII, 1908, pp. 500. There is a very notable axe ornamented with a beautiful butterfly (fig. 41), p. 502 and pl. II, No. 77; Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 644, fig. 560.

horns of consecration¹ and occurring in actual cult scenes. The form of these sacral double axes differs distinctly from that of the tool. The latter is heavier with blades which are thick throughout but especially towards the middle through which the shaft hole is bored; its edges and its blunt sides are only slightly curved; — all features due to its practical use. The ritual form of the double axe is often ornamentally developed in such a way as to make it quite unfit for any practical purpose. The sides and the edges are usually strongly curved so that the tips of the blades often form pointed or horn-shaped projections; the edges are often purely ornament-



FIG. 41. DOUBLE AXE WITH BUTTERFLY.

ally doubled. The surface is sometimes decorated with a linear pattern consisting of lines following the edges and sides and groups of other transverse oblique lines which also appear on the double axes of the vase paintings.

The oldest specimens come from a rich Early Minoan II grave at Mochlos, one is probably of copper with a length of only 7,5 cm., two other similar axes are of lead². Their shape is that of the tool except that the blades are thinner so as to form an almost ovoidal tube round the shaft hole. This circumstance and the small size of the specimens and the material of the two leaden axes all show that they are votive objects. Next to these comes a bronze plate in the form of a small double axe found in one of the chambers adjoining the *tholos* tomb of H. Triada which was packed with human

¹ See above, p. 144.

² Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 36 and fig. 12.

bones and funeral apparel¹ and three axes from a *tholos* tomb at Platanos² belonging to Early Minoan III.

The largest store of double axes comes from the cult caves, especially from the cave of Psychro³. I quote the words of Dr. Hogarth "The axes are all *simulacra*, being either too small or of too thin a bronze to have served any useful purpose. Remains of 18 undoubted double axes were recovered, all found in the Lower Grot, and in almost every case *in situ* in the stalactite niches. Two retained their shafts (a bronze pin), and many bronze pins, found in the same region, had doubtless been attached to other axes. Two specimens are of almost pure copper. The largest of all the axe heads, a perfect example 280 mm. long, found in a niche of a small lateral hall near the head of the subterranean pool, shows lines, drawn with a fine tool, crossing the blades obliquely⁴. — — Only one specimen has the straight cutting edges of the Knossos stone marks. The rest show the outward curving edge. — — The chief point of variance lies in the fashion of the socket through which the shaft passes. This is formed in the two copper examples, whose heads are more solid, by drilling the thickened middle; in others by recurving the overlapping ends of the two plates which, riveted in the middle, make the axe head; in others, made of a single plate, by a small added plate riveted on the centre with nails, or held in position by four tongues bent over at the back; in one case by rolling the single plate back on itself. Two examples show no sign of a socket; and, seeing that several of these heads, e. g. the largest, were found probably as originally dedicated, many of the axes would appear to have been unprovided with shafts." It may be considered not unlikely that the copper axes were heirlooms from a much older age, although the lower cave on the whole was frequented in a much later period; both material and form seem to indicate this.

¹ *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, p. 342; concerning the tomb see *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXI, pp. 249.

² See below, p. 165.

³ *BSA*, VI, pp. 108, and fig. 40.

⁴ This axe and a similar one previously obtained by Evans on the same spot are figured *BSA*, VII, p. 53, fig. 15 b, c.

The cave of Arkhalokhori described above¹ yielded a great number of votive double axes, but almost all were more or less broken². The blades are always very much curved. Some examples are made of a single piece of bronze sufficiently thickened in the middle as to allow of their being bored with a hole for the handle. Others are made of two pieces of metal joined together without the use of rivets, a groove in each forming the shaft hole. Other specimens have neither hole nor handle. A single specimen with very curving blades and a very narrow middle is made of silver, weighing 3,5 grammes. The date of this cave is somewhat uncertain, the finds not being stratified; the pottery belongs to Early Minoan or Middle Minoan I a, but the swords are, on the contrary, later in form³. Consequently it is impossible to state the age of these double axes with certainty; although Hazzidakis is inclined to ascribe them to Early Minoan, they may belong to a later age. In the excavation of the early Minoan *tholos* tomb at Platanos, however, three votive double axes were found together with daggers of the long type⁴; two were of considerable size and made of sheet copper, the third was a miniature axe cast solid.

From the cave of Skoteino⁵, which was emptied before the days of scientific research, comes a beautiful double axe; another comes from Arvi near Hierapytna⁶.

Many Minoan palaces and houses have yielded specimens of double axes. At Gournia two specimens were found⁷; one (length 31 cm.) has a bored shaft hole, but the blades are too thin for practical use; the other (length 24,5 cm.) has a socket made by curving the overlapping edges of the plates and fastening them together with two pairs of rivets.

That no large bronze double axes were found in the

¹ Above, p. 55.

² *BSA*, XIX, p. 46, fig. 9.

³ Cf. above, p. 55.

⁴ *Delt*, *Arch.*, II, 1916, *App.*, p. 27; Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, pp. 109 and pl. LVI; cf. pp. 106 and pl. LV.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 53.

⁶ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, V, 1901, p. 442.

⁷ *Gournia*, pl. XI B, 22, 23.

palaces of Knossos and Phaestus may easily be explained because they were thoroughly ransacked by plunderers searching for metal objects of value. In a magazine in the neighbouring palace of H. Triada (No. 42 in the plan, fig. 5, p. 87) a large fragment of a very big double axe of sheet bronze with the usual decoration of border lines and oblique lines was found¹. Still more important is the discovery in the small palace of Nirou Khani, dating from the beginning of Late Minoan, where four huge double axes with blades of bronze sheet riveted to their sockets, the biggest 1 metre 20 cm. in length, were found in a room together with tables of offering, stone lamps, and clay censers or chafing pans².

Smaller discoveries were made on several sites. Two double axes, one large and one only 5 cm. in length, were obtained from Roussolakkos (Palaikastro)³. In a niche in a house at Kouramenos two others were found, both in fragments and about 25 cm. in length. One had its shaft hole formed by the bronze sheets overlapping, the other consisted of two very thin sheets soldered or wedged together and diverging in the centre so as to form the shaft hole, a most singular type⁴. Three specimens were found at Tyliossos, two of sheet bronze, the third thicker and more resembling a tool, but too small to be one⁵.

At Knossos miniature bronze axes with gold plate adhering to them were found in the Treasure Chamber near to the Shrine of the Double Axes⁶. In this sanctuary a diminutive double axe of steatite was found resting against one of the two pairs of horns of consecration⁷.

Votive double axes are seldom found in tombs. Besides

¹ *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XIV, 1905, p. 373; *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXI, p. 243 and pl. II, fig. 5.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 437 and fig. 313; *Eph. Arch.*, 1922, p. 12 and fig. 10; cf. above, p. 92.

³ *BSA*, IX, p. 280.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 333.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 222 and fig. 32; Hazzidakis, *Tyliossos*, p. 58 and fig. 32.

⁶ *BSA*, VIII, p. 70 and p. 101, fig. 58.

⁷ *BSA*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 57.

the above-mentioned Early Minoan tombs two specimens of bronze plate, one whole and one fragmentary, 18,8 cm. in length, were found in the tomb of the Double Axes near Knossos¹, and two miniature double axes with shafts of gold foil in the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae². They seem to have transversal lines on the surface. A piece of sheet bronze in the form of a small votive double axe was found in the osuary at the side of the *tholos* tomb of H. Triada together with stone vases and Kamares sherds³.



FIG. 42. VASE FRAGMENT FROM PHAESTUS.

The painted or engraved representations of the double axe belong on the whole to the Late Minoan age or Middle Minoan III, with the exception of a two-handled Middle Minoan I jug with three white bands painted on its reddish black glaze and on its body a coarsely drawn double axe, also painted white⁴. Whether representations of the double axe occur in an earlier age will be discussed below. The form having been ornamentally developed and separated explanatorily into its component parts, I arrange the instances according to the

¹ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, pp. 53, fig. 71.

² Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 290, fig. 368.

³ *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, p. 342; *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 705.

⁴ *JHS*, XXI, 1901, p. 86 and fig. 12. See also *BSA*, IX, p. 114.

various types. The ornamental transformation of the shaft is more striking than that of the axe itself.

A plain unadorned type with straight simple shafts occurs on two fragments of relief *pithoi* from the cave of Psychro¹: one of these seems, unlike all the rest, to have edges curved inwards. A fragment from Knossos shows part of a plain double axe, and another fragment part of a very richly decorated one².



FIG. 43. FRAGMENT OF TERRACOTTA DISC FROM PHAESTUS.

A seal impression from Knossos³ shows a type conspicuous for its angular shape. A late vase fragment from Phaestus (fig. 42) shows a plain axe with straight edges, and a fragment of a terracotta disc (fig. 43)⁴ another, the sides of which are very sharply curved so that the tips are very long and horn-shaped, with the middle part narrowed into a line. A strainer from a cave containing *larnax* burials near Palaikastro of a type transitional between Late Minoan II and III⁵ has a row of plain double axes. Fragments of a great *pithos* from Thorikos (fig. 44)⁶ show on

the neck a leaf pattern similar to that of the last-mentioned vase. The chief ornament is a zig-zag band of stripes in the angles of which small double axes are put in alternately standing erect and hanging down. The same motif recurs on the alabastron-shaped Late Minoan I vase from Gournia (fig. 45)⁷,

¹ *BSA*, VI, p. 104, fig. 34.

² *JHS*, XXIII, 1903, p. 204, fig. 15.

³ *BSA*, VIII, p. 107, fig. 64.

⁴ *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 444, figs. 54 and 55.

⁵ *BSA*, XII, p. 5 and fig. 4; *BSA*, *Suppl.* I, p. 77, fig. 61.

⁶ *Eph. Arch.*, 1895, pl. XI, 2.

⁷ *Gournia*, pl. I, 2.

but here a double axe appears in only one of the angles of the zig-zag band. A sherd from the cave of Psychro¹ and a painted *larnax* from Mallia² show double axes of a similar kind but decorated on either side with stripes parallel to the edge.

On the strength of their form the white objects stuck into the columns of the fresco from the N. W. hall of Knossos are considered to be double axes³. They have no handles. Sir A. Evans compares the double axes stuck into the stalactite



FIG. 44. VASE FRAGMENT FROM THORIKOS.



FIG. 45. VASE FROM GOURNIA.

pillars of the lower cave of Psychro; some of these also have no handles. A wall painting from Mycenae⁴ may be noted in comparison; it shows similar objects stuck into the upper corners of the boxes in which ladies are sitting, and garlands hanging down between them.

The double-edged type occurs often⁵. The plainest form

¹ *BSA*, VI, p. 102, fig. 30.

² *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 533, fig. 9.

³ *BSA*, X, pl. II, and p. 42, fig. 14; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 443, fig. 319 and p. 446, fig. 321; Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 529, fig. 399. Cf. above, p. 148.

⁴ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 444, fig. 320.

⁵ This curious form which is also called binary has given rise to some speculations. Milani, *Studi e materiali*, I, 1899—1901, pp. 197, thinks that

is shown by a seal impression from the great deposit in the domestic quarter of Knossos, four double-edged double axes arranged symmetrically around a rosette¹. The same form is very clearly to be seen in the two double axes on the side of the H. Triada sarcophagus which represents the libation; one of the axes shows a decoration of transversal lines. On the other side, which represents the animal sacrifice, the extremities



FIG. 46. BASKET-SHAPED VASE FROM PSEIRA.

of the inner edge seem to be transformed into spiraliform appendices; this axe also shows transversal lines. These spi-

the duplicated blades symbolize two pairs of gods, on the one hand the celestial Kronos and Zeus, and on the other the solar Zeus and Apollo, either pair being conceived as Father and Son. To Sir Arthur Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 108, the reduplication suggested an image of the conjunction of the divine pair, a solar and a lunar divinity. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 654, thinks that the reduplication solely implies emphasis. For my part I am unable to see anything but a purely ornamental device in the duplicated blades just as in their spiraliform appendices.

¹ *BSA*, VIII, p. 77 and p. 103, fig. 61.

raliform appendices recur on two Late Minoan I vases from Pseira¹, a basket-shaped vase the chief decoration of which is four rows of double axes (fig. 46), and a cover (fig. 47), but on this the edge is also doubled. The same is the case with two pendant double axes on a beautiful Late Minoan I filler from Palaiakastro², the counterpart of which was found at Knossos³.

The shaft may be provided with an ornamental disc at the top⁴. A gem from Knossos⁵ shows such a disc in profile at both ends of the shaft; the disc is here horizontally divided into two parts by a groove. The two vases mentioned from Pseira show a similar simple disc, but on the basket-shaped vase there is above every disc a line of equal size, unconnected with the disc. It may be a misunderstood rendering of a disc divided into two parts by a groove. The alabastron from Gournia has a simple disc.

On other vases there appears an orb instead of the disc: on a Late Minoan I *pithos*⁶ and on an 'urn-strainer' from Gournia (fig. 48)⁷, on a vase fragment from Knossos⁸, and on a one-



FIG. 47. COVER FROM PSEIRA.



FIG. 48. 'URN-STRAINER'
FROM GOURNIA.

¹ Seager, *Pseira*, p. 31, fig. 12; *Ant. cré.*, II, pl. XXI; Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 653, figs. 581 and 582.

² *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, pl. XX.

³ It may be known in England through the Hellenic Society's slide, No. 1462.

⁴ Ganszyniec in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, XII, p. 290, s. v. *Labrys*, takes this disc to be a loop from which the axe was suspended, but it is never figured as a loop.

⁵ *BSA*, VII, p. 53, fig. 15 d.

⁶ *Gournia*, pl. K.

⁷ *Gournia*, pl. VII, 21.

⁸ *BSA*, IX, p. 115, fig. 71.

handled cup from the excavations of the British School in the tombs of Mycenae¹; in all cases the sides of the axes are very sharply curved and the middle parts reduced to a line.



FIG. 49. AMPHORA FROM PSEIRA.

The most elaborate examples are found on a beautiful Late Minoan I amphora from Pseira (fig. 49)². The rim of the mouth shows a row of double axes decorated with white lines, the

¹ In the Museum of Nauplia, inv. No. 276.

² Seager, *Pseira*, pl. VII.

handles end in orbs; beneath the handle of the vase there is a large double axe decorated with groups of oblique white lines, between them dots and in the fields chevrons. The shaft is placed on a square base and ends in a large orb decorated with five concentric circles. Similar double axes are placed between the horns of two bucrania; their handles end in a lily. This orb may be explained either as a globe crowning the top of the handle or as a round disc seen from above, though the axe is seen from the side. Thus it may be explained how a round orb appears in the middle of the upper curve of the axe on a fragment of a relief *pithos* from the cave of Psychro¹. On a small fragment of another relief *pithos* from the shrine at Gournia² the orb is distinctly separated from the axe. This is also the case on a Late Minoan sherd from Palaikastro³, where the decoration of the axe with lines and rows of dots is also applied to the orb, which consists of a small central orb and a ring with a row of points between them.

The handle is sometimes drawn with two lines. It appears very clearly on a vase fragment from Knossos⁴ that these lines are intended to give the outlines of the handle; the blades of this specimen have an especially rich decoration of transversal bands and zig-zag lines. On the above-mentioned fragment from Palaikastro⁵ the handle is shown, in accordance with the other decoration, by means of two parallel lines with a row of dots between them. But the original meaning has been forgotten and the design seems to show two parallel handles, e. g. on an unpublished Late Minoan II jug from Palaikastro⁶; the handles seem to join in an arch above the axe. The same is the case on a fine bucket-shaped Middle Minoan III vase from Palaikastro⁷; the lines are doubled and between them there is a row of dots. Very similar is a Late Minoan II cup found at

¹ *BSA*, VI, p. 104, fig. 34.

² *Gournia*, pl. XI A 8; above, p. 75, fig. 3 a, 8.

³ *BSA, Suppl.*, I, pl. XVI f.

⁴ *BSA*, VII, p. 53, fig. 15 a.

⁵ See n. 3.

⁶ In the museum of Candia, inv. No. 3265.

⁷ *BSA, Suppl.*, I, pl. XII.

Phylakopi¹. The parallel lines appear above the axe and are there joined by a horizontal line, similar to the disc described above seen from the side. Lastly we must mention a seal impression from Knossos² in which the double axe is treated



FIG. 50. DOUBLE AXE ON A VASE FROM GOURNIA.

wholly ornamentally—its blades are decorated quite exceptionally with a scale pattern — and included in a circular frame. Instead of the handle there are two widely separated parallel lines and between them a zig-zag line both beneath and above the axe blade; it resembles a broad band more than a handle.



FIG. 51. VASE FRAGMENT FROM GOURNIA.

The handle is further transformed through the application of vegetable motifs. A vase fragment from Knossos shows two double axes the plain handles of which are decorated with leaves, and so too the above-mentioned 'urn-strainer' from Gournia (fig. 48)³. A great *pithos* from Gournia of the 'Town Style' shows a double axe of the usual Late Minoan I type with sharply incurving sides (fig. 50)⁴. The handle is double, the not quite parallel lines forming a large loop above the axe. The outer side is decorated with what seem to be leaves. Another fragment from Gournia of early 'Town Style' (fig. 51)⁵ shows double axes of an angular shape, the blades being decorated with net-work. The handle is denoted by three parallel lines, the outer sides of which are decorated with leaves; on the upper side of the axe above the shaft there

¹ *BSA*, XVII, p. 15, fig. 2, 19.

² *BSA*, VIII, p. 107, fig. 65.

³ Above, p. 171, n. 7 and 8.

⁴ *Gournia*, pl. IX, 28 and 28 B.

⁵ *Gournia*, p. 39, fig. 18, 1.

is what seems to be a bunch of grass or of palm leaf. The effect is enhanced by the addition of white. A big *pitthos* from a child's grave at Mochlos shows a double axe whose handle is given by two parallel lines to which zig-zag lines are added on the outside. Above the handle there is a ring apparently decorated with leaves and from beneath this two plants grow up on either side (fig. 52)¹. Finally a cup from Zakro² has a row of double axes decorated with white dots along its edge. In these the shaft resembles a bough with leaves more than a handle and ends above the axe in a spiral; it is decorated with white dots (fig. 53). An amphora from Pseira shows the handles ending in lilies³.



FIG. 52. DOUBLE AXE ON A VASE FROM MOCHLOS.

With this type another is connected which, as far as I know, is found only on the mainland. The blades of the axe are very sharply curved, the tips sometimes horn-shaped, the middle part very narrow. Instead of the shaft two zig-zag or undulating lines appear both beneath and above the blade; they are given as mere ornaments unconnected with the axe. To this type three small amphoras from the 1st shaft grave at Mycenae (fig. 54)⁴ belong, a fragment from the same place⁵, another fragment found in one of the tombs of the Kalkani hill near Mycenae during the excavations of the British School, and finally an amphora-shaped vessel with a spout from an unknown place in Attica and now in the museum of Athens (inv. No. 986). All feeling for the real significance of the



FIG. 53. DOUBLE AXE ON A VASE FROM ZAKRO.

¹ Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 527, fig. 395 from G. B. G[ordon], *The Double Axe and some other Symbols in University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Journal*, VII, 1916, p. 48, fig. 38.

² *JHS*, XXIII, 1903, p. 255, figs. 23 and 24.

³ Above, p. 172, fig. 49.

⁴ In the museum of Athens; one of them figured by Furtwängler and Löschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, pl. III, 11.

⁵ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXVI, 193.

emblem is at last so totally lost that the design of other amphoras from the 1st shaft grave (fig. 55)¹ and from the Kalkani necropolis lacks a shaft or anything to take its place.

A very remarkable transformation of the handle, with which that mentioned above may be connected, is found on some vases and especially on an ivory plaque from Palai-kastro². The figure shows beyond doubt a double axe with the usual decorative scheme of border lines and oblique transversal lines; the middle



FIG. 54. AMPHORA FROM THE 1st SHAFT GRAVE AT MYCENAE.



FIG. 55. AMPHORA FROM THE 1st SHAFT GRAVE AT MYCENAE.

part is rather long, broad, and straight, and is thickened for the shaft hole. Instead of the handle there is above the axe a loop apparently of plaited cord, and beneath it hangs a spreading triple tassel, decorated with transversal lines. A very similar form occurs on other vases, an 'urnstrainer' from Gournia (fig. 56)³, a jug from the Kalkani necropolis, and a fragment

¹ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, pl. III, 10.

² Mentioned *BSA*, XI, p. 284, published *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, p. 126, fig. 109; cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 433 and fig. 310 d. The plaque was found in a room together with poor Late Minoan II ware, but Evans thinks that it belongs to Middle Minoan III but was cut down and redressed in Late Minoan I; this suggestion is with some hesitation accepted by Dawkins, *loc. cit.*, p. 127, n. 3.

³ *Gournia*, pl. IX, 12 and G, 1; cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 432, fig. 310 e.

from Mycenae (fig. 57)¹. The axe is traversed by three parallel lines which spread downwards into a kind of tassel, the two outer joining above the axe in a loop enclosing the upper part of the middle line. A Late Minoan III jug from H. Triada² shows a similar design, but according to a procedure often observed in vase painting the pattern is dissected so that the tassels and the loop are unconnected with the axe; the tassels are decorated with transversal lines and the loop forms a closed circle. On a similar fragment from Phylakopi³ only the tassels are preserved.

On a gold ring from the Vaphio tomb with a tree cult scene⁴ there is at the upper edge to the right an object which is evidently connected with the ones mentioned. The double axe is recognizable⁵; above there is not a loop but a small straight projection, perhaps owing to the nearness of the edge; beneath



FIG. 56. 'URN-STRAINER' FROM GOURNIA.



FIG. 57. VASE FRAGMENTS FROM MYCENAE.

¹ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXVI, 195. The fragment No. 194 on the same plate shows a more elaborate design, the shaft forming an orb above the very narrow and long middle part of the axe and the outer line being parallel to the shaft and the orb, but the right part is wanting. The blade shows on the inside a spiraliform appendix (cf. p. 171).

² *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXI, pl. VI, fig. 13; *Ant. cré.*, II, pl. XLI, 2.

³ *Excavations at Phylakopi*, *JHS*, *Suppl.*, IV, pl. XXXI, 2, placed upside down.

⁴ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 176, fig. 52; *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 432, fig. 310 c.

⁵ Recognized by M. Mayer, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, VII, 1892, p. 191.

it are three appendices, the two outside shorter and hook-shaped, the third ending in a design exactly resembling the curved blade of a double axe.

Finally the principal design of a unique Late Minoan II jug decorated partly in relief partly with painting, found in the Little Palace of Knossos, cannot be separated from this type¹. The design may be described thus: From a circle in the centre spring three loops, one upwards and one to either side, and downwards three straight ribs ending in what resembles the curved blade of a double axe. Although the double axe has been transformed into loops, the formal similarity is such that there seems to be no reasonable doubt of the derivation of this design from the type here discussed.

Sir A. Evans once compared the figure of the Vaphio ring with the Egyptian token of life, the *ankh*, which usually has only one, but sometimes three lower limbs, and more especially with the Hittite forms of the *ankh*². There is unquestionably a formal similarity, but later, through comparison with the above-mentioned ivory plaque and vases, he was led to recognize the double axe with a sacral knot³, and I think that this is evidently right. On the other hand it may be not impossible that some three-forked form of the *ankh* has influenced the representation on the Vaphio ring and the ewer from the little Palace. But in any case this can only be an accessory influence; the real problem which remains to be considered is the connexion of the knitted fillet or *taenia* with the double axe.

I may commence by referring to the above-noted examples in which the handle is decorated with foliage or transformed into a vegetable motif. Seeing that the poles on which double axes are stuck in the representation of the libation on the H. Triada sarcophagus are wound round with green foliage, it seems difficult to take the afore-said vegetable motif as purely ornamental in origin and to deny that it originates in an actual cult custom of decorating the shaft on which the

¹ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 77, fig. 86.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 178.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 433.

double axe was stuck, and perhaps the axe itself, with boughs and leaves. It agrees very well with the constant use of boughs in the Minoan cult.

Thus the question arises whether the fillets which appear instead of the shaft of the double axe are to be explained in a similar manner. If we had to apply analogies from the Greek cult there would be no doubt, for the sacred fillets or *taeniae* are together with the bough very prominent in the Greek cult; they confer sacredness on the man, e. g. the victorious athlete or the king, round whose head they are wound, on the sacrificial animal, on the holy stone which is decked with them, on the bough of the suppliant, the *ἱκετηρία*, or any other object round which they are tied¹. But such a comparison is here as elsewhere unjustifiable on the principle that in the first interpretation of things Minoan we have to refrain from Greek analogies and turn to Minoan ones. Sacred fillets do not appear in Minoan religion as far as the monuments show, except the sacred knots which were discussed above². Must we not confess that the desire to find evidence for their religious significance has sometimes led to inferences which the facts alone will hardly permit? Frankly stated the answer depends chiefly on the double axes adorned with fillets and there is no help from other quarters towards deciding the question. Considering, however, the analogy of the decoration of the double axe with foliage there seems to me to be some probability that the fillets which adorn the double axe have also a sacral significance.

The painted or engraved representations of the sacred double axe belong, with the exception mentioned³, to the Late or at most to the last period of the Middle Minoan age; on the other hand the finds show beyond doubt that votive double axes occurred already in Early Minoan II and III. It would not be astonishing if the double axe together with a

¹ Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 341, refers to the still flourishing Oriental custom of tying a piece of cloth to a sacred tree; this custom is also known in Europe.

² Above, p. 137.

³ Above, p. 167.

host of other new motifs was first adopted by the naturalistic style which appears in Middle Minoan III, but in spite of this there is reason to search for representations of the double axe even in earlier times.

Some scholars¹ recognize a double axe in the so-called 'butterfly' pattern, two cross-hatched triangles touching each other only at one angle, the bases being parallel. The pattern may also be described as one in which the ends of an oblique cross are connected on two opposite sides by parallel lines and the triangles thus formed decorated with



FIG. 58. SAUCER FROM MOCHLOS.

net work. The earliest example is an Early Minoan II saucer from Mochlos (fig. 58)². In the numerous Middle Minoan I examples from Knossos the design takes a rather exaggerated form, the outer angles of the triangles being elongated³; the same pattern occurs also in *Urfirmis* ware with geometrical decoration from H. Marina in Phokis⁴, viz. Dark on Light Mainland ware according to the terminology of Wace and Blegen, and on a matt-painted jug found at Drachmani in Phokis (fig. 59) together with Minyan ware; Sir A. Evans thinks that it is of Cycladic fabric⁵.

There is one representation of the double axe showing

¹ Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 96; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 166.

² Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 36, fig. 13, II 1.

³ Specimens from Knossos in Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 166, figs. 117 a, b.

⁴ *JHS*, XXXV, 1915, p. 197. This find is referred to in a notice in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1912, pp. 2484, speaking of vases decorated with the double axe found by Sotiriadis in excavations on the plain near Elateia.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 168, figured fig. 117 c.

it angular in form and cross-hatched¹, but this belongs to the 'Town Style' and cannot be alleged as a proof that the 'butterfly pattern' really represents a double axe, because the latter is much earlier. On the contrary it seems unlikely. The shaft is always wanting; cross-hatched triangles are a very common motif in Early Minoan II and occur in many combinations². Moreover the interpretation as double axes of the quite analogous 'butterfly' pattern from the *Urfirnis* and matt-painted ware from the mainland would be most improbable.



FIG. 59. JUG FROM DRACHMANI.

The angular form of the double axe with straight edges and sides occurs, though rarely, on vases and seals³. This type cannot be considered as anything but a conventional rendering of the outlines of the axe. The much discussed *labrys* signs on pillars and other blocks always have this angular form; that they really are double axes is shown by the handle, which is never wanting. Their significance will be discussed later in connexion with the pillar cult⁴; here the examples are to be brought together. The sign of the double axe is found on the square gypsum blocks of two pillars in the two rooms behind the Room of the Column Bases in the western part of the palace of Knossos⁵, in the adjoining region of the magazines especially on the door jambs



FIG. 60. JUG FROM MOCHLOS.

¹ *Gournia*, p. 39, fig. 18, 1 (above fig. 51).

² See e. g. the jug with a row of triangles the bases of which form a straight line, Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 36, fig. 13, I b (fig. 60); other combinations *Gournia*, pl. XII, 20, 29, 32, 34, etc. A collection of the instances would be useless; I refer especially to Seager, *loc. cit.*, p. 96, etc.

³ Vase fragment *Gournia*, p. 39, 18, 1 (above fig. 51); seal impression from Knossos *BSA*, VIII, p. 107, fig. 64.

⁴ Below, pp. 210.

⁵ *BSA*, VI, p. 33, fig. 6; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 110, fig. 5; *Palace of Minos*, I, pl. X.

and the blocks of the back wall¹, on the wall blocks of the Hall of the Double Axes in the domestic quarter², on a pillar in the S. E. house³, on the slabs of the paving of the *piaz-zale dei sacelli* at H. Triada⁴, on blocks of the palace of Phaestus⁵, once at Gournia⁶, and on the blocks of the palace of Mallia more than fifteen times and especially on a pillar one metre square⁷.

Whether these signs are to be considered as sacred symbols or as masons' marks, they must, in any case be compared from the point of view of their form with the double axe sign in Minoan writing. These are collected by Sir A. Evans⁸ and show similarity with the real double axe in the hieroglyphic script; in the linear script on the contrary the double axe is given by two triangles; the shaft is never wanting. One curious form resembling a halberd with two blades occurs rarely.

The use of the double axe in the cult is most happily illustrated by the H. Triada sarcophagus. The double axes are fixed on high poles, bare, or wound round with leafage, and standing upon a base. On the side with the two poles this base is stepped and consists in one case of two square blocks, in the other of blocks whose form may be understood either as two low truncated cones superimposed or as two square blocks with sloping sides. A base resembling the former supporting the double axe is shown on the *larnax* from Palaikastro⁹. On the other side of the sarcophagus the base appearing between the altar and the temple seems to be simply quadrangular but consists alternately of white and red squares. A base upon which two square blocks are placed

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 449, fig. 322.

² *BSA*, VII, p. 111; Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 347, and fig. 250.

³ See below, pp. 202.

⁴ See above, p. 89.

⁵ *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 89; XIV, p. 432. Eleven instances of which two have curved edges.

⁶ *Gournia*, p. 25, fig. 9.

⁷ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 523; *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, *App.* II, p. 13 and fig. 15. Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 436.

⁸ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 195.

⁹ *BSA*, VIII, pl. XVIII.

on either side of the shaft of the double axe is shown on a vase fragment from Knossos¹.

With the aid of these representations several stepped bases, sometimes with a hole in the top, were recognized as bases of double axes. One such base was found in the Long Corridor of the magazines at Knossos, probably from the early part of Late Minoan; part of another socketed base of dark steatite was found together with the Bull's head *rhyton* and other remains in a deposit in the Little Palace of Knossos. Other similar small bases come from the cave of Psychro². In front of the pillar with the double axe sign in the S. E. house there is a square base with a socket in its upper face; it is not stepped, but has the form of a truncated pyramid³. In the room to the east adjoining the Central Court of Phaestus a similar gypsum base was found and near by nine axes; these, however, were not votive axes but tools, though they show no signs of use⁴. The explanation of this is rather doubtful; one is tempted to guess that the common double axe also occurred in the cult. In a room in the N. E. extremity of the palace of H. Triada bases were found in the form of a truncated pyramid with a quadrangular socket in the top, and covered with stucco painted in the same manner as the two bases of the sarcophagus⁵. Very interesting, because carefully described, is a specimen from Palaikastro⁶, a stepped plinth of steatite, 9 cm. high, base 11,5 cm. square; in the centre of the upper surface there is a round socket, 4 cm. deep and 2 cm. in diameter; two holes for horizontal crossbolts are bored through from the opposite faces of the upper step. Two round specimens of dark grey steatite from Gournia, 13,7 cm. high, base 17,3 cm., socket 4,8 cm. in diameter, have the same device: two holes opposite each other for pegging the

¹ *JHS*, XXIII, 1903, p. 204, fig. 15.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 437, figs. 314 and 315; *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 72, fig. 82.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 427 and fig. 307.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 103; cf. XIV, p. 463, fig. 71.

⁵ *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XII, 1903, p. 338; cf. *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 30.

⁶ *BSA*, VIII, p. 300.

shaft when set upright in the socket¹. It is very important to note that a square stepped stone base with a socket in the top was found by Dr Boëthius in the recent excavations of the British School at Mycenae among a number of unworked stones near the top of the great ramp (fig. 61). The pile of



FIG. 61. STEPPED DOUBLE AXE BASE FROM MYCENAE.

stones was quite unstratified and looked like one collected during an excavation or in tidying up the ruins later².

Attention must here be called to the representations which show the double axe standing upright between the horns of consecration; on the *larnax* from Palai-kastro it is set up upon the stepped base. The examples are collected and discussed above³. They show at least this much, that the double axe is a sacred object belonging to the cult.

¹ *Gournia*, pl. V, 16; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXXVII, 6 and 10.

² I have to thank Dr Boëthius for the photograph reproduced here and Mr Wace for permission to publish it and both for an account of this valuable find which is to be published in the report on the Kalkani tombs.

³ Above, p. 144.

These are the facts and they establish clearly the religious use and significance of the double axe in the Minoan age. It has, however, recently been contested by Professor Ganzyniec¹, although he is obliged to recognize the ritual use of the double axe as the sacrificial axe, the βούπληξ. The great role played by the implement in the Minoan age he explains on different lines. First he adduces the analogy of the axes of the Roman lictors; the axes are a symbol of justice and punishing power and therefore of royalty, a point of view which already had been hinted at by Mrs Boyd Hawes². But in the numerous Minoan representations there is not the slightest hint of such a meaning for the double axe. This explanation is nothing but a guess derived from a far-fetched analogy. The second is no better founded. The fact that during the Greek age in two places (Paphos and another unknown) the word πέλεκυς denotes a kind of currency or weight is transferred to the Minoan age and the well known bronze ingots, which are found in many places and certainly served as a kind of money or for barter, are assumed to be πελέκεις. Although this identification is accepted by other scholars also, it is erroneous; the constant form of the ingots having all four sides incurved contradicts it openly³. The ex-votos in the shape of double axes are assumed to be either a kind of currency or tools or weapons. It is impossible to explain the votive double axes as currency; they vary too much in form, size, and material, whereas any implement serving as currency always has a conventional and fixed form and is of the same material. The fact that an object is dedicated as an ex-voto implies of course

¹ R. Ganzyniec in the article *Labrys* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, XII, pp. 286, and in a treatise, *La double hache est-elle un symbole religieux?*, Lemberg, 1925. The survey of the views of previous scholars on the significance of the double axe in the last-mentioned paper is very interesting but concerns the classical age.

² In *Gournia*, p. 13, n. 105: "the bipennis may have been the emblem of a distinguished gens or class (like the *samurai* class of Japan) which furnished kings to Knossos and princelings to smaller communities".

³ Seltmann, *Atheus, its History and Coinage*, pp. 4 and 112, points out the similarity to an oxhide; Fimmen, *Kretisch-myk. Kultur*, p. 122, that of an animal's hide.

in itself no religious significance; the carpenter or butcher may dedicate his tool to a god, but such ex-votos deriving from daily life never occur in such overwhelming masses as the Minoan double axes.

The cult scenes on the H. Triada sarcophagus, the large double axes set up on high stately poles with birds resting on them, and on one long side the libation poured out by a priestess beneath two of them, and on the other the pole with the double axe erect between the altar and the shrine (or tomb), must convince all who see them of their religious significance; we may even venture to consider them as ritual objects venerated in the cult and perhaps to apply the name of fetishes to them, or to see in them the symbol in which some god himself was venerated. The correctness of this view of the scenes on the sarcophagus depends on the real meaning of these, viz. whether they refer to a cult of the dead or, at least in part, to a divine cult. For if a cult of the dead is represented there is no place for a deity or his symbol. This question is very obscure and difficult and will be discussed below¹; here I only point out that if all the scenes are to refer to a divine cult, the god must be recognized in the figure to the right standing before his temple.

Almost all scholars have embraced the opinion that the double axe is a fetish or symbol of a deity, because it admits of a very easy and apparently convincing interpretation and leads to far-reaching connexions and important conclusions about the Minoan religion, its meaning and affinities. The Minoan double axe is said to be the *ἀστροπελέκι*, to use the modern Greek word, the weapon of the thunder god which he hurls down to the earth². The double axe is regarded as the representative of the sky-god; the counterpart to this theory is that the chief goddess of the Minoans was an Earth Goddess. Consequently we have a very well known religious conception: the Sky-god fertilizing Mother Earth. This origi-

¹ Below, ch. XIII.

² I quote only the valuable treatise by Chr. Blinkenberg, *The Thunder-weapon in Religion and Folklore*, in which instances from all the world are collected; the Minoan axe cult pp. 17, the *ἀστροπελέκι* p. 107.

nal conception is variously elaborated by various scholars¹, but as it will be shown that the fundamental assumption is invalid, there is no need to go into details; the association therewith of matriarchal theories especially is too hypothetical to be taken seriously.

This last-mentioned hypothesis is a further development of the original one and is not so universally accepted. Certainly there is a Minoan Nature Goddess akin to the Great

¹ Cf. A. B. Cook, *The Cretan Axe-Cult outside Crete*, *Transact. of the 3rd Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford*, II, pp. 184; Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., pp. 338. Dr Cook says in his great work, *Zeus*, II, p. 533 "In my own opinion the double axe belongs primarily to the sky-god, secondarily to the earth-goddess associated with him, while the tree, or column, or pillar, belongs primarily to the earth-goddess, secondarily to the sky-god associated with her. The combination of axe and tree, axe and column, axe and pillar implies the union of both. I take it, then, that the double axe hafted into a tree, or affixed to a wooden column, or incised on a stone pillar, is sign and symbol of the god, whereas the tree, or column, or pillar, betokens the presence of the goddess". He proceeds [p. 548] to state that, the Minoan earth-goddess being Rhea, "it follows that Kronos was the name by which the Greeks knew the axe-bearing sky-god of the 'Minoans'." My fundamentally different view of the Minoan deities being developed at length below, I refrain from a detailed criticism of the opinions of the learned author. More especially I think that we know too little of Kronos, and that this little does not admit his identification with any Minoan god; an axe-bearing Minoan god does not exist. The Melian gem reproduced on p. 544, fig. 419, cannot be Minoan or Mycenaean, for upward curved wings do not occur in this age. I have not been able to see G. G. MacCurdy, *The Cult of the Axe*, *Holmes Anniversary Volume*, Washington, 1916, pp. 301. R. Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, p. 112, thinks that the double axe is the man's weapon of defence, but battle axes do not appear in the Minoan civilisation. G. Glotz, *La civilisation égéenne*, p. 268, combines all the views: "*Dans la hache se concentre donc tout ce qu'il y a de divin dans l'orage, dans le sang humain et dans les victimes immolées*". The matriarchal hypothesis is represented by Margaret O. Waites, *The Deities of the Sacred Axe*, *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 25, cf. XXIV, 1920, pp. 151, who maintains the thesis that the axe indicates predominantly the supreme power of the Mother. Also C. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, in the section *La déesse à la double hache*, pp. 517, believes in a goddess with the double axe being anterior to the male god with that weapon. For the double axe in the classical age see B. Schweitzer, *Herakles*, pp. 21, whose combinations and suggestions are partly of a rather capricious and fantastic character.

Mother of Asia Minor¹, and in Asia Minor also a god with the double axe is found, — Zeus Stratios of Labranda in Caria, Sandan of Tarsus, and other gods of a later age², and in the very same age in which the Minoan civilization flourished the Hittite god Teshub who carries the double axe in one hand and the lightning bolt in the other. He may be the prototype of the gods mentioned above. We touch here upon the important question of the connexion between Minoan religion and that of Asia Minor.

It may not here be necessary to enter upon the details of this complicated question — why it is so we shall see later —, but if a racial connexion between Crete and Asia Minor is accepted because of the linguistic and religious evidence, we must stop to ask: how far eastwards does this connexion go? For Asia Minor was in the Minoan age also a country of mixed populations; it is said that not less than eight languages occur on the tablets of Boghaz keui³. According to the last researches of Dr Forrer the ruling race which spoke a language called Canisian seems to have immigrated from the N. W. and conquered an earlier population inhabiting the greater part of the interior whose language is called Luvian; we may reasonably suppose that Teshub is the god of one of these races. But whether one of the languages is akin to that of the S. W. coastal districts, where the evidence of place names shows racial affinity with Crete and pre-Greek Greece, is a question we are not yet in a position to answer, although Dr Forrer assumes that the elements *-ss-* and *-nd-*, which are the characteristics of the place names mentioned, belong to the Luvian language⁴. The remains of the Carian language are not sufficient to help in deciding the question. The ethnology and the languages of Asia Minor are still very obscure. Racial affinity between Crete and S. W. Asia Minor in pre-historic times is probable, but there are, at least as far as I

¹ See below, pp. 334.

² Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 552 and 559.

³ E. Forrer, *Die acht Sprachen der Boghaz-köi-Inschriften*, *Sitz.-ber. der preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1919, pp. 1029.

⁴ *Mitteil. der deutschen Orientges.*, LXI, 1921, p. 23.

know, no proofs of a racial connexion between the peoples of S. W. Asia Minor and the Hittites, and such a proof is wanted before we can be justified in calling in the Hittite god Teshub to explain the Minoan double axe. As to the archaeological evidence one of the scholars who know it best, Dr Hogarth, thinks it unsafe to include any part of western Asia Minor in the Hittite glyptic area. The Hittite monuments found west of the Axylon plain are, he says¹, too few and far between to offer convincing evidence of local occupation by a Hittite people, or even by Hittite culture. He adds that in Asia Minor the Hittite area had better be restricted (for the present) to the lands between the Axylon and the Euphrates and between the Axylon and the Cyprian Sea — that is, to the lands known later as Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Cataonia, to which must be added the north and north-central districts of Syria. This verdict does not sound very promising for a racial or old cultural connexion between the Hittites and the Minoans. With regard to Sandan and Zeus Labrandeus the possibility must be reckoned with that they are offshoots of the Hittite god implanted during the Hittite domination or indigenous gods remodelled by Hittite influence.

Dr M. Mayer² in treating the Cretan double axe pointed to the word *λάβρος*, double axe, from which Zeus Labrandeus has his name; in reality the place *Λάβροα(ν)ρδα* is called after the *λάβρος* and the god after the place³. He further recognized the *λαβρόρινθος* of Knossos as the house of the double axe, or, to quote his own view biased by the myth of Minotaur, as the house of the Knossian bull-god whose symbol was the double axe. This view is backed by the authority of Professor Kretschmer in his epoch-making treatise on the linguistical remains of Asia Minor and pre-Greek Greece⁴, of Sir Arthur Evans⁵, and of others and is, — so long as we limit it to the etymology of

¹ Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 1.

² *Arch. Jahrbuch*, VII, 1892, p. 191.

³ J. Schaefer, *De Jove apud Cares culto*, Diss., Halle, 1912, p. 355 with a collection of all the material connected with the cult.

⁴ Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech. Sprache*, p. 404.

⁵ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 109 with n. 6 and 7.

the words *λάβρος*, *λαβύρινθος*, and do not imply any prejudice in favour of a presumable Minoan bull-god whose symbol was the double axe, — commonly accepted and very probable. There is, however, one difficulty which must not be withheld. As Zeus Labrandeus is a Carian god, the word *λάβρος* ought also to be Carian, and scholars seem sometimes apt to overlook or lightly push aside the Greek tradition which says that the word is Lydian¹. Either Plutarch is wrong in writing Lydian instead of Carian, or we have to face the fact of another linguistic difficulty. For we know something, though not much, of both Lydian and Carian, and these languages do not seem to be kindred. As the populations of Asia Minor were rather mixed, we can of course suppose that the word was common to both languages through one having borrowed it from the other, but this is a fresh supposition. Consequently of all these widely accepted hypotheses nothing holds good against a searching analysis of the proofs except the one rather important point that *λαβύρινθος* derives etymologically from *λάβρος*, double axe, a word belonging to a language of the western coast of Asia Minor, be it Lydian or Carian, and we may therefore safely try to find an explanation of the double axe in Crete itself.

I have postponed to this place the discussion of monuments showing the double axe in cult scenes, except the H. Triada sarcophagus. On the great gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae showing the goddess in her sacred grove a two-edged double axe is hovering in the air². On a clay seal impression from Zakro³ two persons appear in the baggy garment in which the ritual hide-dress is to be recognized⁴; they are taken as men but may as well, to judge from the prominent breast and the long hair, be women. The first holds a 'cuirass', the second seems to worship before a large upright two-edged double axe.

Seal impressions from H. Triada show a woman in a

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. graecae*, 45, p. 302 A.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 108, fig. 4.

³ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 78, fig. 5; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 435, fig. 312 b.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 133.

floated skirt and with a peaked cap, apparently dancing, surrounded by two attendants clad in the ritual hide-garment holding aloft double axes (fig. 32, p. 134)¹. A Middle Minoan III lentoid from Knossos² shows a woman holding a 'cuirass' in her right hand and shouldering the two-edged double axe with the other.

A priestess with a flat cap, or it may be a goddess, holding a double axe aloft in each hand is represented on one of the mouldings from Palaikastro³. The only monuments which certainly show the double axe connected with a divine figure are two seal stones recently found in the excavations of the British School in the Kalkani necropolis near Mycenae (pl. II, 9). They show a female figure between two symmetrically arranged lions carrying on her head a most enigmatical object, the discussion of which must be deferred to a later place⁴. It is described as formed by two parallel snakes, but this interpretation is not possible. In the centre of the object a double axe is placed. The double axe is wanting on a gem from Psychro at Oxford (pl. II, 8) which shows the goddess between two griffins carrying the same object on her head. Until the riddle of this object is solved, it is impossible to say anything certain as to the significance of the double axe connected with it.

We may, however, summarize the evidence thus. The double axe is never seen in the hands of a male god. It is handled by ministers of the cult or else carried by women⁵. The woman on the moulding may be a goddess, but there is nothing to show with certainty whether she is a goddess or a priestess⁶. A goddess with the double axe is certainly shown by the gems from the Kalkani necropolis, whatso-

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 39, fig. 33; in the figure the shaft only appears, but the blades are recognized on one of the impressions, see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 681, n. 3; and *BSA*, IX, p. 60, n. 1.

² *BSA*, VIII, p. 102, fig. 59; Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 435, fig. 312 a.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1900, pl. IV, 2.

⁴ Below, pp. 310.

⁵ Cf. Blanche E. Williams in *Gournia*, p. 53 f.

⁶ Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 343, takes her as a priestess. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megaron von Mykenai*, p. 62, n. 5, rejects the identity of the Cretan deity with the double axe with Teshub, because the

ever their interpretation may be. These facts make the interpretation of the double axe as the thunder weapon extremely unlikely, for this belongs to a male god.

Sir A. Evans rightly noticed this long ago¹. According to his general view of Minoan religion he considers the double axe as the special aniconic form of the supreme Minoan divinity, the Great Mother, and her male satellite. With this view the apparently simple interpretation of the double axe, viz. as the thunder weapon, cannot be reconciled. Whether the view of Sir Arthur is to be accepted or not, we must in any case look for another explanation, and there is one near at hand: that it was originally the sacrificial axe². The axe with which the sacrificial animal is slain may become of paramount religious importance. As cult implements are by virtue of their purpose treated with special veneration, the chief sacrificial instrument may quite naturally have come to be considered as holy and as a cult symbol. In this way the double axe may have become not only a cult symbol but also a cult object, for the distinction between these is sometimes ambiguous. I think that Christians agree in considering the cross as a cult symbol, but I think it likely also that a non-Christian student of the science of religions, seeing e. g. the Roman Catholics kissing the cross on Good Friday or carrying it around the fields in order to confer a blessing on them, would be disposed to consider the cross as a cult object or, let us say, a fetish or incarnation of God³. Whether the double axe was in reality a cult object or what some people may call a fetish seems, however, to be uncertain. Even if the birds perching on the double axes of the H. Triada sarcophagus are the epiphany of gods, it does not

Minoan deity with the double axe is female. Cf. Karo in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 1791.

¹ *BSA*, VIII, pp. 101; cf. *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 447.

² This is an old view long ago hinted at by several writers: Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 116; Olnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pp. 238; symbols of sacrifice offered to the dead, Tsoundas, *The Myc. Age*, p. 163; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 301.

³ In Syria there was a *Zeḡs Bawōs*, Zeus Madbachos, Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'arch. orient.*, IV, p. 249.

follow that these gods are impersonated in the axes upon which the birds have alighted.

A similar analogy may be found in Greek religion, namely the double axe which is the crest of Tenedos and appears on its coins ¹, and on Tenedian decrees ². *Τενέδιος πέλεκυς* is a much quoted Greek proverb which was explained by the Ancients by various aetiological legends ³. These explanations are, however, hardly ever credible ⁴, and as Wroth says, it is more in accordance with numismatic analogies to look for the origin of this emblem in religion or the cult. It is pointed out that the double axe in a fragment of Simonides is called *Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος βουφόνος θεράπων* ⁵ and that the double axe appears also on the coins of other states, especially those of Alexander of Pherae, a worshipper of Dionysos *Πελάγιος* ⁶. That the double axe of Tenedos belongs to Dionysos is revealed by the fact that a branch of grapes is added to it more frequently than any other concomitant symbol.

There is a curious cult of Dionysos at Tenedos that of Dionysos *ἀνθρωπορραίστης*, in which the double axe played a

¹ Head, *Hist. numm.*, 2nd ed., p. 550; *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, Troas etc.*, pp. 91 and pl. XVII; Imhoof-Blumer, *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, XX, 1897, pp. 274 and pl. X, 8 and 9.

² E. g. the bronze tablet *Olympia*, V, No. 39. The monuments discussed here are also figured by A. B. Cook, *The Cretan Axe cult outside Crete, Transact. of the 3rd Congress for the Hist. of Rel.*, II, pp. 190, and especially very fully treated and amply illustrated, *Zeus*, II, pp. 659. He takes the Tenedian cult for a Minoan survival.

³ Collected in Leutsch und Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum*, II, p. 664, and by W. Wroth in the *Br. Museum Catal.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. XLV.

⁴ Of this kind also is the story that the axe was that of the Tenedian executioner on which Ganzyniec lays so much stress, *La hache etc.*, pp. 18. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 668.

⁵ Frg. 172 Bergk⁴ in Athenaeus, X, p. 456 C.

⁶ The god worshipped by him is erroneously called Dionysos *Πέλεκυς* instead of *Πελάγιος*. *Πέλεκυς* is an emendation of the reading of *Schol. Vict.* to Homer, *Ilias*, XXIV, 428, *πέλεκος*; *Schol. Townl.* have the proper form *Πελάγιος*; see Maass in *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, pp. 70. The coins of Alexander, *British Museum Catalogue, Thessaly*, p. 462 and pl. X, 11. Ganzyniec in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, XII, pp. 303 gives a list of the cities which stamp their coins with the double axe. Its significance varies and does not concern us here.

part¹. In this cult a new-born calf was sacrificed and the man who struck it with the double axe was pelted with stones by the people and ran away till he reached the sea. The information is meagre as to the role of the double axe, but it seems certain that the origin of the proverb as well as of the crest of Tenedos is to be found in this cult custom.

An archaic coin of Tenedos shows on the right an amphora attached to the double axe by a *taenia*; another the double axe standing upright upon three broad steps with its two edges resting on pillar-shaped supports. Dr Imhoof-Blumer² concludes from the latter coin that the double axe of Tenedos was placed in some sanctuary of the town and that the amphora on the other coin is to be understood as a votive gift; this conclusion seems to be well founded. It would very well explain why the Tenedian double axe became proverbially famous and why it was chosen to be the crest of the town. This example shows how the double axe became transformed from a simple cult instrument into a cult object by virtue of the prominent place it took in this special cult.

In a similar manner one might imagine how the sacrificial axe got a prominent place in the Minoan religion, perhaps became a cult object, and at last the symbol of the Minoan religion generally, not of any special Minoan deity. This latter supposition is often made, but as a matter of fact there is no evidence for it. Here we must take into account a characteristic trait of the Minoans: they were apt to use again and again a motif or an object which had once taken hold of their fancy, thus widening its sphere and modifying its meaning. I have called attention to this feature in treating the horns of consecration which, next to the double axe, are the most prominent object in the Minoan cult.

For this view of the double axe it will be of considerable interest to see how the animal sacrifice was performed

¹ Aelian, *Nat. anim.*, XII, 34; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 659; II, pp. 667. There is a certain similarity between this rite and that of the Bouphonia in which the double axe is also expressly mentioned. To discuss this connexion would carry us too far cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 14.

² *Zeitschrift f. Numism.*, *loc. cit.*; cf. Head, *loc. cit.*

in the Minoan age. The most important representation is again that of the H. Triada sarcophagus. A bull is placed on a slaughtering table bound with ropes which cross each other over his body. He is stabbed in the neck and the blood streams down into a ewer placed underneath the table. Two goats lie beneath the table awaiting their turn and a flute-player is also present.

Several gems and seal impressions show the same scene. A sealstone of dark green steatite in the museum of Candia (fig. 62 and pl. I, 6) shows a bull very much resembling that of the sarcophagus. That he is apparently kneeling on the table is without doubt due to the unskilfulness of the engraver. Beneath the table is the head of a goat, and above the bull's back a linear sign¹. On a seal impression from Knossos² an ox is seen laid out on a sacrificial table. A gem in Berlin³ shows a bull resting on a sacrificial table, with a dagger stuck into his neck; over his body bends a much conventionalized palm tree. The table has two slender and four thick supports which Sir A. Evans takes as bucrania, but their form is not evident, and the legs of the table on the gem at Candia have, though more slender, a similar broad base with a groove. The last example, a gem from the lower town of Mycenae⁴, also shows a table with similar legs. It represents a later stage of the procedure; a



FIG. 62. SEALSTONE IN THE MUSEUM OF CANDIA.

¹ The sign is a triangle with a shaft. It recurs on a gem from Mycenae showing a double-bodied krio-sphinx, Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 159, fig. 37; on the gem from Palaikastro, *ibid.*, p. 154, fig. 31; on a Cretan gem with two bulls, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 23; *B. M. Catal.*, 2nd ed., pl. I, 38; and on a gem with a monster, *ibid.* p. 11, No. 85; *JHS*, XIV, 1894, p. 133, fig. 17. Cf. above, p. 145, n. 2.

² *BSA*, VII, p. 101.

³ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 196, fig. 99; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 22.

⁴ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 18; *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 36, placed upside down.

boar is placed on its back on the slaughtering table and a man is cutting up its belly. He is perhaps a *haruspex* ¹.

Dr Paribeni has called attention to Egyptian and Lycian parallels ². They show bulls and other animals bound and laid out on the earth and cut up, but he himself points out that the Egyptian representations always show the bulls placed on the earth, and Assyrian monuments and the frieze from Gjölbасchi-Trysa show only smaller animals placed on a table. It is to be noted that none of the Minoan sacrificial scenes quoted show the double axe, but it must first have been necessary to stun such a strong animal as a bull before he could be lifted up and placed on the slaughtering table, and the proper instrument for this was the double axe.

Some colour is lent to this supposition by the fact that the double axe occurs not infrequently between the horns of a bull ³. The vase from Salamis in Cyprus with alternating bucrania and horns of consecration, between which the double axe is placed upright, and the beautiful Late Minoan I amphora from Pseira have already been mentioned ⁴. A fragmentary square agate intaglio belonging to the later Palace style of Knossos ⁵ shows the double axe decorated in the usual manner between the horns of a bucranium. More than fifty bull's heads of gold foil with the double axe between their horns were found in the IVth shaft grave of Mycenae ⁶. In these cases the double axe is standing upright, in others it hangs down between the bull's horns, e. g. on a bucket-shaped Middle Minoan III vase from Palaikastro ⁷

¹ This suggestion of Evans', *The Ring of Nestor*, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 66, seems not improbable in view of the occurrence of this art both among the Babylonians and the Etruscans.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 44.

³ This view has already been taken by Blanche E. Williams in *Gournia*, p. 53.

⁴ Above, p. 144, fig. 35, and p. 172, fig. 49.

⁵ *BSA*, IX, p. 114, fig. 70.

⁶ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 252, figs. 329 and 330; cf. Tsoundas, *Rev. archéol.*, XXXVII, 1900, p. 8, who first recognized the special significance of the decorated double axe.

⁷ *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, pl. XII.

and on a gem from the Argive Heraeum¹; on either side of the bull's head is a 'cuirass'.

On the hypothesis of a Minoan bull-god, which will be discussed later, this connexion may be interpreted as showing this god and his holy symbol², but such an interpretation must in itself be highly improbable. It would be very curious if the god himself were never represented, but only the bull's head. A more natural and probable explanation is that the bucranium, i. e. the head of the sacrificed bull, played a part in the Minoan cult as it did in other cults and in Greek times when

it was nailed to a tree in the holy grove or to the temple wall³. Hence arose the custom of decorating altars, metopes, etc. with bucrania, an ever recurring motif in ancient sculpture. The same custom of setting



FIG. 63. GOLD RING FROM MYCENAE.

up the skulls of the sacrificial animals as a memorial of the sacrifice occurs also among peoples of a later age, e. g. the Lapps. Hence it is possible that this custom occurred also among the Minoans, and there are some representations which might be interpreted in this manner.

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 435, fig. 312 c; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 42; cf. above, p. 138.

² Cf. e. g. Glotz, *La civilisation égéenne*, p. 270.

³ I quote only Theophrastus, *Charact.*, 21, 7, a passage showing that this practice was of common use also in private sacrifice, *βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπαταλῶσαι στέμμασι μεγάλαις περιδήσας* and *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.*, v. 948, *εἰώθει τοῖς δένδροις κῶλα καὶ κρανία προσπαταλεύειν οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν βασκανίας πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηρανθῆναι αὐτά*. This purpose may be derived from the original one of nailing the skulls and limbs of sacrificial animals to a holy tree. That limbs are also used may be of some value in explaining the detached limbs shown not only on Minoan monuments but also on a geometric vase; see below, p. 437.

There is a series of gems etc. showing detached heads of animals other than bulls. A gem from the Vaphio tomb¹



FIG. 64. SEALSTONE FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF PHAESTUS.

has as its sole decoration four ram's heads. A gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae (fig. 63)² shows six heads arranged in two rows. Three of these are bull's heads, but three show heads of an animal without horns which cannot be determined with certainty. Animals' heads are sometimes represented by the side of animals. A gem from the necropolis of Phaestus (fig. 64)³ shows a lion

and above this the head of an *agrini* and beneath a smaller one. A gem from Mycenae⁴ shows two heads and a clear-cut hind quarter of a goat arranged round a bull, another two bull's heads seen full face, and a third a lion's head, the head of an *agrini* with the neck, a hedgehog (?), a bird, and an uncertain figure⁵. On a seal impression from H. Triada (fig. 65)⁶ a flying bird and a bull's head are seen and in addition to these some indistinct objects among which Savignoni recognizes the heads of a fox and a horse. A gem from the Mace-bearer's tomb near Knossos shows an *agrini* and above his back the head of another⁷. A gem from the museum



FIG. 65. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM H. TRIADA.

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 25; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. III, 40.

² Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 409, fig. 531.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 622, fig. 95 and pl. XL, 16.

⁴ *Eph. arch.*, 1888, p. 177, and pl. X, 18.

⁵ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 52, figs. 36 and 37.

⁶ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, pp. 35, fig. 26.

⁷ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXX, 1914, p. 15, fig. 20.

of Candia shows a bull laid out on the slaughtering table and beneath this the head of an *agrimi*¹. Of two fragments of relief vases from the cave of Psychro², one shows two bucrania, the other a double axe and the head of an *agrimi*.

Most singular is a gem from the necropolis of Phaestus³. Two couchant *agrimi* are arranged back to back and in the centre between them there is a human head (fig. 66)⁴. This seems to contradict my suggestion that these detached heads are the heads of sacrificed animals, but here also we have to reckon with the Minoan habit of extending the use of a motif beyond its original and proper significance. The detached head had become a motif in decoration, and consequently every head, even the human head, could be used. Moreover, in dealing with the sealstones we have also to reckon with the influence of the hieroglyphic signs, among which heads of several animals occur⁵, though not the human head.



FIG. 66. SEALSTONE FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF PHAESTUS.

That this interpretation is correct seems, however, to be demonstrated by two other instances. One is a sealstone⁶ showing a woman seated on an animal's head without horns between a heraldically posed lion and lioness. She must be a goddess. The other is the famous ring from Mycenae showing the goddess in her holy grove⁷. Along its left edge there is a row of six heads without horns which have been called lion's heads, though for my part I should not venture to determine

¹ Above, p. 195, fig. 62.

² *BSA*, VI, p. 104, fig. 34; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXX, 5 and 6.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 622, fig. 96 and pl. XL, 9.

⁴ Cf. the gem from Mycenae, *Eph. Arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 9 with a lion and a human leg.

⁵ See the list in Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, pp. 206, Nos. 62—73.

⁶ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 165, fig. 45.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 108, fig. 4, etc.

the species. The only possible explanation seems to be that they are remains of a sacrifice left on the sacred site or perhaps nailed up in the holy grove.

Finally we may recollect the very popular *rhyta* in the form of animals' heads; a human head also occurs once. As I have pointed out in another place ¹, nothing shows that they were especially sacred, but on the other hand they may well have originated from the habit of preserving the skulls of the animals sacrificed.

¹ Above, pp. 122.

CHAPTER VII.

PILLARS AND COLUMNS.

Besides the horns of consecration columns are the most prominent feature of the Minoan shrines described above¹. Columns are also very often represented on engraved gems etc. associated with animals and monsters, usually symmetrically arranged on either side of the column, though columns are found also in representations of another kind. Finally, several square pillars have been discovered in Minoan palaces, especially in the palace of Knossos, and these are sometimes marked with the sign of the double axe. From these circumstances Sir Arthur Evans had already inferred in his *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* that the column or pillar was an object of worship in the Minoan age. This second main thesis of his epoch-making work was not so readily and widely accepted as the other, which dealt with the tree cult, but was exposed to some criticism. Before the question can be subjected to the close discussion which its importance deserves, the material must be arranged and put forward.

With regard to the archaeological evidence there is a difference between the columns and the pillars; the columns, which were of wood and have disappeared, occur only on the representations of gems, wall paintings, etc., whereas the pillars hardly appear at all in representations — this is invariably the case with such pillars as have a structural purpose — but are only known from the ruins of the Minoan palaces.

The most striking example is afforded by the two pillars

¹ Above, pp. 146.

in the western part of the palace of Knossos¹. At the back of the Room of the Column Bases, which opens on to the middle part of the Central Court, there are two small rectangular rooms, one behind the other. In each of these rooms there is a square pillar of four gypsum blocks c. 1 m. 75 cm. high with dowel-holes implying further blocks on the upper surface of the topmost course. On the western pillar the double axe is repeated on every side of every block and on the upper face of the topmost block, in all 17 times. The eastern pillar is marked with the same sign on three sides of every block and again on the top. According to Sir A. Evans these pillars must clearly be reckoned as belonging to the structures of the earlier palace by reason of the character of the incised marks and other indications. The dowel-holes on their topmost blocks show that they have a structural purpose, having served as supports for columns in the upper storey². Sir A. Evans has given a reconstruction of this upper storey³ showing a three-columned hall, the columns of which rest on the two pillars and the wall projecting between them.

A most interesting pillar room is found in the house near the S. E. angle of the palace⁴ belonging to Middle Minoan III. In the middle of the quadrangular room there is a square pillar, in its present state 1 m. 87 cm. high, consisting of six blocks, the double axe being engraved on an upper block. A truncated pyramidal gypsum block with a socket in its top face was found close to the foot of the pillar; it has been mentioned⁵ that

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 110 and fig. 5; *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 218 and 425 and Suppl. pl. X; *BSA*, VI, pp. 32 and fig. 6.

² Two of the gypsum bases of these columns were found where they had fallen into the neighbouring room to the East; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 441 and fig. 318.

³ *BSA*, VII, p. 22 and fig. 8; it is accepted and reproduced by F. Noack, *Homerische Paläste*, p. 14, and others, and with more hesitation by Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXX, 1905, p. 261.

⁴ *BSA*, IX, p. 4; Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 68; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 425 with plan and views. According to the plan there seems to be still another square pillar in the small rectangular room between K 1 and L 1, but it is not described in the context, only referred to in passing, *Archaeologia*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Above, pp. 183.

it certainly served as the base of a double axe. From this side of the pillar to the wall runs a rough foundation and along this there is a series of flat stone bases, circular or oblong, which according to Sir A. Evans may have served as stands for vessels probably intended to contain food and drink offerings. On the other side of this wall an ivory knot was found¹. The six-legged offering table, which the illustration shows standing in the foreground on the foundation of the wall², was found in the ante-room B 1.

The oldest pillar room was found about 14 metres to the North of the above-mentioned S. E. house³. This building is anterior to the foundation of the palace and belongs to the initial stage of Middle Minoan I, judging by the pottery found on its earliest floor level. Here there are two monolithic pillars of limestone about two metres high and of rectangular form. Near the southern wall opposite the space between the two pillars there was a circular pit, about half a metre in depth and 1 m. 30 cm. in diameter.

In the dependencies of the palace there are several pillar rooms. Opposite the Northern entrance of the palace, at a distance of about 25 metres north of the Hall of the Eleven Pillars which borders this entrance, a pillar room 7 m. 80 cm. long by 5 m. 81 cm. broad was excavated. It seems to belong to the same period as this hall, viz. the earlier part of Middle Minoan III. Four limestone bases are preserved and on the inner pair of these two square gypsum pillars about 2 m. 10 cm. high are standing erect. Probably there was still another pair of pillars, or six in all⁴. Masses of carbonized wood and fallen blocks indicate that an upper storey once existed.

In the Royal Villa, a stately building of Late Minoan II date, situated immediately beneath the palace to the East, there is, on the northern side of the chief room, the so-called Basilica, an extraordinarily fine example of a pillar room,

¹ See above, p. 137.

² Above, pp. 106.

³ *BSA*, IX, pp. 17; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 146 and fig. 106.

⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 401.

nearly square, 4 m. 15 cm. by 4 m. In the centre is a pillar composed of two gypsum blocks, 1 m. 82 cm. high and 52 cm. square. The floor is paved with gypsum slabs; about midway between the pillar and the four walls there is a sunken channel forming a rectangle around the central pillar. It is 47 cm. wide and 6 cm. deep and paved with gypsum slabs like the rest of the floor. In this channel, to the east and west of the pillar there is on either side a small oblong receptacle or vat hollowed out of a gypsum block. The depth of one is 12 cm. and of the other 16 cm.¹ The walls of the room are of very solid construction, built of large gypsum blocks, and give a singular opportunity for recognizing the roofing of the room. In the north wall, just opposite to the pillar and on a level with its summit, there is an opening for a large square beam which rested on the pillar and formed the principal support of the roof. At a somewhat higher level than this the blocks of the uppermost course of the west wall are cut out in a semi-circular fashion so as to receive the round cross beams that rested on the main beam. One of these crossed directly over the pillar, the two others on either side of it. The dimensions of the timber employed were extraordinarily large, the main beam having a breadth of 80 cm. and a thickness of about 60 cm., the round cross beams a diameter of 44 cm. Sir Arthur Evans points out that it would be difficult to find materials for beams like these in modern Crete. This solid work shows what precaution was taken to secure the solidity of the upper storey, the whole plan of which it is possible to recover not only for the room in question but also for the whole building.

In the hill side west of the palace is situated the 'Little Palace', the foundation of which belongs apparently to the beginning of Late Minoan. It has three pillar rooms, two side by side in the basement of the S. E. wing, and one in the S. W. wing². The western of the two first-mentioned pillar rooms has two pillars one of which is completely preserved and consists of a base and two gypsum blocks, 70 cm. square

¹ *BSA*, IX, pp. 149 and pl. I.

² Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, pp. 64.

and together 1 m. 37 cm. high; of the other only the base is left. Between the pillars a shallow stone vat with a smaller sunken square in the middle was let into the ground. The neighbouring room is larger by as much as the staircase added to the end of the first room and originally contained three pillars of which only the base of the central one and the socket of another are preserved. It is to be noted that these pillars stand in the same line as the two in the first room. In the interspaces between these three pillars there are two square basins of the same form as that in the first room. These rooms also were basements which supported an upper storey.

The discovery of the third pillar room as related by Sir Arthur Evans has a dramatic touch. On a staircase and in a little shaft between this and the still unexcavated pillar room some objects of religious significance were found, of which the principal were the remains of a stepped base¹ and the magnificent steatite bull's head *rhyton*. Consequently Sir A. Evans predicted the discovery of a pillar room and found it. This room, which is 6 m. 23 cm. by 4 m. 75 cm., contained two pillars formed of blocks about 65 cm. square with bases. There were no traces of vats between the pillars nor were any objects found which could possibly have a religious significance.

On the hill of Gypsades, opposite the palace of Knossos, Dr Hogarth excavated a house, three rooms of which have a central pillar². They have no marks, but a very curious fact about them is that nearly 200 small wheel-made cups were found arranged bottom upwards in orderly rows; each of them was seen, when lifted up, to cover a little heap of carbonized vegetable matter. The pottery, of which illustrations are given, is of degenerate Late Minoan II style.

The plan of the palace of Phaestus shows two pillar rooms³, but a description of them is wanting. Very conspicuous is the pillar in the middle of the large corridor of the magazines; it is certain that it served a structural purpose, because the walls between which it is placed are extraordinarily thick

¹ Above, p. 183.

² *BSA*, VI, pp. 76.

³ Nos. 24 and 91 of the plan, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pl. XXVII.

and continue the line of the one-columned entrance front of the great propylon.

In the palace of H. Triada there is a quadrangular room with a square pillar in the middle¹. The floor is paved with gypsum slabs and is said to be hollowed out in the manner of a Roman *impluvium*, but according to the plan there seems to be a quadrangular channel surrounding the pillars as in the Royal Villa at Knossos. In a neighbouring room plenty of votive figures of votaries were found. To the N. E. of the palace there are some rooms which later in Late Minoan III were used for burials, one of these has two pillars².

In the Middle Minoan palace of Mallia in Eastern Crete, the excavation of which is still proceeding, two square pillars were found, one being one metre square. One shows three signs, the double axe repeated twice and a star, the other, which is less well preserved, only a star. The walls are elsewhere often marked with signs of which the double axe is the most frequent, being repeated more than fifteen times³. Closer information is as yet wanting.

Two pillar rooms were found at Zakro⁴. In the entrance hall of house A there was a square pillar base covered with a double coat of plaster and painted in blue; upon this a wooden column probably stood. As it stands only a foot from a massive brick wall behind it, it is not thought to have any structural purpose, but this is by no means certain, the upper storey being unknown. It is noteworthy that there is to the left of the entrance in this hall a group of round basins, two of them communicating with each other, the third independent. A similar group was found in the entrance hall of house E opposite to the entrance. In the centre of room I of this house there is also a square pillar which is not described more closely.

Outside Crete pillar rooms are found only at Phylakopi on Melos in the period during which Cretan influence attained

¹ *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXI, p. 238, plan I, fig. 1, No. 13; above, p. 87, fig. 5.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 721.

³ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, *App.*, II, p. 14; *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, pp. 523; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 436.

⁴ *BSA*, VII, p. 130, plans p. 131.

its maximum. There are two such rooms¹. The first room is the one where a series of fragments of wall paintings were found, among which was the well-known flying fish fresco. The pillar consists of two limestone blocks, 60 cm. square and 1 m. 35 cm. high. A bit of plain stucco was still adhering to the pillar and many other fragments were found in the earth round the base. The pillar was once covered with red painted stucco. The figured frescoes have probably fallen down from an upper storey into this basement room. The pillar stands not in the centre of the room but very near one of its walls; it is, however, to be noted that it is in line with the wall of the two adjoining rooms, the pillar room projecting a little beyond these rooms. The structural purpose seems evident. In the second room the pillar is also standing near a wall, but here the structural purpose is not clear from the plan. This pillar is monolithic, 47 cm. square and 97 cm. high. Near it were found five painted pedestal vases of the kind described above²; it is, however, to be observed that this type of vessel was fairly common at Phylakopi, fragments being obtained from many different parts of the site. Judging by their contents these pillar rooms belong to the first period of the Second City corresponding to Middle Minoan III (or Late Minoan I).

These are the facts and we come now to their interpretation. Although the whole subject must be considered in one context, viz. in connexion with the columns of the shrines and the columns figured on gems etc. showing the heraldic type, these square architectural pillars are by their form and the nature of the evidence so different from the rest that they may conveniently be treated separately.

Before entering upon the subject it may perhaps be to the purpose to recall that there are different degrees of sanctity or holiness. A deity or a *numen* may be incarnate in an object, an object which is sometimes adapted to the nature of the god, e. g. a spear as the embodiment of the war god. This object is a cult object in the highest sense — it is sometimes

¹ *Excavations at Phylakopi*, plan pl. I, G 3, Nos. 6—7 b and 4 a; the first mentioned building on a large scale p. 40, fig. 26, description pp. 17.

² See p. 107.

called a fetish — and receives worship and offerings. Further an object may be invested with a special sanctity because it is a cult implement of importance, e. g. an altar, or because it is the attribute of a deity expressing some side of his nature: e. g. the tripod or the trident. The attributes are, however, often derived from more primitive and concrete ideas. Dr Rouse justly noted the loose use of the word 'symbol' by which sometimes an object embodying a deity, sometimes a mere attribute of a god is denoted¹. Finally an object may be sacred simply because it belongs to a god, e. g. votive offerings, the buildings in his precinct with all their columns, stones and other material. It happens that the mark or sign of the god is impressed upon such things to put them under the protection of the god or simply to prevent their being stolen or treated improperly. Such a sanctity may decline into a mere means of protecting something². If the pillars are holy, they may belong to either of these classes.

The theory put forward by Sir A. Evans³ was that the pillars in the rooms behind the Room of the Column Bases, marked with the sign of the god, viz. the Cretan Zeus, are in fact his aniconic images, the double axe being combined with the sacred pillar. It is only natural that this view should be modified by subsequent criticism and more recent discoveries, which especially emphasize the fact that these pillars always seem to serve a constructive purpose. More recently Sir A. Evans has returned to the subject at some length in his treatment of the Pillar Rooms of the 'Little Palace' of Knossos⁴. He maintains that his view, that the double axe signs on the blocks of the above-mentioned pillars indicate their special sanctity,

¹ In his criticism of Evans' views, *The Double Axe and the Labyrinth*, *JHS*, XXI, 1901, pp. 268; his remarks are not always convincing, however, are somewhat captious in tone and certainly underestimate the lower aspects of the Greek cult.

² An almost grotesque example is Persius, *Sat.*, I, 113: *Pinge duos angues, 'pueri, sacer est locus, extra meite'*. The cross is used in the same way in modern Italy.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 110.

⁴ *The Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, pp. 64; cf. *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 425.

has been borne out by the whole course of discovery in the western quarter of the palace, and that these pillar rooms form the nucleus of a sanctuary block in relation with the Central Palace Sanctuary, the façade of which formed part of the west side of the Central Court. Concerning the S. E. house he says that the pillar cult is here brought into connexion with the divinity of the double axe, the Great Minoan Goddess.

Further he thinks it probable that these stone pillars served in all cases a constructive purpose, supporting the wooden columns of a chamber above, where there also were cult columns. He continues: "We have therefore to regard the 'Pillar Rooms' of these Minoan basements as, in many cases at least, the crypts beneath upper rooms and halls whose columns were associated with a more open cult. The religious functions, indeed, connected with the architecturally embellished wooden columns above, in their aspect of 'Stablers' and 'Pillars of the House', were naturally extended to these underlying supports. This quite logical consequence explains the evidence of a distinct cult attaching to the pillars in these crypts, including the invocation of the divinity of the Double Axes, and the provision of vessels for libations or other offerings. It is clear that at the same time these basement rooms also served a practical purpose and were used as cellars and storehouses. Remains of large oil-jars have, in fact, been found in the 'Pillar Rooms' at Knossos and elsewhere. Neither must it necessarily be concluded that all basement rooms in which stone pillars are found were used for ritual purposes. Such supports may often have had constructive uses not connected with the superposition of the columns on the floor above" ¹.

The older view of Sir Arthur Evans that the pillar was the aniconic image of a god is rejected by almost all other writers who have approached the question, especially on the ground that the constructional function of the pillars is incompatible with their being aniconic representations of a deity ². The Oriental analogies which Sir A. Evans adduces

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 69.

² Except Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 113 and 135, and Hogarth in his article *Aegean Religion*, in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religions and*

do not bear out the supposition that a pillar with a constructive purpose may at the same time be the embodiment of a god, — in other words, a fetish. This the two brazen columns erected before the temple of Solomon can never have been; and their names Jakin and Boaz, 'the Stablisher' and 'In him is Strength', are very appropriate to structural pillars, the strength of which was guaranteed by religious associations, as may have been the case with the Minoan pillars also. The analogies adduced from the prehistoric remains of the Western Mediterranean need themselves much more explanation than they can afford in corroboration of this special view.

The pillars which were real cult objects, the *mazzebas* and the wooden *asherahs*, did not serve any constructive purpose, but stood free. It seems to have been a common custom to anoint such pillars — as Jacob did to the stone erected by him at Bethel — and this custom prevailed also in ancient Greece ¹ and still exists in modern countries where such a cult persists. As evidence of this I may refer to the sacred pillar 'black and greasy from secular anointing' at Teke keui in Macedonia so vividly described by Sir Arthur Evans himself ². This is certainly no more than an analogy and ought not to be applied to the Minoan cult without reservation, but it seems as good as, perhaps better than, the analogy adduced to show that the Minoan pillars were cult objects. And these pillars show no trace of anointing.

As for the sign of the double axe, which is considered by Sir A. Evans and others to indicate the special sanctity of the pillars on whose blocks it is incised, it is taken by others as simply a mason's mark. This view was first advanced by Dr Rouse who pointed to other signs incised on the blocks of the palace of Knossos ³. To his criticism Sir A. Evans

Ethics, I, p. 143. See e. g. Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 350, and Miss Williams in *Gournia*, p. 53, etc.

¹ It is sufficient to quote Theophrastus, *Charact.*, 16, τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παρῶν ἐκ τῆς ληκνύθου ἔλαιον καταγεῖν.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 200.

³ Rouse, *loc. cit.*, *JHS*, XXI, 1901, p. 273. On the signs in the early palace see now Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 132; with regard to Phaestus see

answered briefly ¹, pointing out the exceptional position held by the double axe among the signs of the palace and supposing that several other signs also which recur more frequently, e. g. the star, the trident, the branch, the cross, and the sistrum(?), may be traditionally associated with various deities, a view which was not followed up any further. The frequency of the double axe sign in the Western palace region is well shown by Sir Arthur's plan ². It very often recurs incised on blocks in the walls and on the door jambs of the magazines; other signs are rare, although they occur, e. g. the star and the trident. It must be admitted that there are too many of these signs to allow them to denote cult objects in every case, nor can we believe that the magazines, in which this sign is so frequent, formed a part of the sanctuary.

To this consideration the fact must be added that the signs, at least in many cases, were invisible. The two pillars in the western wing of the palace of Knossos have the double axe incised even on the upper side of the topmost block. There is no small probability that many at least of the pillars were coated with plaster making the signs invisible ³, as, for example, were the pillars of house A at Zakro and house G 3 at Phylakopi. If this be so, the words of Sir A. Evans concerning the signs of the earlier palace of Knossos may also be in part applied to the later ⁴: "The signs are always incised on the upper or lower surfaces of the slabs, often left very rough, and they could not have been intended to be visible to the eye". I do not intend to deny absolutely that the sign of the double axe and perhaps other signs also may have had a religious significance, both when used in script and when incised on the blocks of a palace or house, but if there was any such significance it had been so much eclipsed as to be almost unrecognizable, and

Mon. ant., XII, pp. 87; XIV, pp. 431; here the star is the most frequent sign. The examples of the double axe sign have been enumerated above, pp. 181.

¹ *BSA*, VII, p. 22, n. 1.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 449, fig. 322.

³ So Rouse, *loc. cit.*, p. 273; Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, p. 111; Fyfe, *Journal of the R. Inst. of British Architects*, X, 1902, p. 110.

⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 133.

the purpose cannot have been to denote a pillar or a wall as the embodiment of a deity, but at most to put the construction under divine protection and impart to it divine strength in addition to its material strength¹.

Other reasons also have been adduced in order to demonstrate the sanctity of the pillars. What is very curious and difficult to explain is the presence of vats or small basins sometimes let into the floor of the pillar rooms, e. g. in one of the pillar rooms in the western region of the palace of Knossos and in the two pillar rooms of the Little Palace. In the pillar room of the Royal Villa the two basins are connected by a channel encircling the pillar and the same seems to be the case in the pillar room of H. Triada. Sir A. Evans considers these basins as destined for religious ablutions and purifications. This seems very doubtful. In view of the channels in the two last mentioned rooms it looks as if the floor was sometimes apt to be splashed with water which was collected in these channels and flowed down into the basins. When and why this occurred we cannot say, but the reason was in all probability merely practical. The simple vats may have served the same purpose. Moreover, these vats seem to be connected with the circular pit in the early pillar room north of the S. E. house at Knossos, and with the groups of circular basins found at Zakro, in one instance in a pillar room but also in other rooms. Though unable to give a convincing explanation of the vats, I am disposed to consider them as purely secular in purpose.

Still less convincing as evidence of a cult are the small cups found in rows in the pillar room of Gypsades or the pedestal vases found in the pillar room at Phylakopi, many such vases being found in different places. As for the pillar room of the S. E. house of Knossos it is evident that a cult object, as here the double axe probably was, may be placed in front of a pillar without turning the pillar itself into a cult object.

From these considerations it follows that the pillars of the pillar rooms cannot be considered as embodiments of a deity or as cult objects, but that they may be sacred in the

¹ This is Evans' view concerning the signs on the wall of the Domestic Quarter, *BSA*, VIII, p. 66.

sense that they either belong to a sanctuary or that they were endowed with sacred power to strengthen their structural function. But it is hard to refute anyone who believes in the purely secular character of both the pillars themselves and their signs.

The superstructures of these pillar crypts, which Sir A. Evans takes to be the sanctuaries proper, are unknown except for their plan; this deficiency in our knowledge of their exterior is supplemented by the evidence of wall paintings, goldfoils, gems, etc. — the last mentioned, however, not giving the details as elaborately as the other representations. These buildings, whose characteristic feature besides the columns is the horns of consecration, have been described above¹. The question to be considered here is whether the columns are sacred in the sense that they are embodiments or representatives of a deity. That they have a constructive purpose is evident from all the representations; there is only one reason for assuming the sanctity of the column, and that is the existence of the white objects in the form of double axes stuck into their capitals on some fresco fragments from Knossos and Mycenae. One of these is very minute and apparently shows a shrine; the other shows a row of three columns with horns of consecration between them; and the third, from Mycenae, shows wide apertures similar to boxes at a theatre in which female spectators are seated². Between the boxes there are no columns but plain pillars or narrow sections of wall. The double axes are placed in the upper angle and between them a garland hangs down into the aperture.

These representations do not seem to warrant the assumption that the columns are cult objects. It is very doubtful whether the building on the fragment from Mycenae is a shrine at all. To take an instance from Greek religion, votive objects or sacred symbols, e. g. the Apolline tripod,

¹ Above, pp. 146.

² Cf. above, p. 148; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 443, figs. 321, 319 and 320; colour reproduction of the latter, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pl. IX; there is a similar opening on a fragment reproduced by Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, colour plate, and another from Knossos is mentioned by Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 445, n. 1. Cf. *BSA*, XXV, p. 251, n. 2.

the bucranium, etc., are very often affixed to buildings without imparting to them a sanctity of the kind in question here. They are in a large measure ornamental and so undoubtedly is even the double axe in many cases. The argument principally depends, however, not on these illustrations but on the peculiar part played by the column in connexion with animals and monsters in certain aspects of Minoan art, especially on gems. The examples in which the column ends in leaves or flowers will be included more conveniently in the discussion of the tree cult.

The best known of these representations are those of the heraldic type, but there are also a few showing a single animal in connexion with a column. A gem from the Chieftain's tomb at Zafer Papoura shows a sheep with a big curved horn, perhaps a moufflon, with a string round its neck; its body partly covers a column with a spiral shaft, a rounded capital, and a smaller rounded base¹. In the British Museum there is a similar gem from Melos². The sheep has a curved but smaller horn, the column is not fluted and has no base, and the capital is angular. Other specimens found at Knossos are only briefly described. Among the host of seal impressions found in the East-West corridor there is a very fine one showing a moufflon before a fluted column with a Mycenaean shield in the field, and another showing a lion standing before a column³. Among another mass of seal impressions from the Domestic Quarter there is one showing a lion and a fluted pillar⁴. One case is somewhat doubtful, a gem from Corinth in Berlin⁵ showing a stag(?), above whose back the neck and head of another stag appear; the rest of the body is wanting. In the interspace between the necks there is a small slim column with a double capital. The group is not symmetrical.

Although the heraldic type is most prominent, there is

¹ Evans, *Tombs of Knossos, Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 58, fig. 61.

² It is ascribed to the Geometrical period in the new edition of the *Catal. of Gems*, p. 24, No. 184.

³ *BSA*, VII, p. 101.

⁴ *BSA*, VIII, p. 77.

⁵ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. III, 28.

also another variety of the antithetic group where the animals are not posing upright but standing freely or lying down. A gold signet ring from Mycenae¹ shows a lion on either side of a slim column with a capital composed of four members; from the uppermost, which is very broad, two undefinable objects hang down; the lions are turned outwards but looking back at the column and are attached to it by a string. A gem from the cave of Psychro² shows two bulls with their heads turned backwards standing on either side of a column, whose capital is given by two rows of round dots. An ivory



FIG. 67. IVORY PLAQUE FROM MENIDI.

plaque from Menidi (fig. 67)³ shows four standing sphinxes arranged symmetrically on each side of a column with a capital. The most remarkable of this series is a recently discovered seal impression from Mycenae⁴. In the centre there is a column tapering downwards with a capital crowned by two pairs of horns of consecration, one within the other; between them is a row of round dots which recall the beam ends often seen above the capitals. Between the upper pair a bird is pecking. On either side of the column a quadruped, perhaps a goat, is kneeling and above each there is a bird in flight.

An intermediate stage of the heraldic type is represented

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 159, fig. 39; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 51, fig. 32; *Collection Tyskiewicz*, pl. I, 3.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1907, p. 178 and pl. VIII, 117.

³ *Das Kuppelgrab von Menidi*, pl. VIII, 10.

⁴ *BSA*, XXIV, p. 205, fig. 1; cf. above, p. 147.

by a gem from Zero in Crete¹. Two lions are seated on their haunches on either side of the column with their backs to it but looking round at it. The capital is given by two rows of round dots and the column has two small round bases. A Cretan gem² likewise shows two seated lions but they are turned towards the column and looking back; behind them is a shield. The capital of the column seems to consist of one rounded and one square member.

The heraldic type is very conspicuous and frequent in Minoan art; it begins to appear in Crete in the transition between Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I a and becomes common in Late Minoan I b and II³. The central figure is more often a human figure or a 'genius' than a column. This occurs in the following examples. First of all the famous relief of the Lion Gate at Mycenae⁴, the only specimen of monumental sculpture on a large scale in Minoan-Mycenaean art: two lionesses — their heads, which were turned outwards, are lost — stand upright and rest their feet upon a broad base. Between them is a Mycenaean column of the usual shape tapering downwards with a round capital; above this is a square flat piece, then four round discs representing the beam heads, and on top another square flat piece. An unfinished gem from Crete⁵ has a similar representation, and a gem from Ialysos in the British Museum⁶ shows two lions on their hind legs, opposite each other with heads turned outwards, and between them a column with a large capital. Finally a gem from Mycenae⁷ shows two griffins resting their forelegs on an altar-like base and attached to the central column by a string. The column seems to have spiral fluting;

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 160, fig. 40.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1907, p. 175 and pl. VII, 100.

³ Evans in *BSA*, XXIV, p. 206.

⁴ Recently treated *BSA*, XXV, pp. 15 and pl. IV.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, p. 181, pl. VIII, 144.

⁶ *Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum*, pl. A, 106, in the new edition pl. I, 46; Furtwängler and Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. E 6.

⁷ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 158, fig. 36; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 44, fig. 18.

above the rounded capital the beam ends appear, and above these again there is a broad flat member.

A modification of this type is seen in specimens where the central column is left out and the animals are resting their forelegs on an altar-like base. A gem from Mycenae¹ shows two lions in this posture with their heads turned round; between them there is a rayed orb which is interpreted as the sun. The remarkable form of the altar will be mentioned below². Two other gems, also from Mycenae³, show animals, — in one case two lions, in the other two griffins with a common head; the base is an altar with incurved sides.

Long before the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization was discovered, scholars had already interpreted the column on the relief of the Lion Gate at Mycenae as the 'symbol' of a god, whose name was deduced from their conceptions of Greek religion; they recognized, for example, the stone pillar of Apollo Agyieus or the herm⁴. I add only that A. Claus, by a comparison with the so-called Persian winged Artemis of archaic Greek art, explained the column as a symbol or more correctly as an aniconic image of Artemis⁵. These explanations were, however, abandoned in consequence of Dr Adler's remark that the said column must have a structural purpose since it has a capital, and that all such idols have a plain top, such as a cone, a *meta*, or a phallus⁶. This is true of the specimens of aniconic cult objects best known from the representations of Greek art. Several passages in Greek authors speak of sacred columns⁷ and the wall paintings of the Hellenistic-Roman period show sacred columns with a capital standing free⁸.

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 161, fig. 41; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. III, 22.

² Below, p. 221.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 159, figs. 37 and 38, and pl. III, 23 and 24, respectively.

⁴ For quotations see Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 157; cf. Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 351, n. 3.

⁵ A. Claus, *De Dianae antiquissima natura*, Diss., Breslau, 1881, p. 78.

⁶ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1865, p. 6.

⁷ Collected by M. W. de Visser, *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen*, pp. 71.

⁸ M. Rostowzew, *Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft*, Röm.

These examples from the later Greek and Roman ages are, however, of little value as evidence for the Minoan-Mycenaean age.

Dr Adler's objection concerning the structural purpose of the columns has not been invalidated. Monuments discovered later agree with the relief of the Lion Gate, and in most cases the beam ends appear above the column; sometimes both the capital and the beam ends are given by a row of dots. This shows beyond doubt that the column is not thought of as standing free but as belonging in fact to a building. Sir Arthur Evans fully acknowledges this but tries to maintain the interpretation of the column as the aniconic image of a deity by proving that columns with a structural purpose may at the same time be cult objects — say the aniconic image or embodiment of a god. But, as we demonstrated above, the facts of Minoan archaeology do not afford sufficient proof for this view, and even the examples adduced from Oriental religions leave room for doubt. At their best these, like the examples from Greek religion, afford analogies, not proofs.

On the other hand the heraldic type, or to use a term which covers not only the type where the animals are placed in a heraldic fashion but also that in which they are symmetrically grouped round a central figure, — the antithetic group derives from the Semitic Orient. Even the sphinx and the griffin, though originating in Egypt, seem to have come to Crete through an Asiatic medium; and the lion is probably borrowed from abroad, for it is unlikely that it ever existed in Crete. But there is, as far as I know, no precise Oriental prototype for the type in question here, where there is a column in the centre. Consequently it must be regarded as a Minoan creation, though in accordance with a foreign type.

If due regard is paid to the structural character of the column, the most likely explanation seems to be that the column in the centre with that part of the entablature above

Mitt., XXVI, 1911, pp. 1. The most obvious example is the mosaic from the temple at Praeneste showing a column with a Corinthian capital before which is an altar.

it represents a shrine¹. Such animals as the goat or the bull may be sacrificial animals standing before the shrine; the lions, sphinxes, and griffins may be guarding the shrine, just as the human-headed bull-sphinxes guard the entrances of the Assyrian palaces. Sometimes the animals are attached to the column by a string like watch-dogs. Sometimes an altar is added, and sometimes the column is left out, only the altar remaining.

This explanation seems also to agree well with the terracotta from the so-called Sanctuary of the Dove Goddess at Knossos found together with models of a shrine, altars, etc.². It represents three columns on a common base and with square capitals supporting two round beam ends upon which birds perch. The birds are undoubtedly a divine epiphany, but they do not necessarily indicate that the columns are aniconic representatives of a deity; the closest comparison is that with the gold foil from Mycenae representing a temple upon which birds are perching.

Even if the structural pillars cannot be hailed as embodiments of a god or as real cult objects, some few illustrations show pillars or columns standing free which may have a greater claim to this title. A series of glass plaques from Mycenae show 'genii' symmetrically grouped round an object in the centre with libation jugs in their hands. There cannot be any reasonable doubt that the object in their midst is the centre of a cult; it seems in one case to be a cairn, on which an undefinable round object is placed, in another a tripod, and in a third a square pillar³. It may perhaps be inferred that this rather low and thick pillar is an altar; but it may also be a sacred pillar of the same kind as the sacred stones known from the Greek age and among other peoples.

The other instances are also cult scenes. A gold ring

¹ 'A sacred column, which as the Pillar of the House, stands as the epitome of the temple', Evans, *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 285. Prinz, *Athen. Mitt.* XXXV, 1910, p. 159: *Abbeviatur des Tempels der Göttin mit Löwen*; but also other animals and monsters occur in this type.

² Above, p. 81.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 117, figs. 12—14.

from Knossos¹ shows a woman worshipping a god who hovers in the air. Behind him is a shrine or wall above which a tree appears; in the gateway a small column with a broad capital is visible; it stands free and is much lower than the opening². Before the shrine is another column tapering upwards; the top of it is cut off by the edge. This looks very similar to the pole on which the double axe is supported³. Another gold ring from Mycenae⁴ with a religious scene shows to the right a similar shrine and above it a tree which is grasped by a kneeling man. The shrine has an opening or gateway through which appears a round pillar without a capital standing free. To the left is a similar construction over



FIG. 68. GOLD RING FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF PHAESTUS.

which a woman is bending; it consists of three parts joined by a double cornice; between the two foremost posts hangs a garland, and under this is a small free-standing pillar or baetyl. The small object between the second and third posts is taken by Sir A. Evans to be a Mycenaean shield⁵. The column to

the left on the worn gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus (fig. 68)⁶ before which a woman is seated must be taken for a shrine⁷. Finally there is the curious representation of a seal cylinder from Mycenae⁸ showing what must be understood as a row of five free-standing columns with bases and capitals and between two of them a man raising his arm in an attitude of worship.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 170, fig. 48.

² A very similar construction appears to the right on an unpublished gold ring at Candia. See below, pp. 229 with fig. 72 and pl. I, 4.

³ So Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 376.

⁴ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 177, fig. 53.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 161.

⁶ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 578, fig. 51.

⁷ Cf. below, p. 300.

⁸ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 141, fig. 24.

Although it is not very clear what the rôle of the columns is in these representations it may be assumed with some probability that they are free-standing sacred columns. The representation of a cairn on the glass plaque seems to be certain enough. Baetyls, sacred stones, columns, and cairns being so frequent in later Greek and Semitic cults and in other parts of the world, it would certainly be astonishing to find them absent in Minoan and Mycenaean Greece, and as a matter of fact the excavations at Mallia seem to have provided an actual example of a cult baetyl erected in a shrine ¹.

Sir Arthur Evans tried to show that the baetyls were sometimes incorporated in an altar or table of offering ². The most famous instance is the inscribed table of libation from the cave of Psychro ³; but the restoration has been contested and the central support especially, viz. the baetyl, must be considered as only conjectural. The burden of the proof rests consequently on the other instances. Of these there is only one from the Minoan age; for the construction on a gold ring from Mycenae ⁴ is taken by Sir Arthur himself for a portal shrine and that on another gold ring ⁵ for a pillar shrine. This example is a gem showing two lions in the heraldic scheme with their forepaws resting on a base or altar which seems to show a very thick central and two slim outer supports ⁶. The outer supports are much more sharply drawn in the latter figure than in the former, where, in fact, they do not seem to be very clearly distinguished. The central support gives the impression of being purely architectonic as it is very broad and of the same thickness throughout. The altar seems to be round; it may, however, be asked if a square altar of the kind described above ⁷, with posts or boards at the corners,

¹ Above, p. 94.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

³ See the discussion above, pp. 111.

⁴ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 182, fig. 55.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 189, fig. 63.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 161, fig. 41, the altar p. 116, fig. 10.

⁷ Above, p. 101.

may not be intended. As regards the altar seen on Cretan coins¹ I think that it has the scheme of the later magnificent altars with, however, the surrounding colonnade reduced to four columns only, one in each corner.

The close connexion of the horns of consecration, pillars, and columns with the Minoan sanctuaries has been responsible for a discussion of their architecture in this and the preceding chapter. The discussion may be concluded by some general remarks which bring the various points to bear on one another. The shrines actually discovered are very small, the floor covering an area of only a very few square metres. The representations on wall paintings etc. usually show shrines with three compartments, each with one or two columns, side by side, that in the middle sometimes being on a higher level. There seems to be a contradiction between the actual remains of the interiors and the representations of the exteriors of the sanctuaries. The exteriors shown by the representations are much too large and stately in comparison with the very modest cult rooms actually unearthed. This contrast becomes acute if, like Sir A. Evans, we take the halls with rows of columns and horns of consecration as temple façades. It was as a consequence of this state of things that he sought for other large sanctuaries in the palace of Knossos. He considers the West wing of the palace to be the real temple and has reconstructed its façade towards the Central Court accordingly. When the palace was remodelled about the beginning of the Late Minoan period the two temple repositories were filled in and covered by a pavement and two smaller cists were constructed over them². At the same time the front line of the western wing of the palace in front of these rooms was carried outwards about two and a half metres so as to slightly encroach on the original borders of the Central Court, a small space being thus left between the older wall and the new line, which at this point has the appearance of a low stylobate. In the narrow interspace the seal impressions representing the Mother

¹ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 116, fig. 11.

² See above, pp. 77.

of the Mountains were found. On the said stylobate marks of column bases were observed and from these Sir A. Evans reconstructed a façade of a shrine with two columns in the side compartments and one in a higher middle compartment¹.

Now the shrine of the Double Axes belongs to a debased period and that of Gournia to a small provincial town; we are certainly right in ascribing to the great palaces in the times of their *floruit* shrines of a more sumptuous character. But whether they were much larger and statelier is, so far as I can see, a question which cannot be answered. There are no decisive proofs to show that one particular portion of the rooms in the palace was at this period a sanctuary, in the sense of the abode of a deity; we can only demonstrate that some rooms had more or less probably a sacred character. Still less do we know if any single room or perhaps a complex of rooms formed a shrine, or if there was perhaps a cella, acting as the abode of a deity surrounded by other rooms which served other purposes of the cult, e. g. as in the Egyptian temples.

If we do not take into consideration the halls with columns and horns of consecration, about which it is very difficult to decide whether they really are temples, we have to study solely the representations showing at most three compartments side by side, each with one or sometimes two columns and with horns of consecration. They do not give the impression of large buildings; consider e. g. the altar-like base and the horns of consecration which crown the middle compartment of the shrine on the gold foil from Mycenae. Thus far they do not in fact contradict the smallness of the shrines actually found. It may be that this smallness of the temple room, the cella, was a characteristic feature of the Minoan age. The temple was perhaps enlarged by other rooms, serving some purpose of the cult and surrounding the cella, as in Oriental temples,

¹ Evans, *The restored Shrine on the Central Court of the Palace of Knossos*, *Journ. of the R. Inst. of British Architects*, XVIII, 1911, p. 292 and fig. 3.

but in reality we know little or nothing about the matter. There would anyhow be the difference that the Minoan temple was not a separate building set apart for the gods, a temple in the strict sense, but a part of the palace, and evidently designed to serve the domestic cult of the palace.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TREE CULT.

The tree cult is one of the best known features of primitive religion and modern folklore. Its importance in modern peasant customs as well as in classical antiquity was long ago thoroughly investigated and fully demonstrated by Dr Mannhardt in his epoch-making works, and Sir James Frazer has enlarged the field of study and extended research to all parts of the world in his famous work, *The Golden Bough*. The discovery that the tree cult took a very prominent place in the Minoan-Mycenaean religion also, perhaps more prominent than in most other religions, was the result of that ingenious pioneer work of Sir Arthur Evans, his *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*.

In most religions not only growing trees but also branches broken from the trees are objects of the cult. This was also the case in the Minoan age. As the instances have already been touched upon in dealing with the horns of consecration¹, it is sufficient to recall them briefly. The horns of consecration are the place of consecration, and between them cult objects and cult implements are placed. We see a woman blowing a shell trumpet before an altar with horns of consecration, apparently to invoke the presence of the gods; between the horns a bough is seen standing upright and another on each of the outer sides². Still more significant is the scene on the gem from Vaphio: two 'genii' hold up the high spouted libation jugs over three boughs placed between the horns of consecration, which are standing on a small round

¹ Above, pp. 144.

² The gem from the Idaean cave; see above, p. 130 and p. 144; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 142, fig. 25.

altar¹. The bronze votive tablet from the cave of Psychro² illustrates another cult scene; the votary stands to the right, the sun's orb and the moon sickle appear at the upper edge. Before the votary is a tree planted in something which resembles a pot or box, and in the left corner there is a pair of horns of consecration with a bough between them, and on this a bird is perching. Above the votary and the tree are two more such pairs with boughs. Further, a fish and an uncertain object³ are shown. The tablet is inscribed with linear signs and belongs probably to Late Minoan I. Other gems showing boughs between the horns of consecration have been noted above⁴. It was further suggested that the transformation of the



FIG. 69. SEALSTONE IN THE MUSEUM OF CANDIA.

horns of consecration into a vegetable motif is due to an association with the tree cult. The same transformation is also to be noted in connexion with the shaft of the double axe and is hardly to be regarded as purely decorative or ornamental, but is probably of ritual origin, derived from the custom of winding green foliage round the poles upon which the double axe was erected. Boughs and garlands adorn the shrines⁵.

The close association of the boughs with the libation jug noted above is also a proof of the importance of boughs in the cult. A sard at Candia (fig. 69 and pl. I, 5) shows two libation jugs and one bough upright before the first, and two others hanging down over their mouths; a carnelian in Copenhagen (fig. 70) shows a jug and an upright bough. This representation recurs on one side of a three-sided sealstone and on two other sealstones at Candia⁶.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 101, fig. 1.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 632, fig. 470.

³ It resembles an inverted human ear, and an ear recurs on a gold ring in the Ashmolean museum; below, p. 296, fig. 85.

⁴ Above, p. 145.

⁵ See above, the sacred horns, p. 145; the double axe, p. 178; the garlands, pp. 148, 150; cf. p. 220.

⁶ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 47 β, 87; VIII, 155; the last one is from

The use of sacred boughs in the cult was very widespread in classical Greece; they accompanied almost every action or object with a sacral connexion; here, however, at least in the first mentioned representations, they imply something more: a real cult devoted to the boughs. The pouring of libations onto the boughs placed between the horns of consecration leaves no doubt in this respect.

These representations are very valuable since they show beyond doubt the boughs treated as cult objects. Those scenes in which trees appear are somewhat ambiguous in spite of their emphatic confirmation of the sacredness of the trees; we cannot always decide with certainty whether the tree is holy on its own account, or as the embodiment of a deity, or simply because it belongs to a sacred grove inhabited by the god or containing his temple. The nature of the erection indicated is also subject to doubt.



FIG. 70. SEALSTONE IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF COPENHAGEN.

The great gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae seems very easy to interpret: the goddess is sitting beneath a tree in her sacred grove, the sanctity of which is shown by the double axe and six skulls of sacrificed animals, while three votaries approach her; but that the tree is more than just a member of the sacred grove is shown by the fact that a fourth votary is seen touching its branches; perhaps it is the embodiment of the goddess herself.

The constructions which very often appear in connexion with the holy trees present certain difficulties of interpretation¹. The representations on the H. Triada sarcophagus seem to be simple and in keeping with what is known from the Greek age.

Knossos, the other two were bought in Crete. The gem, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. IV, 7, shows a jug with ornaments which may be a debased representation of boughs. Cf. also the sealstone from Sphoungaras, p. 126, fig. 27.

¹ I can only in a note refer to the paper by R. Vallois, *Autels et culte de de l'arbre sacré en Crète*, *Rev. des études anciennes*, XXVIII, 1926, pp. 122, which, through the kindness of the author, reaches me during the printing.

On one side a tree rises between the altar and the temple (or tomb) before which the god (or hero) appears; on the other side a tree spreads its branches over a construction crowned by horns of consecration. The round discs in the upper zone appear to be beam ends. The construction is taken as a temple¹ or an altar²; whether or not these identifications are justified will be tested by a comparison with kindred monuments. I begin with the gold ring from Mycenae³, which shows a big *agrimi* with a tree rising above his back and a male votary standing before a construction which consists of two slender columns, one on either side, and a larger one in the middle and above the columns a double cornice or what may be described as two flat superimposed slabs. The construction resembles an altar table with a central support, but a tree rises above it. The central column is too thick to be the stem of the tree; the stem is either hidden by the construction as e. g. on the H. Triada sarcophagus, or is simply left out, as the stem is not drawn beneath the *agrimi* to the left. Consequently we get the impression that the tree is planted upon the construction.

This construction is called a portal shrine by Sir A. Evans, and such an interpretation seems to be still more appropriate to the edifice on a gold ring from Knossos with the epiphany of a god⁴. This consists of a doorway with jambs apparently of ashlar masonry continuing to the right in a wall⁵; above this there is a double cornice, and over this again the spreading branches of a tree appear; in the opening there is a small free-standing column. Very similar is the construction on a small gold ring in Berlin (fig. 71 and pl. I, 1)⁶

¹ Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LVIII, 1908, pp. 368.

² Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 41.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 182, fig. 55; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 47, fig. 23.

⁴ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 170, fig. 48; above, p. 220.

⁵ If the construction is taken as a temple, it must be supposed that the wall joins the door jamb at a right angle. There is nothing to warrant this supposition.

⁶ This gold ring is extraordinarily small; it was originally in the collection Calvert at the Dardanelles and is said to have been found at Kilia (*Κοιλία*)

showing a man adoring a goddess. The door jambs are designed in the same manner, the ashlar masonry of the adjoining piece of the wall is drawn very neatly; above there is a double cornice; a tree spreads its branches over the construction. Between the door jambs or pillars two vertical lines are seen and, a little below the cornice, a horizontal line. The latter represents the upper lintel; the vertical line to the right is to be taken as the outer edge of the door and that in the middle as its inner edge; this line is not free-standing as in most designs of this kind but reaches up to the upper lintel. The opening is closed by double doors.

These constructions with their trees recall very vividly the Hellenistic reliefs of a rustic shrine with a sacred gateway and a holy tree. Thus the interpretation would seem to be easy if there were not some other representations almost identical in form, which involve us in doubts and difficulties. One has long been known, a scene of ecstatic tree-worship on a ring from Mycenae¹. To the right is a construction like the one mentioned: the doorway encloses a small column with a plain top which may be a baetyl, and there is a piece of an adjoining wall to the right and a double cornice above. But here the construction has a high base and a man grasps and bends down the tree which appears above the cornice². Essentially identical, although more rough, is the representation of an unpublished gold ring at Candia (fig. 72 and pl. I, 4), showing the door jambs drawn with double lines, the double cornice,

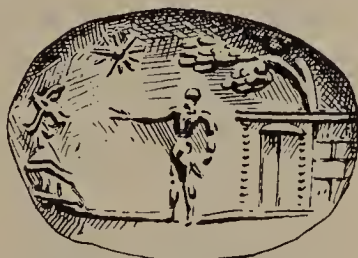


FIG. 71. GOLDRING IN THE STATE MUSEUM OF BERLIN.

between Madytos and Sestos. It is published in an inadequate manner: *Amtliche Berichte aus den Kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXV, 1913, p. 71, fig. 31 A; and by H. Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, 2nd ed., p. 233, No. 324 a. The doubts concerning its authenticity proffered by A. J. Reinach, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 297, are unfounded according to the information of Dr Zahn.

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 177, fig. 53.

² There is a somewhat similar construction to the left but without a tree, see p. 220.

and in the aperture a short and slender free-standing column; only the wall to the right seems to be omitted. On the top of the construction is the tree which a woman grasps with



FIG. 72. GOLD RING IN THE MUSEUM OF CANDIA.

both hands. To the left is a similar construction with a tree above, but the aperture is divided by a central line and in the fields there are chevrons. The first impression is that of closed double doors. Another unpublished gold ring in Athens (fig. 73 and

pl. I, 2) shows similar constructions with a tree above each, that to the left being grasped by a votary; but the design is so rough and the ring moreover is a little worn, so that all the details cannot be clearly made out.



FIG. 73. GOLD RING IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS.

Athena (fig. 73 and pl. I, 2) shows similar constructions with a tree above each, that to the left being grasped by a votary; but the design is so rough and the ring moreover is a little worn, so that all the details cannot be clearly made out.

A gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus (fig. 74)¹ is so worn that the design is completely blurred; to the right is an apparently nude woman grasping a tree rising from above the usual construction. A seal impression from H. Triada (fig. 75)² with a group of

three dancing women has to the right a construction consisting of two pillars or door jambs joined by a double cornice from which a tree rises. A seal impression from Zakro³ shows to

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 577, fig. 50 and pl. XL, 6.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 43, fig. 37.

³ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 77, fig. 1; cf. below, p. 234, n. 1, and p. 243.

the left a shrine with horns of consecration, to the right a construction with two steps; a pair of horns of consecration stands on the lower, while from the upper a tree rises over which a man is bending.

The gold ring from Mochlos¹ shows to the right a construction very similar to that on the rings from Mycenae and Knossos, a high narrow aperture with a cornice and an adjoining piece of a wall; there is, however, no tree. But behind the ship a construction appears, consisting of two jambs joined by two transversal beams (the whole resembling a ladder) and a cornice above, from which a tree rises. This construction is continued towards the right by two squares exactly corresponding to the two lower squares of the one on the left. It is tempting to suppose a third square, so that the two halves would be exactly similar, but there are no traces of this and the tree rises in the middle of the higher part. Finally, we cannot dissociate from this series the enigmatical construction on the sealstone from Ligortyno² which likewise shows a tree rising from the highest part of it.

These representations all display such a formal similarity that they must all be explained in the same manner, except perhaps the last-mentioned. It is commonly assumed that the tree stands *behind* the construction; this may be taken as a gateway, a shrine, or a portal shrine³, so that the lower part



FIG. 74. GOLD RING FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF PHAESTUS.



FIG. 75. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM H. TRIADA.

¹ Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 52 facing p. 90; *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 343, etc.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 185, fig. 59; cf. above, p. 150.

³ Except in the last-quoted instance; here Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 185, says that the tree rests on a platform.

of the stem of the tree is hidden or simply left out. Many of the representations show the tree grasped or touched by a human figure. It is a rather perplexing question why this figure is always shown fully while the stem of the tree itself is so regularly left out or hidden. According to our notions of design we should say that the tree rests *upon* the construction but this is clearly not the meaning of the Minoan artists. The said circumstance is really inexplicable, if the construction is a shrine or a temple, *beside* which the tree stands. In this case there would be no reason not to show the tree in full by the side of the shrine, as is done on the side of the H. Triada sarcophagus where the tree stands between the altar and the god or hero. If the construction is not a temple, it can be understood as a sacred enclosure surrounding the tree or else as a free-standing construction protecting the tree and denoting its sacredness, comparable in some ways, for example, to the Japanese *torii*, or the columns joined by a piece of entablature which so frequently appear in Hellenistic-Roman wall paintings representing a landscape with sacral architecture, where holy trees are very conspicuous¹. I do not venture to decide between the two last alternatives; analogies from the Hellenistic age are illuminating but of no intrinsic value in deciding the question. Sacred trees were, however, surrounded by walls in the Minoan age. A fragment of a steatite pyxis from Knossos² shows a tree *behind* a wall of polygonal masonry and an altar with horns of consecration *before* the wall. The representation on a sealstone from Sphoungaras³ can hardly be understood except as a fence with two trees behind it; in front is a huge libation jug. In either case the association of such a construction, whether an enclosure with a portal or a free-standing portal, with the sacred tree must be re-

¹ Rostowzew, *Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft*, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 1; cf. e. g. the yellow frieze from the right *ala* of the Palatine house, pl. I and II, or the Pompeian painting, fig. 18 facing p. 40, for the combination of a pair of columns with their entablature and a tree. Other pictures show the tree surrounded by a wall or an enclosure consisting of three columns joined by an entablature.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 103, fig. 2.

³ Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 70, fig. 45 F; see above, p. 126, fig. 27.

garded as typical, and according to the law of primitive art that the object is always represented from the characteristic point of view, — or in this case, from the side facing the spectator as he approaches the sacred tree —, this construction, which first meets the eye, is given in the foreground, while the sacred tree appears behind it. When, however, the artist had to picture the scene of the tree cult, a human figure touching the tree, a very difficult task was imposed upon him, — namely, to represent a scene which really was, at least in part, concealed by the surrounding construction. One might argue consequently that the worshipper also ought to be hidden by the construction, except at the most his head and the upper part of his body. But this is not the way of primitive art which aims at explicit representation¹. The artist was unable to take liberties with the living organism of a man in the same way as he had suppressed the non-articulate stem of a tree. The result of the desire to represent all the features that appear significant to the mind of the artist is the synthesis, typical of primitive art, of what can really be seen and what cannot be seen, — as when on Egyptian pictures the interior of a vessel is shown at the same time as the exterior, the one representation being placed just above the other. The man, who must needs be represented in full, is placed outside the construction grasping the tree placed within or behind it.

There is nothing in the representations which contradicts this view except the fact that the construction on the H. Triada sarcophagus shows a row of round discs between the lower and the upper cornice which are of course to be explained as beam ends. It may be that they are only decorative; they are absent in all the other representations of this kind, — so also are usually the horns of consecration², — in striking contrast to the columns of the heraldic scheme, where they appear almost

¹ Compare the offerings placed by the priestess on the altar in the representation on the H. Triada sarcophagus. One vessel stands on the altar, but a libation jug and a basket of fruit are depicted in the space above. No doubt these also were standing on the altar, but they are painted above it for the sake of explicitness.

² Cf. below, p. 234.

regularly. Perhaps Dr Paribeni is right in taking this construction to be a second altar.

The tree cult belongs pre-eminently to the country side; and if our explanation is right, we have rustic sanctuaries consisting of an enclosure with a gateway, or a free-standing portal with a sacred tree, and sometimes a baetyl or a sacred column much like those that occur so frequently in the classical age. The constructions here discussed are notable for the absence of the horns of consecration¹, which regularly occur on the shrines described in an earlier paragraph, a difference which ought to be taken into consideration. The shrines or temples mentioned above are then to be considered as belonging to the palaces and towns and have probably developed from the palace cult, i. e. the domestic cult. The constructions here described belong on the contrary to the rustic cult, for such the tree cult must be by virtue of its nature. Thus we may also explain the total absence of remains of shrines except palace and house sanctuaries and open-air sanctuaries.

In this connexion we might mention a curious and rather doubtful construction which occurs on a series of sealstones, often associated with boughs². It is described by Furtwängler as a hut or house with a gabled roof, and in his Presidential Address to the Hellenic Society in 1912³ Sir A. Evans took these constructions to represent a temple with a gabled front, thus deriving the tympanum of the Greek temple from the Mycenaean age. The specimens from the Knossos district show a wall with a door and a gable above. The others show a front with

¹ The representation on the H. Triada sarcophagus has been touched upon; in this connexion the special nature of the cult, probably the divinization of rulers (see p. 378), must also be taken into account. Apart from this, the only certain exception is the seal impression from Zakro, *JHS*, XII, 1902, p. 77, fig. 1, but this probably represents a scene from the domestic cult and only through confusion the tree cult; cf. p. 243 and p. 277. The sealstones from Ligortyno (pp. 150) and Sphoungaras (p. 126) show what is taken for a single horn.

² There are seven representations of this kind; four are figured by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 674, figs. 493, a, b, c, and 494, one by Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 70, fig. 45 G (here fig. 76), two, a chalcedony at Breslau and a carnelian in Berlin, by Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. IV 3 and 5.

³ *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 285 with fig. 1.

four, three, or two columns and above these a triangle filled with net work. More recently in treating these figures¹ Sir A. Evans considers it possible that some of these apparently gabled buildings were of circular construction with a peaked roof. I must, however, point out the circumstance that the three-sided bead-seal from Geraki², the one side of which shows a four-columned front with a triangle filled with net work above it, on another side shows a two-handled libation jug with an exactly similar triangle filled with net work above its mouth. The same is the case on a seal from Sphoungaras (fig. 76)³. This cannot be a gable, but nevertheless exactly resembles the so-called gable surmounting the columns. Consequently it must be asked if the so-called gable is not simply an ornamental addition, although this may seem to be an assertion contradictory to ocular evidence, at least for us who are accustomed to see a columned façade surmounted by a gable. But it is practically certain that Minoan houses had flat roofs, as far as we know them, and this is also true of the oval house at Chamaizi Siteias⁴. It may be argued that the Mycenaean *megaron* had a keel roof, which is probable, though it cannot be strictly demonstrated⁵, but the gems in question come from Crete and the first-mentioned is of an early type and that from Sphoungaras is dated by the jar in which it was found as Middle Minoan III or Late Minoan I; these gems belong to an age before the Mycenaean *megaron* was known in Crete. Some doubt, therefore, may not unfairly be expressed about the alleged representations of a gabled roof in Minoan Crete.



FIG. 76. SEALSTONE
FROM SPHOUNGARAS.

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, *loc. cit.*

² *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 47; Evans, *loc. cit.*, fig. 493 c.

³ Hall, *loc. cit.*, fig. F; cf. fig. D where the triangle is rudimentary.

⁴ The view of Noack, *Ovalhaus und Palast in Kreta*, pp. 55, that this house had a keel roof is refuted by Mackenzie, *BSA*, XIV, pp. 418.

⁵ The best argument in favour of this view is the isolation of the *megaron*; see G. Leroux, *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle*, pp. 55. A very valuable argument has recently been pointed out by Professor Persson, namely that the chamber-tomb II at Asine has a keel roof; see *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1924—25, p. 85 and pl. XXI, 1.

It is worthy of note that boughs are shown beside this construction on most specimens, one on either side of it on those from Sphoungaras and in Berlin, and a single one on the stone figured by Sir A. Evans¹ and on that at Breslau. This association may be as real as that of the libation jug with boughs. Sir A. Evans guesses that this construction was a rustic shrine. I should prefer not to call them shrines but to consider them as rustic constructions of a kind similar to those previously discussed which we associated with the tree cult.

The forms of the cult devoted to the sacred trees are of different kinds. That libations were poured over the sacred boughs has been said above; hence the frequent association of the libation jug with the sacred boughs. Sometimes a simple act of worship is represented, the votary standing quietly before the construction with the tree², sometimes the devotee touches the branches of the tree e. g. on the great gold ring from Mycenae; on the gold ring from Candia, fig. 72, the woman to the right grasps the stem of the tree with both hands, the upper part of the body being slightly bent forwards; on the gold ring from Athens, fig. 73, the man to the left touches the boughs of the tree but his movement is more exaggerated, almost violent; he is bending one knee and kneeling on the other; the woman to the right appears in a nearly similar attitude before a construction with a tree, but her hands do not seem to touch the boughs; the representation is dubious on this point, the ring being somewhat worn and the design, as it happens, inaccurately drawn on account of the nearness of the edge.

Other representations illustrate movements of a much more excited and violent character and add dancing figures. A gold ring from the Vaphio tomb has been mentioned above³, because it shows to the right a shield, a 'cuirass' or sacral knot, and the *ankh*-shaped variety of the double axe. To the

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 674, fig. 493 b.

² Gold ring from Mycenae, Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 182, fig. 55; the steatite sealstone from Ligortyno, *ibid.* p. 185, fig. 59.

³ Above, pp. 138 and 177; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 176, fig. 52; *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 432, fig. 310 c.

left there is a tree resting upon an undefinable construction¹ and a man is touching a branch of it with an energetic movement. In the middle there is a woman in a flounced skirt apparently dancing; she extends her left arm at full length and holds her right arm upwards with the elbow bent. What look like two strings of pearls appearing horizontally behind her neck and above her shoulders must be taken for her tresses tossed about by the violent movement. The gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus (fig. 74)² is so worn that the details are uncertain, but to the right a similar scene is recognizable: a tree rises from some kind of construction, an apparently nude woman — the breast is very prominent — grasps its stem with both hands and leaps up from the ground with a violent gesture. In the middle a man kneels with his arms outstretched over some big ovoidal object³; near the left edge is another such object and between this and the man a flying bird. The seal impression from Zakro mentioned above⁴ shows a man apparently bending over the tree.

To return to the representations which add dancing figures: a seal impression from H. Triadà (fig. 75)⁵ shows to the right the usual construction with a tree and a group of dancing women, the middle one much larger than the two on either side; she bends her head slightly to the right; their hands are held to their hips. The same group recurs without the construction and the tree on a sealstone from Crete and on another from Mycenae⁶. I think that this group, the explanation of which can hardly admit of any doubt, has a certain importance in helping the interpretation of other representations, especially a much discussed gold ring from Mycenae more than once mentioned here already⁷. To the right there is a man in energetic movement; almost kneeling and turning his head round,

¹ Tsoundas, *Eph. arch.*, 1890, p. 170, describes it as a large vessel; Evans, *loc. cit.*, takes it for a stone pillar.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 577, fig. 50.

³ Cf. below, p. 297.

⁴ Above, p. 234, n. 1.

⁵ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 43, fig. 37; *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 12, fig. 13.

⁶ *JHS*, *loc. cit.*, figs. 14 and 15; the first also *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VIII, 113.

⁷ Above, pp. 220 and 229.

he grasps and bends down the stem of a tree which rises from the construction. To the left a woman in a flounced skirt bends down apparently to rest her crossed arms on a construction somewhat similar to the other. In the middle is a woman in a flounced skirt and open bodice with her hands held towards her waist. This attitude belongs to the dance and closely resembles that of the three women on the seal from H. Triada; the strings of pearls which follow the line of her shoulders and the upper part of her arms horizontally are her flowing tresses¹. That we see here an ecstatic or orgiastic scene of the tree cult together with dancing may safely be assumed; if we try to penetrate deeper into its meaning we are forced to fall back on guesswork. Sir Arthur Evans proposed the explanation that a man is pulling down the branches of the tree to pluck a fruit and to offer it to the hungry goddess, and recognizes in the bending figure to the left the Great Mother or her attendant mourning over her mortal consort². The evidence of analogy does not seem to justify one in taking the female figures as deities, but in spite of this I think that the interpretation of Sir A. Evans is substantially correct. The woman to the left is certainly represented as mourning or lamenting and the one in the middle as dancing, while the man is shaking the tree. Consequently we have a tree cult with on the one hand joy and dancing, on the other mourning. Such cults are well known and are often performed without any reference to gods or their images. We shall see later that there is reason to suppose that such a cult played an important part in Minoan religion.

The uncertainty whether the epiphany of a goddess or merely a woman partaking in the cult is here represented applies to some other important rings³. The constructions with trees

¹ Cf. the Vaphio ring mentioned pp. 236.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 177; cf. *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 13; *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 161.

³ It is much to be regretted that the provenance of some of those rings is unknown and that in consequence the issue is further confused by the tedious and very difficult question of their genuineness. The two gold rings, here figured for the first time, were bought and presented, one to the

to the right and the left of the gold ring in Athens have been mentioned above ¹. On the left there is a man in a loin-cloth and a flat cap, almost kneeling, with one hand touching the branches, and to the right a woman in a similar attitude. She is nude except for the loin-cloth; the breasts are prominent and her hair hangs down her back like a string of pearls. This scanty clothing is certainly astonishing in a cult scene, the loin-cloth being properly the costume of the female treading, but the gold ring from the Phaestus necropolis (fig. 74) shows beyond doubt, although much worn, a nude woman shaking the holy tree; whether or not she is clad in a loin-cloth cannot be made out because of the condition of the ring. It would be easy to adduce examples of nudity in the cult, even in the tree cult, but as they apply to other peoples and countries, their value would only be slight. These two figures to the left and right turn their backs on the figure in the middle, a woman in a flounced skirt with her head turned to the left and both arms raised in a vivid gesture. If the epiphany of a goddess is intended, it is more than astonishing that the votaries should turn their backs on her; consequently she is to be understood as a devotee performing a sacred dance in the tree cult. The attitude of the uplifted arms and the slightly forward bend of the upper part of the body is very appropriate to a dance.

The representation on the gold ring at Candia ² seems more clearly to indicate the epiphany of a goddess. To the right and left there are constructions with trees and to the right a woman in a flounced skirt with her hair hanging down her back; she grasps the stem of the tree and turns her back on the central scene. The woman to the left, also clad in a flounced skirt and wearing her hair down her back, is seen in profile turning away from the tree and stretching both her arms

museum of Candia, and the other to the museum of Athens. We shall see that they both present some striking similarities to other rings and the latter also something which is almost unique, — a woman in a loin-cloth, which is seen elsewhere in the bull ring but not in cult scenes; there are, however, no valid reasons for suspecting these rings.

¹ Above, p. 230, fig. 73 and pl. I, 2.

² Fig. 72 and pl. I, 4; cf. above, pp. 229.

upwards as though in worship of a similarly clad woman who appears in the middle at a somewhat higher level; beneath her is a plant. She turns her head towards the worshipper and lifts her right forearm with the elbow bent as if greeting her devotee. There hardly seems to be any reasonable doubt that this is a scene of epiphany and adoration, and yet I must confess some uncertainty in consequence of the scene represented on a gold ring found in tomb I at Isopata near Knossos¹.

Although this ring shows no scene from the tree cult, no tree being represented, the action nevertheless takes place in the open country, a flower-decked meadow to judge by the plants — apparently lilies — four in all, strewn about in the open space. The attitude of the central figure, a woman in the usual Minoan dress, is almost exactly similar to that of the central figure on the last mentioned ring, though more vivid. The upper part of the body and especially the head are bent further towards the left. The figure appears at a higher level and beneath her feet is a plant of the same, somewhat conventionalized form as the other lilies. To the left is another similarly clad woman seen full face; she raises both her arms with the elbows bent but does not stretch them upwards as though in the act of worship; the attitude gives the impression of dancing rather than of adoration. These two do not look at each another. To the right are two women seen in profile, both stretching their arms upwards, but it is uncertain whether their adoration is directed towards the woman in the centre, for by her side, above the foremost of the two women, a very small female figure appears hovering in the air whose locks flow out on either side. This is beyond doubt a goddess descending through the air. The undulating line above the woman to the left resembles a snake; beneath it is a human eye². If the central figure is taken as a goddess, we have consequently the epiphany of two goddesses; her attitude may, however, also be explained as one of dancing which would be part of the ritual act in which the goddess is invoked to appear. The question seems

¹ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 10, fig. 16; *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 58, fig. 51.

² Cf. the Warren ring in the Ashmolean museum, pp. 296.

very difficult to decide, although I rather incline towards the second interpretation. The central figure on this ring and that on the ring in Athens are so similar, that one must be derived from the other or both from a common prototype: In spite of the formal identity the type may be used in different senses; but whatever the interpretation of the details we have here a scene of the epiphany and adoration of a goddess, probably combined with a sacred dance ¹.

¹ In this connexion where we are dealing with the epiphany of a goddess in full human shape, some words must be added on the notable ring of green jasper in the Copenhagen National Museum (fig. 77), published by Professor Blinkenberg with valuable remarks on the non-anthropomorphic aspects of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, *Kretisk Seglring fra ældre mykenisk Tid, Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1920, pp. 308; cf. G. van Hoorn, *Une bague minoenne à Copenhague*, *Rev. archéol.*, XIX, 1924, pp. 261. It is said to come from Eastern Crete. The scene evidently represents the epiphany of a goddess in the usual dress appearing in the middle at a somewhat higher level; beneath her feet there is a plant similar to that in the two cases already mentioned. She raises her hands with the elbows bent to greet her devotees. These are four: to the right two women seen in profile adoring the goddess with upstretched arms; behind them there is a plant; to the left two men are kneeling, likewise stretching their arms upwards to adore the goddess. A shield lies beneath the knees of the foremost and another behind the back of the other. To the right of the goddess's left hand there are two parallel lines of dots somewhat recalling the 'rainbow' on the great ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae, and to the left an uncertain ornament, perhaps of floral origin, though according to Blinkenberg representing mountains or rocks. The two women to the right are almost identical with those on the gold ring from Isopata; the attitude of the central figure is much quieter and statelier than in any of the rings hitherto discussed; closest to it comes the central figure on the ring at Candia, who lifts her right arm in the same manner but lets the left hang down at her side, her head being turned to the left towards the votary; here the head appears full face, there being votaries on either side.

The most notable feature is the male devotees kneeling with upstretched arms. This is absolutely unique, for the two women with the huge lion in the right hand upper compartment of the 'Ring of Nestor', *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 65, fig. 55, seem rather to be crouching on the earth in abject terror; and neither the attitude of the man shaking the tree on the gold ring from Mycenae who is described as almost kneeling (see above, p. 237), nor that of the man kneeling with his arms outstretched over a big jar on the gold ring



FIG. 77. SIGNET RING IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF COPENHAGEN.

Of other representations showing an epiphany the great gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae ranks foremost¹. The woman seated under the tree and holding in her outstretched hand what seem to be poppy-heads is approached by votaries and is undoubtedly a goddess; since the tree cult is so prominent in the Minoan age and since moreover another votary touches the branches of the tree, there is reason to suppose not only that this woman is a goddess appearing in her holy grove but the goddess of the tree cult herself, i. e. a Nature goddess. It may be the same goddess who rises from

from Phaestus (above, p. 231, fig. 74) is in any way comparable, but both are of a wholly different order. That the female goddess on the gem from Mycenae, Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 164, fig. 44, is meant to be kneeling is improbable. The absence of any such attitude elsewhere in Minoan art is of course no very strong argument, there being many *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* of various striking kinds. That it is not found in Greek art either is of no great consequence; I have more than once pointed out that analogies from the Greek age in Minoan-Mycenaean religion are seldom convincing, but a remark on kneeling in the Greek cult may be not inappropriate. Stengel, whose authority in matters concerning the Greek cult is recognized, says briefly, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*, 3rd ed., p. 80, that kneeling at prayers (to the gods) is not an ancient usage and rejects the instances adduced to show this. The Attic reliefs of the fourth century B. C. collected by O. Walter, *Knieende Adoranten auf attischen Reliefs*, *Österreich. Jahreshfte*, XIII, 1911, *Beiblatt*, pp. 229, seem, however, to show that the votary knelt in worshipping some gods, chiefly those of chthonic character; but the votaries are always women, except on one relief showing the god Men from Asia Minor, and there they are represented as touching the knee of the god or holding their arms downwards, not stretching them upwards. Weinreich, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XVII, 1914, pp. 527, adduces a passage from Aelius Aristides in which the worshipper is directed to invoke Dionysos Lysios with a hymn kneeling on one knee. In the *ludi saeculares* celebrated by the emperor Augustus and afterwards repeated by Domitian a prayer was directed to Juno by a choir of 110 kneeling matrons according to the precept of the oracle, v. 23. A coin of Domitian shows the matrons kneeling at the altar stretching their arms forward and repeating the prayer dictated to them by a priest, *Eph. epigraph.*, VIII, pl. I, 8. This is derived from Greek cult custom, but it must be remembered that the *ludi saeculares* of the Republic were devoted to the chthonic deities and that Augustus when altering the character of the feast introduced the Olympian deities also. To a modern mind it is natural to kneel at prayer and stretch one's arms towards the God in Heaven, but we must agree with Stengel that this is decidedly not an ancient custom.

¹ Cf. above, p. 227.

the ground on the intaglio from Thisbe¹ with poppy-heads in her hand and who is represented on the moulding from Palai-kastro² in the form of a bell-shaped cult idol with flowers in her raised hands and clad in a flat cap crowned with what seems to be a flower or bough. The gold ring in Berlin³ shows to the right a construction of the ordinary type with a tree inside it and before this a man stretching his arm straight forward and adoring a figure appearing to the left; above there is a rayed sun. There is no doubt that the figure is female and must be a goddess adored by the man, although the design is somewhat blurred, as especially appears by a comparison with the exact delineation of the man; her arms are two mere stumps, the head cannot be seen clearly; behind her neck two fillets seem to be hanging down. Even the *volants* of her skirt are designed in an unusual manner.

The gold ring from Knossos with a tree sanctuary and in front of this what may be the pole of a double axe⁴ shows on a small scale a male god with a spear in his outstretched right arm descending rapidly through the air with flowing locks; before him is a female votary. A seal impression from Zakro⁵ is unique in several respects. It has already been noted that it is the only instance undoubtedly associating the horns of consecration with the tree cult. There is a shrine of the usual type to the left and to the right a construction with a pair of horns of consecration and a tree over which a man is bending. In the middle a small figure appears hovering in the air which is clearly to be recognized as a bell-shaped idol with its arms on its hips. The representation seems to indicate a combination of the tree cult and the house cult to which shrines and bell-shaped idols belong.

Thus we have a real tree cult, boughs being not only accessories of the cult and trees not merely abodes of the deities

¹ *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 15, fig. 16 and pl. II, 3.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1900, pl. III, 1. The nearest analogy to the head dress is that of the priestess carrying two pails on a pole on the H. Triada sarcophagus; she wears a kind of flat cap with a button in the centre.

³ Above, p. 229, fig. 71, and pl. I, 1.

⁴ See above, p. 228.

⁵ See above, pp. 230 and 234, n. 1; below, p. 277.

but cult objects by virtue of their own merits. They are adored and venerated with ecstatic rites and dances, and their holy branches touched and shaken. Their sanctity is denoted by a special construction which cannot be called a shrine in the ordinary sense. On the other hand trees have already been associated with various deities whose epiphany is represented in some scenes of the tree cult. It is almost self-evident that the goddess appearing in such scenes, especially on the great gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae, is a Nature goddess who, in great part at least, may have originated in the tree cult. But a male god with a shield or a spear also appears in such scenes. The other gold ring from Mycenae also seems to show the two well-known sides of the nature cult, joyous excitement and mournful lamentation. Except for the use of boughs as actual cult objects, which marks the primitive phase of the tree cult, the conception has reached the same stage as in classical antiquity, where the trees are associated with the gods who inhabit holy groves, but where we also find holy trees standing within sacred enclosures.

The gems showing a pillar with an animal or two animals symmetrically grouped on each side were interpreted as abbreviated representations of a shrine guarded by animals or possessing sacrificial animals¹. A similar explanation applies to the representations showing trees and animals. The tree is the sacred tree of a deity or an abbreviated representation of his holy grove; the animals sacrificial animals or guardians. Three very similar gems show a bull and a palm tree. Two were found in chamber tombs at Mycenae². One shows a bull turned towards the left with the head turned round; its body partly conceals a palm tree, the top appearing above its back and the lower part of the stem below it. The other shows the same representation only inverted and adds another tree before the bull. At the root of the tree is something which on the first gem resembles horns of consecration but with doubled horns and a simple base. On the other gem the 'horns' are,

¹ Above, pp. 218.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 8 and 14; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. III, 50 and 52.

however, very slim and curved, the base thick and rounded. What is intended is certainly the thick knoll from which the stem of the palm tree grows and some leaves and bushes around it. The third gem from Ialysos¹ shows a precisely similar bull towards the right, with a shield beneath its belly, and before it at the right hand edge a palm tree. The stem rises from something resembling a circular altar with one moulding round the top and another round the base and a narrower middle part, but the interpretation of this object as an altar must be considered very dubious; it may be a misunderstood representation of the knoll under the stem or of some rock formation. There is one circumstance which casts doubt upon the religious character of these representations, viz. that the palm tree never occurs in scenes of the tree cult. It grows in Crete, — at least in our times, — although it is rare, and it may therefore be considered questionable whether it belonged to the cult. The holy trees of ancient Greece are also usually of another kind except the famous palm tree of Delos².

The gems with symmetrically grouped animals or monsters have already been fully treated by Sir A. Evans. A gem from a tomb of the Lower Town at Mycenae³ is evidently of religious character. Two goats are grouped about a tree on which they turn their backs; they stand on their hind-legs and bend their heads round. At the edge beneath their forelegs is a construction with two steps and horizontal lines which must be one of the kind associated with sacred trees. The animals may be called either sacrificial animals or holy animals. Less significant is a gem from Goulas in Crete⁴, showing two horned animals of an uncertain kind (Sir A. Evans compares them with red deer) standing or sitting erect on either side of a tree. A gem from Argos in Berlin⁵ shows two goats

¹ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. III, 51; *Rev. archéol.*, 1878, pl. XX, 8.

² A sealstone in Copenhagen, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 51, fig. 30, shows a bull against a tree of the ordinary type.

³ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 52, fig. 35; Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 154, fig. 30.

⁴ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 154, fig. 32.

⁵ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. III, 26.

standing erect on their hind-legs and between them a small tree or plant. A seal impression from Knossos is described thus¹: a sacred tree of papyrus-like appearance rises between two symmetrically grouped wild goats. Another gem from Mycenae² shows two bulls couchant on either side of a tree which looks like a conventionalized and somewhat misunderstood representation of a palm tree. A similar tree rises behind the back of each of the bulls. Finally a gold ring from the Lower Town at Mycenae³ shows two seated sphinxes on either side of what Sir A. Evans describes as a *fleur de lys* pillar with a base. It is very similar to the 'tree' on a gold ring from a chamber tomb at Mycenae⁴. I think that it is a still more conventionalized form of a palm tree, with its crowning bundle of leaves and its knoll at the base⁵. There is no evidence for supposing that these last-mentioned forms are a connecting link between the tree cult and the supposed cult of pillars or columns. They are only conventionalized forms of the tree, and if the column has had any influence on them this is only of a wholly formal order.

¹ *BSA*, VII, p. 101.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 156, fig. 34.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 155, fig. 33; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 42, fig. 17.

⁴ *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 43; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. III, 25.

⁵ The *fleur de lys* pillar recurs with a spiral-fluted shaft on a gem from a chamber tomb at Mycenae, *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 7; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. III, 27; a bull and an *agrimi* lying or leaping back to back but in opposite directions; over the hind-quarter of each of them there is a pillar of the said shape. A gem from the same place, *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 16; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. III, 33, shows two lions couchant whose hind-quarters are twisted round, and between them what may be a plant. A religious significance can hardly be ascribed to these instances; they are a purely formal development of the old type.

CHAPTER IX.

IDOLS AND CULT IDOLS.

The last section led to the discussion of some scenes in which a goddess appeared, for in treating the tree cult it was impossible to separate its further evolution in an anthropomorphic direction from its original basis. As we are now approaching the question of the Minoan-Mycenaean gods, it must be stated that our *prima facie* evidence is of an archaeological order and is derived solely from the monuments that survive from this age. It is our task to collect and sift this evidence without allowing ourselves to be influenced by analogies from Greek or any other religion or notices drawn from Greek authors, in order to lay a sound foundation from which we may proceed with some confidence in search of Minoan and Mycenaean traces in the historical religion of Greece.

It must be kept well in mind that the monuments to be discussed here are divided into two classes: on the one hand actual cult idols; on the other representations of gods and 'genii', and in particular various cult scenes with the epiphany of a deity. The evidence of the first class is wholly reliable as far as it can be understood without the aid of hypotheses; that of the other class is fuller, but it must always be remembered that the artist very seldom gives a photographically exact representation of the actual idols of the gods and of the actual rites of the cult, but depicts or sculptures them as they appear to the religious and artistic imagination. Especially is this true of the epiphany of gods; for the gods appear to the imagination and not to the corporeal eye.

The earliest idols are almost exclusively female and the exaggerated representation of the female forms has been respons-

ible for their being called steatopygous. They are found already in the remote times of the palaeolithic age and appear in the neolithic age over a vast area of South-Eastern Europe and the Near East including Crete. A series of such idols of clay of various types was found in the neolithic strata of Knossos together with clay birds and animals¹. Another female clay image of the squatting type was found in a neolithic deposit at Phaestus together with remains of small shallow clay bowls and peccunculus shells and a large lump of magnetic iron². There are also figures of stone³ of the same types as the clay figures.

It would be out of place here to enter into a detailed discussion of the vast and vexed question of the origin of these types and their relations with one another⁴. The most sensible view is that taken by Sir Arthur Evans⁵ that we have to deal with parallel phenomena the operation of which is traceable throughout a geographically continuous region extending from the Aegean and the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf and even beyond the Caspian. It is a commonly accepted view that these figures are idols in the sense of images of a goddess who, owing to the maternal forms of the figures, is termed a Mother Goddess. But this opinion is not founded on any proofs of a special order, e. g. the circumstances of discovery etc., but solely on general reasoning⁶, and therefore it may be permiss-

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 46, fig. 12 and p. 44, fig. 11.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 151 and fig. 8.

³ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 48, fig. 13, Nos. 5 and 9 from Knossos; No. 8 obtained at Gortyn and on the evidence of its material (breccia) ascribed to Early Minoan; No. 20 of alabaster from Central Crete.

⁴ The literature is vast; as regards Crete and the Minoan world see Evans, *loc. cit.*; Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., pp. 359.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 51.

⁶ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 52: "In any case it can hardly be a mere coincidence that all these various provinces of ancient culture — the Aegean, the Anatolian, the Syrian, Cypriote, Mesopotamian, and Elamite — where the habit prevailed of forming these Mother idols, whether extended or seated, were the later scenes of the cult, under varying names and attributes, of a series of Great Goddesses who often combined the ideas of motherhood and virginity." As to the Aegean, the cult of a Mother Goddess is a supposition which first ought to be demonstrated before it is applied to the interpretation of the idols (cf. below, p. 250). The Balkan peninsula, which is also included

ible to test the strength of this reasoning on general grounds. The first supposition underlying this interpretation is that these idols, being unfit for any other use, must have a religious purpose, that is — be images of a goddess. This supposition does not reckon with the artistic and other impulses of man which may have caused him to model an image of a woman as he modelled images of — let us say — animals and cattle¹, at least in the neolithic age; consequently it is not the only possible method of explaining the images; and what is the most likely explanation depends in reality on one's personal conviction and inclination. Even if it be conceded that the purpose of the female figures is of a religious order, it does not by any means follow as a necessary corollary that they represent a goddess. Images are also used for magical purposes by primitive man and this magic use precedes on the whole the religious representation of gods. Secondly, images, especially of women, are often placed in graves by the side of the dead. In neolithic times the dead were often interred beneath the floor of the house. It is at least possible that some of the idols found on the site of human habitations belong to this class, even if no precise trace is recorded in the circumstances of discovery pointing in this direction.

There are consequently other points of view also which ought to be taken into consideration in trying to understand the female figures. It might be said that these theories may all be justified to a certain extent; the images may have been used and conceived in more than one sense. It can certainly not be claimed that such a plurality of meaning is *a priori* impossible.

The deity, whom the figures according to common opinion represent, is said to be a Mother Goddess, and as there are hardly any other human figures from the earliest periods

in the area where the idols are found, is omitted from the list quoted, no form of a Mother Goddess being known from it. The other districts, all in Asia, form a connected area of culture from times immemorial. Cf. Myres in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 91.

¹ The images of animals found in the palaeolithic age and later, e. g. in the neolithic remains of Knossos, are — quite rightly I think — not accepted as images of gods in animal shape, or totems.

it comes about that this Mother Goddess occupies a wholly dominant position in the expositions of the earliest religious phase according to the archaeological remains, as it is given by Sir A. Evans, Dussaud, and other scholars. One has the impression of a kind of monotheism, a primary belief in a deity which creates and nourishes all things, although she is female and not a male creator in the guise of the magician or the totem animal, like those in which Andrew Lang and Pater Schmidt find the primeval all-embracing divinity of mankind. The difference is that whilst Lang and Pater Schmidt were able to collect a mass of instances for the belief in a creator from primitive peoples, there are hardly any forthcoming for the female all-nourishing deity except in the religions of the Near East, and these belong to a much more advanced stage than that which we are justified in assuming for the neolithic age. The hypothesis of an original monotheistic creator in the form advanced by Lang and Schmidt is certainly erroneous; the other is no more likely in the form in which it was put here, and this is in reality the gist of the interpretation of the female idols as a Mother Goddess, even if it is not so explicitly stated. We shall do well in supposing a form of religion in the neolithic age in which magic and daemons, and if there be gods, a plurality of gods are more prominent than a Mother Goddess. It must be added that the Mother Goddesses of a later age, the Great Mother of Asia Minor, Ishtar, Isis, show themselves by unmistakable signs to be related to vegetation cults; whereas the fecundity indicated by the idols is human fecundity. The origins are consequently different.

It will be wise to consider these points thoroughly and to keep in mind that gods also have a history growing up from a pre-deistic stage, before the female idols are definitely classed as images of the Mother Goddess.

However the neolithic idols are to be explained, they have left no lineage behind them in the Minoan age; for the similarity of the idol from the Sanctuary of the Double Axes compared by Sir A. Evans¹ is confined to the rudeness of its

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 52 and fig. 14.

form, and during the whole course of Minoan civilization there are no intermediate links. The idols which appear in the Early Minoan age are due to foreign influence, partly Egyptian, partly Cycladic.

The marble idols from the Cyclades are a well-known feature of the Cycladic culture contemporary with Early Minoan. Most of them represent nude women, from the inarticulate fiddle-shaped idols to the more comely representations of the human body; the arms are crossed beneath the breasts. Some years ago it was the fashion to derive these idols from the Orient and to see their prototypes in the Oriental idols of the Goddess of Fertility pressing her breasts, a view which is now rightly abandoned¹. Sir A. Evans thinks that the fiddle-shaped type goes back to a neolithic prototype². There is also one female figure carrying a child on her head and another with a child in her lap; a third small figure, probably female, blows the double flute. The male figures are rarer; some of them are nude and show the same attitude as the female figures: the most remarkable are perhaps the figures of seated harp-players. As far as the circumstances of discovery are known, all these idols were found in graves, and where it has been possible to define the sex of the dead, it has been found to be male. There is consequently no doubt concerning the interpretation of these figures; they are gifts to the dead designed to serve him in another world. This custom prevails in many countries; I refer only to Egypt. In some cases the figures may be a substitute for a human sacrifice to the dead, but the custom may also have arisen independently of such sacrifices as a means of providing the dead with all his needs, including servants, concubines, and musicians, on the principle that the image does the same service as the original.

These Cycladic idols were imported into Crete; the Parian marble of which they are made makes their origin certain; and they are found in several Early Minoan tombs, chiefly of

¹ These idols also have given rise to a vast literature; a good summary is contained in Walter A. Müller, *Nacktheit und Entblössung in der altorientalischen und älteren griechischen Kunst*, Diss., Leipzig, 1906, pp. 59.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

the third period: H. Onuphrios, Siteia¹, Koumasa, Platanos². Rude shapeless imitations in greenish schist are found in the Early Minoan necropolis of Pyrgos, and among them is a small specimen of limestone of more shapely and wholly Cycladic appearance³; one very similar specimen was found at Koumasa and another at Platanos.

In the same tombs of Messara, at H. Triada⁴, Koumasa, and Platanos⁵ small human figures are found with a head and an inarticulate body terminating in a point; more articulate figures are rare. The Egyptian influence is clear at the first glance and agrees with the very strong Egyptian influence in Early Minoan, to which Sir A. Evans has always called attention, and is illustrated by the work of Xanthoudides quoted here. Sir A. Evans compares the prehistoric types from Naqada and other cemeteries⁶. These Egyptianized idols and those of Cycladic type are both found in tombs, so that their purpose is clear.

Many idols from Middle and Late Minoan are found, both of terracotta and bronze, although they are much less numerous than the well known Mycenaean idols of the mainland, a difference the reason of which we shall try to find out later. There are three classes, differentiated according to the circumstances of discovery: votive idols from sanctuaries, cult idols from shrines, and idols found in graves and tombs. Finally there are stray finds whose original purpose is more or less uncertain. The cult idols will be treated later in a separate section.

The great votive deposits of Petsofa and Mt. Juktas, of the caves of Psychro and Patso, and their contents have been

¹ Evans, *Cretan Pictographs etc.*, pp. 125, figs. 124—134; one of the idols from Siteia, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 115, fig. 83.

² Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Messara*; six specimens from Koumasa, pp. 21 and pl. XXI, of which one is pregnant, pl. VII; one from Platanos, p. 121 and pl. XV. Others are published by Mariani, *Mon. ant.*, VI, p. 169, fig. 1. Stray finds are mentioned by Xanthoudides, p. 21.

³ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, p. 163, fig. 14.

⁴ *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXI, p. 251 and pl. XI, fig. 27.

⁵ Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24 and pl. XXI, p. 121 and pl. XV.

⁶ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 83; comparative series p. 84, fig. 52; cf. Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*

described above; apart from other objects they contain animal and human figurines, both male and female. There is no reason to separate some figures from the cave of Psychro which are holding their arms before their breasts and proclaim them as goddesses¹. The exact meaning of these votive figures is uncertain, but it is most likely that all, the female, male, and animal figures, are to be taken together; it is not very probable *a priori* that figures of deities are among them.

The instances where figurines were found in a house or palace and can be considered as remains of a cult have been mentioned above². The terracotta figurines and votive animals of bronze found in the N. E. wing of the palace of H. Triada seem to belong to a votive deposit³. A series of bell-shaped idols and birds found in the S. W. wing appear to indicate a shrine⁴. In the house of Chamaizi Siteias two male and one female idol and one head were found⁵; others also at Tylissos⁶, including a remarkable Late Minoan male idol⁷. In the palace of Phaestus some rough female idols of terracotta or limestone and also some of the Mycenaean type were found⁸.

The female idols are often compared to the Oriental goddess of fertility on formal grounds; it is said that they hold their hands to their breasts as she does. There is, however, not a single Minoan idol of a woman pressing her breasts; the hands are always held beneath or before the breasts⁹, as in some statuettes of men. It is peculiarly interesting to compare the male and the female figurines from Petsofa in this

¹ *BSA*, VI, pl. X, Nos. 11—13; another figure holds its left hand in front of its breast and raises the other to its head. Cf. Prinz, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 155.

² Above, ch. II.

³ Above, p. 88.

⁴ Above, pp. 88.

⁵ Above, p. 93.

⁶ Above, p. 94.

⁷ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, p. 230, fig. 38; Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, p. 75, fig. 38.

⁸ *Mon. ant.*, XII, pp. 119, figs. 48—53.

⁹ Except the marble statuette just acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, see below, p. 340, n. 1. Cf. e. g. the idol from Phaestus, *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 125, fig. 53. The *rhyton* from Mochlos (above, p. 124) is of quite another order and has nothing to do with any religious conception; it is in fact unique.

respect¹. The men hold their arms so that the hands are placed on either side of their chest, the women stretch their arms forward before their breast; they are mostly broken off. The figurines from Chamaizi Siteias afford another comparison. The woman holds her arms outstretched before herself; the men lift the right hand towards the chin, the left is held before the waist. A bronze statuette from Phylakopi, of singularly stiff appearance and of uncertain sex holds its right hand before its chest and its left before its waist². A female idol from Phaestus holds her arms with closed hands beneath her breasts³. The figures from H. Triada present various types⁴. One idol (fig. 78, 3) has a very high 'bell' and a small upper part of the body; the arms are placed on the rim of the 'bell'; in others the bell-form is less distinct. The attitude varies, the arms being opened, stretched forwards or upwards, or placed on the breast. Most remarkable is a seated idol (fig. 78, 2)⁵; its arms are stretched forward, the right hand slightly raised, and it seems to have a kind of small cap on its head. The same types recur among the idols found in a tomb N. E. of the palace⁶. If the hands touch the bosom, this is for technical reasons connected with the crude and unskilled work, of which due account must be taken in judging these figures. Others hold their hands on their hips⁷. The same attitudes recur on engraved gems. I would especially call attention to that in which one arm is more or less raised, the other held more or less downwards⁸.

¹ *BSA*, IX, pl. IX—XI; cf. the brass statuette of a man with a peaked cap, *Delt. arch.*, II, 1916, p. 168, fig. 3.

² Certainly imported; published by Cecil Smith, *BSA*, III, p. 26 and pl. III, with a commentary in which he rejects the connexion of this and similar figures with Oriental divinities. *Excav. at Phylakopi*, pp. 186 and pl. XXXVII.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 125, fig. 53.

⁴ Figured *Mon. ant.*, XIII, pp. 71, fig. 55 a, b (= pl. XI, 1), c, and pl. XI, 2.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, fig. 55 b and pl. XI, 1.

⁶ See below, p. 258. The title given by Prinz, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 155, to a section including these and some other idols, *Typus I: Göttin ihre Brüste fassend*, is a gross mis-statement.

⁷ E. g. the small bronze idol from a L. M. house at Palaikastro, *BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, p. 122, fig. 103.

⁸ See the figures described above, p. 238, as dancing



FIG. 78. IDOLS FROM THE PALACE OF H. TRIADA.

Akin to this attitude is that of the bronze figures of women clad in the Minoan flounced skirt which are sometimes called dancing girls. One hand is placed on the forehead, the other on the waist. The best known specimen is that which has long been in the Berlin Museum¹; another of terracotta is from Siteia², while a third was found in the palace of H. Triada³; finally, the upper part of a similar figure is in the Museum of Munich⁴. These figures have been claimed by others as lamenting women⁵, wrongly, I think. The attitude is developed from that described above and is shown also by male figures. A small male bronze figurine from H. Triada⁶ places its right hand on its forehead, while the left arm hangs loosely down. Another from Tylissos⁷ is similar, but the left arm stretches straight downwards. A female figurine from H. Triada⁸ places both hands on her forehead. In trying to understand this attitude we must take into account the difficulty of moulding arms freely outstretched; this is the reason why the interpretation of the figures as lamenting women, which seems plausible at the first glance, is questionable. If they were found in tombs, this explanation would be preferable, but they are not, in so far as the circumstances of discovery are known, — for example, the figures found in the palace of H. Triada⁹. Consequently it seems more likely that they represent dancing women, though even this interpretation is uncertain.

Although the meaning of the various attitudes is uncertain, this review of the figures has drawn attention to an important

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 94, fig. 7; *Aegina*, p. 371, fig. 296; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 507, fig. 365. Cf. below, p. 268, n. 1.

² Published by Mariani, *Mon. ant.*, VI, pp. 171, figs. 3 and 4.

³ *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXVI, 2.

⁴ *Sitz.-ber. der Ges. der Wissenschaften, München*, 1899, p. 560.

⁵ Collignon, *Rev. des études grecques*, XVI, 1903, pp. 308; cf. Dragendorff in *Thera*, II, p. 123; Paribeni in *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 743.

⁶ *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXVI, 1.

⁷ *Eph. arch.*, 1912, pl. XVII; Hazzidakis, *Tylissos*, pl. VI; cf. the similar figure in the British Museum published in *JHS*, XLI, 1921, pp. 86 and pl. I, and the stone figure, *Delt. arch.*, II, 1916, p. 165, fig. 1.

⁸ *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXVI, 3.

⁹ Cf. *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 743, n. 4.

point, that they are very various. It is impossible to draw any conclusions as to the character of the idols from their attitudes, i. e. to decide whether they represent deities or not; and concerning the figures which for other reasons must represent a goddess, viz. the bell-shaped idols, it is likewise impossible to infer from their attitude what the nature of the goddess may have been.

It is a curious circumstance that tombs from the golden age of the Minoan civilization are always scarce, and from some periods almost unknown. The tombs of the Middle Minoan age are either ossuaries enclosed with walls or single *pithos* graves; the objects found in them are very poor. Idols found in tombs from Middle Minoan II and III and Late Minoan I and II are also very rare. In a tomb at Gournes¹ a female idol was found very much recalling those from Petsofa. Then Sir Arthur Evans had the good fortune to find tombs from the first two periods of the Late Minoan age at Isopata and at Zafer Papoura near Knossos, and also from the transitional period between the Palace style and the following Late Minoan III period and from the latter period, but none from the concluding phase of Late Minoan III. These tombs have yielded rich finds but idols are not among them. The only human figurine discovered was a rude clay figure apparently of a manikin in the sixth tomb of Isopata²; together with this a coarse figure of a flying bird was found, and in the chamber tomb No. 97 at Zafer Papoura a steatite pendant in the form of a female figure³ occurred, which must be a piece of jewelry or at most an amulet. Idols are conspicuous by their absence, and so many tombs were discovered by Sir A. Evans near Knossos that they would of course have been found, had it been the custom to place them in the graves of this age. This is a most marked contrast to the mainland where idols abound in Late Minoan tombs and graves.

This assertion seems, however, to be completely contra-

¹ *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, p. 53, fig. 3.

² Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes etc.*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 31, fig. 44.

³ Evans, *Tombs of Knossos etc.*, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 85, fig. 95.

dicted by a remarkable discovery in the necropolis of H. Triada¹. To the N. E. of the palace some walls of an earlier building with four rooms were discovered; two of the rooms were used at a later period for burial purposes. The contents of one were meagre; the other whose roof was once supported by two square pillars is more interesting. A *terminus post quem* is given by a scarab with the cartouche of Queen Thii, but it



FIG. 79. IDOL FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF H. TRIADA.

is to be noted that the contents have been much disturbed. Among other things, of which a gold amulet (fig. 83, p. 276) in the shape of a heart with a spider, a scorpion, a hand, etc. is the most remarkable, were several idols, and these are true idols of the bell-shaped form which is peculiar to the cult type. One² has a very large and high lower part covered with small knobs; the head is absent, and the arms are broken off but were stretched outwards and slightly downwards. Three others are smaller and of the ordinary bell-shaped type, with the arms stretched forward; one raises its right hand toward its chin and holds the other in front of its waist (fig. 79)³. Two have

long tresses of hair hanging down over their shoulders and back (figs. 80 and 81, 1)⁴. The fifth and smallest idol is more conical than bell-shaped; its arms are folded on its breast (fig. 81, 2)⁵. It is in fact not a common custom to place images of the gods

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pp. 719, figs. 24 and 37—40; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. XX, 2 and XXVI, 4, 5, 6.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 725, fig. 24; *Ant. crét.*, I, pl. XX, 2.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 739, fig. 37; pl. XX, 6 resp.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 740, figs. 38 a, 39 and 40 a.; pl. XX, 4 and 5 resp.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 743, fig. 40.

in tombs. In the Greek age it is rare, and the divine images are chiefly protomes of Dionysos and Persephone, which are found especially in Boeotian tombs; they are connected with certain doctrines of an Orphic character about the other life. As for the Mycenaean age the gold leaves from the shaft graves of Mycenae representing a nude woman with birds must be taken as goddesses, but the question is whether these figures were laid in the grave on purpose because they were images of a goddess, or whether they are only part of the rich jewelry given to the dead. As regards the preceding age we have seen that there is no proof that images of the gods were placed in tombs. Yet here is quite a series of them, which is truly astonishing. Now the tomb has occupied an old disused house, which was of some importance as it had two pillars, and the contents were much disturbed. In fact it is impossible to know which of the contents belong to the house and which to the interments. According to our other knowledge, therefore, it would seem most probable that the contents of the house were mixed up with the contents of the burial and that the idols originally belonged to a house cult, for there we frequently find such idols¹.

Stray finds, mostly of unknown provenance, have been



FIG. 80. IDOL FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF H. TRIADA.

¹ The notice by Karo, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, p. 132, and in *Gournia*, p. 51, that the idols from Prinia (see below, p. 270) were unearthed in a cemetery is a mis-statement; cf. Zahn in Kinch, *Vroulia*, p. 33. Pernier, *Boll. d'arte*, II, 1908, p. 455, has nothing of the kind and only says that the figures were found near the surface.

published by Mariani: a bell-shaped idol without head or arms, which must have been raised¹; a figurine of bronze from Katsidoni near Sitanos²; and another of terracotta at Hierapetra from Episcopi³. The lower part of both is more conical than bell-shaped, and their arms are held before their breast. Finally came some other less significant idols and fragments⁴. A very



FIG. 81. IDOLS FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF H. TRIADA.

rough idol with a cap of the Mycenaean moon-sickle type was procured by Taramelli at Axos⁵.

The Mycenaean idols are well known, and especially famous because Schliemann tried to identify them with Hera, a conjecture to which we must recur later. They are very numerous but belong almost exclusively to the mainland; in Crete⁶ they are very rare and evidently im-

ported, as at Phylakopi⁷. The finds are for the most part unrecorded; only a few of them are published, — some characteristic examples of the various types, which is enough. There

¹ *Mon. ant.*, VI, p. 170, fig. 2.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 176, fig. 6.

³ *Loc. cit.*, fig. 7.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, figs. 5, 8, 9.

⁵ *Mon. ant.*, IX, p. 315, fig. 8.

⁶ E. g. from Phaestus, *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 124, fig. 52; Cf. Rodenwaldt in *Tiryns*, II, p. 7, n. 6.

⁷ Also animal figures, *Excav. at Phylakopi*, pp. 202 and pl. XXXIX, 13—22, and XL, 32—34.

is consequently no need of an enumeration of the finds, which necessarily would be incomplete.

Schliemann mentions nine from the Acropolis of Mycenae¹, where terracotta cows were also found. In another passage² he says that he found more than 200 such figures and finally mentions an idol of a different type holding its arms before its breast³. Others were found at Tiryns⁴. Since then hundreds of them have been found on different sites:

Professor Tsoundas in a valuable paper on his excavations at Mycenae has distinguished the types⁵, the chief of which are three in number: the first type⁶ has a cylindrical or conical lower part, while the upper part is flat and has instead of arms two projections pointing upwards and resembling the horns of a moon-sickle; the head is crowned by a kind of broad flat cap, from beneath which the hair appears falling down the back. The second type⁷ has the same cylindrical lower part; the upper part is flat and shows an ovoidal contour when seen from the front, the arms not being indicated separately. This type very seldom has a cap. The third type⁸ has separately modelled arms placed on the breast and sometimes crossed. There are also other types, two of which are illustrated by Tsoundas. One⁹ is chiefly remarkable for the cylindrical shape of the upper part of the body, the other¹⁰ belongs to the second type but carries a baby in her arms; on her shoulder something similar to the broad mouth of a big vessel projects from under her garment. Another similar idol

¹ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 11.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 80, figs. 111—113 and pl. A, B, C 2, XVI—XIX.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 149, fig. 212.

⁴ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XXV.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pp. 168.

⁶ Cf. Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pl. B, figs. e, f, and pl. XVII, No. 94; Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 2, No. 1, with more references to finds, and p. 3, Nos. 2, 3, and 8.

⁷ Schliemann, *loc. cit.*, pl. C, p. 81, fig. 112; Winter, *loc. cit.*, p. 2, No. 3.

⁸ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pl. XVIII, 99—101; Winter, *loc. cit.*, p. 3, No. 1, cf. No. 6; cf. *Delt. arch.*, III, 1917, p. 137, fig. 101 from Thebes.

⁹ *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. IX, 15; Winter, *loc. cit.*, p. 3, No. 4.

¹⁰ *Eph. arch.*, *loc. cit.*, 16; Winter, *loc. cit.*, p. 2, No. 2.

was found on the Acropolis of Mycenae. Four idols of women with a child and one with two children were found at the temple of Aphaia on Aegina¹.

There is further a seated type, a woman in a large chair with a high back or in an armchair. One such idol was found in a tomb at Mycenae², another in a tomb at Nauplia³, a third in Athens is of unknown provenance, a fourth in the Metropolitan Museum in New York from Cyprus⁴. Chairs without occupants are also found, e. g. at Tiryns⁵. Three chairs were found in a tomb at Thebes together with female idols and an animal⁶. There are other specimens from the tombs at Nauplia, from Athens, Menidi, Mycenae⁷, and the Argive Heraeum⁸.



FIG. 82. SEATED IDOL
FROM DELPHI.

A very remarkable nude female figure seated in a large chair (fig. 82) was found in the sacred precinct at Delphi between the base of the Thessalians and the east wall of the *temenos*⁹.

The remarks on the circumstances of their discovery added by Tsoundas are very important. He says that such idols were found in many of the tombs and that it was observed that the poorer tombs contained more of these idols than the richer ones. This statement is confirmed by other excavations. One has only to go through e. g. the contents of the Myce-

¹ *Aegina*, I, p. 373, pl. CVIII, 3, 4 and CIX, 4.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1888, p. 170.

³ Winter, *loc. cit.*, p. 2, No. 4; Reichel, *Vorhellenische Götterculte*, p. 8, fig. 3 a.

⁴ Winter, *loc. cit.*, p. 2, No. 5.

⁵ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XXIII c.; Reichel, *loc. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 2.

⁶ *Delt. arch.*, III, 1917, p. 190, fig. 135.

⁷ Figured by Reichel, *loc. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 3. The special theory of this author that thrones without occupants served as cult symbols of the pre-Hellenic deities has been thoroughly disproved by subsequent discoveries.

⁸ Seated female figures and chairs occur in Crete at Petsosa, *BSA*, IX, pp. 373.

⁹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 15, No. 6 and fig. 60.

naean tombs of Ialysos in the British Museum ¹, or those of the tombs at Thebes which were published by Keramopoulos ², at Nauplia ³, at Argos ⁴, and at Delphi ⁵.

Mycenaean idols are, however, found not only in tombs but also in votive deposits; the latter are especially found where a cult was handed down from the Mycenaean age to later times. Foremost ranks Delphi, where remains of a Mycenaean cult were found ⁶, including female idols, and figures of cattle; except for the nude idol seated in a chair ⁷ they were discovered beneath the foundations of the temple of Apollo ⁸. To the East is the group of temples known as Marmaria. Here also Mycenaean idols were found, about thirty of different types resting on a large stone ⁹. Similarly more than 150 bovine figures and a great number of smaller and larger female idols were found in a rubbish heap on the East terrace of the temple of Aphaia on Aegina ¹⁰. Another deposit containing about 200 Mycenaean terracottas, female idols especially but also animals and a single nude man, were found at the chapel of H. Triada, an hour southwards from the village of H. Georgios in Argolis ¹¹. One idol, though of more Cretan appearance, was found in a destroyed Mycenaean house near the Menelaion at Sparta ¹².

Idols of materials other than clay are rare. Apart from the nude figures with birds two very small female figures of gold pierced with four holes for attachment were found in the IIIrd shaft grave of Mycenae ¹³; they resemble the small

¹ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. VI, 29.

² *Delt. arch.*, III, 1917, pp. 80 and 123.

³ Cf. *Athen. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 161.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXVIII, 1904, p. 375.

⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 15, No. 5 and fig. 59.

⁶ See below, pp. 400.

⁷ Above, p. 262, fig. 82.

⁸ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pp. 14, Nos. 1—4, 7, figs. 57, 58, and 61.

⁹ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 507.

¹⁰ *Aegina*, pp. 370 and pl. CIX.

¹¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, p. 116.

¹² *BSA*, XVI, 1910, p. 11, pl. II k.

¹³ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 212, fig. 273

idol or amulet from Gournia¹. Of purely decorative use are also the female figurines of glass paste of which two were found in a house at Mycenae² and some others in a tomb³; they are pierced and belonged probably to a necklace or something similar.

The following general principles deduced from the above-quoted notices will be of importance for the interpretation of Mycenaean idols. Where more than a single female idol is found they are always accompanied by animal, viz. bovine figures. They are found among the remains of Mycenaean cult places; here they must be taken as votive figures, like e. g. the figures from Petsofa. Contrary to the Minoan custom, but in accordance with the remains of Cycladic civilization, these idols together with animal figures are found abundantly in tombs, and particularly in the poorer tombs; in the richer tombs they do not occur. Consequently the same interpretation will hold good here as for the Cycladic idols; they are gifts to the dead. This is not contradicted by the figures with children or by those seated in a chair or by the empty chairs. These figures are taken from the life. It has long been observed that the varieties of type contradict the assumption that the idols represent a goddess⁴. It is very characteristic that these idols are found most abundantly in the poorer graves. Anyone who was unable to procure jewelry and costly things thought to make up for the want by these cheap figures which, however, it was imagined would procure a luxurious after life for the man who had not known much but work and necessity in this life. This observation, I think, disposes of the hypothesis that these idols must represent a goddess.

The contrast between the frequent occurrence of female idols in the tombs of the mainland and their absence in the Late Minoan tombs of Crete is still another example of the differences in civilization between Crete and the mainland,

¹ *Gournia*, pl. XI, E, 14.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1887, p. 169, pl. XIII, 23 and 24.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 1888, p. 165, pl. VIII, 9.

⁴ By Max Mayer, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, VII, 1892, p. 196.

and one which points to cruder ideas about the after life and the cult of the dead. Though idols are found also in Cycladic tombs and the contemporary tombs of Crete, it certainly cannot be assumed that the Mycenaean custom is derived from or connected with Cycladic civilization. There is a gap of time and also an incompatibility in the forms, which for all their crudeness are essentially different. Such an idea as that of placing human and animal figures in the tomb for the purpose of serving the dead arises spontaneously, and recurs in Egypt and among other peoples. So long as our knowledge of the pre-Mycenaean burial customs of the mainland is so scanty, it will be wiser to refrain from all speculations about the civilization and the people among which this Mycenaean custom originated.

Idols are also found in houses. That from Menelaion is a definite instance, and some at least of those found on the Acropolis of Mycenae and at Tiryns and at Phylakopi may have formed part of the appointments of houses. There is of course no objection to supposing that such an idol may have casually served as the object of a house cult, although it is possible to explain these finds in other ways. This is, however, quite another matter than the hypothesis that these idols originated as images of a special goddess.

The line adopted in this treatment of the idols is perhaps not the most logical, being adjusted to suit the circumstances of the various discoveries. The formal points of view had to be added at some convenient occasion. But this method is certainly the most practical, because the circumstances of discovery show the use of the objects and so give the most certain clue for an interpretation which is better founded on realities than upon any speculations about the varying forms and attitudes. The stray finds are of course difficult to fit into this scheme, since the circumstances of discovery are either unknown or not illuminating. These finds must therefore be mentioned together with the groups to which they appear to be related. Some have already been quoted, and others will follow, whose forms show that they count among the real cult idols.

The great advantage of discovering shrines with their

contents is that we recognize that idols of a certain type, the bell-shaped sort, were cult objects and that with the aid of their attributes and the place of their discovery we have a clue to the character of the deity.

On the back ledge of the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos described above¹ and dating from the Reoccupation period several idols were found standing together with two pairs of horns of consecration. Three of these idols were bell-shaped; while two, a female and a male one holding out a bird, were not bell-shaped, though of very rude workmanship. The construction and the contents of the shrine make it certain that one or more of these images are real cult images. It should not be assumed *a priori* that there can be but one cult image of the same deity in a shrine, though we are certainly in the habit of thinking so. In several Greek temples there was more than one image, to which reverence was paid in differing degree, and it is also customary among several primitive peoples to collect a plurality of images in one place. We know too little of the Minoan religion to assert that only one of the idols can be the image of a deity, and that the others are votaries or priests.

The bell-shaped form is conventional and was handed down from an earlier age — the similar idol from Gournia belongs to Late Minoan I — and survived because of religious conservatism. For although the Double Axe Shrine belongs to a decadent period, men were even then able to form figures of a more naturalistic appearance. There is consequently a presumption that the bell-shaped idols are cult idols. Two of these idols show the attitude which is common also for other idols: — the arms curving up before their breast. The third, which was found standing furthest to the right, is unquestionably the most prominent. The arms and the hands, which are disproportionately large, are raised with one palm outwards, the other seen in profile. A bird perches on the head; that it is a dove is by no means certain, although the idol is often called the image of a dove-goddess. We shall see that the bird indicates the epiphany of a deity and consequently makes

¹ Above, pp. 73.

it certain that this figure is the image of a goddess. The gesture is interpreted variously as a gesture of adoration or of benediction¹. It may be compared with the gesture and attitude of the goddess appearing in scenes of the tree cult² and interpreted as the greeting to the votaries; this does not of course prevent the attitude being also a gesture of benediction.

The idol from the shrine of Gournia³ has the same bell-shaped form and makes the same gesture, though part of the forearm with the hand is now broken off; it is ruder and unpainted, its body is encircled by a snake which passes over the left shoulder downwards and encircles the waist. In addition to this idol two heads of the same type were found, and three fragments of forearms with the hands entwined by snakes. There was consequently more than one idol in the shrine, and the fragments indicate that the other idols also were images of the snake goddess. Further four small terracotta birds come from this shrine and five tube-shaped vessels or fragments of such which will be discussed below⁴.

This discovery is of the utmost value because it shows a goddess whose attribute was the snake as an actual cult idol. Thus the same goddess is beyond doubt recognizable in the famous faïence figure from the Middle Minoan III deposit in the palace of Knossos comprising the contents of a shrine called the Central Palace Sanctuary⁵. This figure is, however, no primitive bell-shaped image but clad in the gorgeous Minoan dress and formed with the best artistic skill of the age. It is very natural that the great progress of art should have influenced the divine images also and given them an appearance corresponding to the higher artistic taste and the fashion

¹ Cf. Collignon, *Rev. des ét. grecques*, XVI, 1903, p. 360; Miss Williams in *Gournia*, p. 51, n. 7. For the gesture of benediction see Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LI, 1905, pp. 43. The other hand is not clenched, as Karo says, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, p. 132, and therefore the ingenious conjecture of Wolters, *loc. cit.*, n. 1, that the gesture is that of binding and unbinding is out of the question.

² Above, p. 240.

³ See above, p. 75, fig. 3 a.

⁴ Below, p. 271. With regard to Koumasa see p. 90.

⁵ Above, pp. 78.

in dress prevailing in the days of the golden age of Knossos. The goddess is surrounded by three snakes; she holds one head in each hand while the head of the third peeps out above the top of her high tiara. The second figure is not encircled by snakes but holds a snake in each hand. The fragments of a third figure are too insignificant to permit us to judge of its character.

The models of robes and girdles found in the same stone cist provide conclusive evidence for the interpretation of the figures. They can only be explained as votive offerings to a goddess, her sacred wardrobe. The custom of dressing sacred images in real clothes prevails among many peoples with a polytheistic religion, including ancient Greece and Rome, and lingers on to our day, especially in Southern Italy, where so many old-fashioned customs and ideas are still preserved. There the image of the Madonna is often clad in a new dress according to the latest fashion. At Knossos the clothes were not real but models in faïence; this, however, makes no essential difference, the idea being the same. Consequently at least one of the female figures must be a goddess, and in the first place that encircled by snakes. The other with snakes in her hands is generally said to represent a priestess, mainly owing to the common belief that a shrine may only contain one image of the deity; but we have seen that this does not hold good for the Minoan shrines. The second figure may also be that of a goddess, and this is made more probable if the restoration is well founded which places a small leopard or lioness on the flat cap of the figure ¹.

¹ Above, p. 79. The opinion that these statuettes represent snake-charmers deserves mention only because of its curiousness; it is untenable in view of the sacred wardrobe and the connexion with the idols from Gournia, Prinia, etc. (cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 507). It is put forward by H. Thiersch in *Aegina*, pp. 371, who compares the so-called snake-charmers with the ivory statuette from Knossos and other representations of acrobats, believing that snake-charming was also a sport among the Minoans. Cf. A. della Seta, *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVII, 1908, p. 417, who admits a magic or suggestive aspect of the performance. This explanation is more especially applied to the 'Berlin dancing girl' (above, p. 256) in whom Thiersch recognizes a woman handling snakes. See p. 372: *Zwei von diesen liegen*

Another still more precious image of the snake goddess is the chryselephantine statuette in the Boston Museum¹. It is very much to be regretted that it is unknown either where or how it was discovered. The figure is clad in a skirt with four flounces the hems of which are decorated with bands of thin gold plate, the thigh girdle is also of gold, likewise the armlets and the snakes which coil round the forearms; their heads rise from the hands of the figure which grasps the upper part of their body. On her head she wears a kind of high crown, elsewhere unknown, curving up in a semicircular fashion at the front, back, and sides; a small cylindrical piece rises in the centre. Each of these four divisions is pierced near the top for the attachment of a rosette or some other ornament, and the one in front is further decorated with a small raised disc or boss. A gold band encircled the crown near the bottom, as is indicated by a nail hole at the back.

Between the snake-goddess and the other bell-shaped idols there is an indissoluble connexion, which is best testified by the remarkable discoveries at Prinia. Many years ago Professor Wide published a bell-shaped idol found in the excavations of Halbherr at this place². The arms were raised, but almost the whole right arm and the left forearm with the hand are broken off, and the head is damaged; long tresses fall down the back. There are no traces of snakes. The lower part of another figure was found and further a broken arm with a

mit ihren Köpfen auf dem Scheitel auf, sind dann zu einem einzigen Strang zusammengeflochten im Nacken, bilden einen dicken Knäuel im Rücken und liegen mit den dünnen Schwänzen genau symmetrisch auf den blossen Oberarmen auf. Die dritte Schlange ringelt sich seitlich über dem rechten Ohr und wird auf der rechten Schulter von der linken Hand vorsichtig zurecht geschoben. See the figure, *Aegina*, p. 371, fig. 296, reproduced by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 507, fig. 365. But it is by no means certain that there are any snakes; the so-called snakes, whose forms do not resemble the snakes in other representations, may as well be tresses; a snake cannot be recognized with certainty. This is also the opinion of Prinz, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 157, n. 5. The long tresses of the male figure from Palaikastro, *BSA, Suppl.*, I, p. 122, fig. 102, have a striking similarity to those of the Berlin statuette. It is to be classed among the figures discussed above, p. 254.

¹ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 237, pl. X—XIX, etc.

² *Athen. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 247, pl. XII.

snake in its hand forming coils on the forearm, and a second more damaged fragment of a similar arm with a snake¹. It may be supposed that the now broken arms of the first mentioned idols also held snakes, although there is nothing to warrant this. The record of the circumstances of discovery is meagre, it being only said that the figures, including the tube-shaped vessels which will be mentioned below, were found near the surface².

If we take into account the circumstances described the probability becomes stronger that the room in the S. W. wing of the palace of H. Triada, where one bell-shaped and some conical idols and birds were found³, really was a shrine — the presence of the birds was also noted in the shrine of Gournia —, and that the bell-shaped idols discovered in a tomb at H. Triada⁴ are real cult idols belonging to a cult once carried on in the disused house in which the interments were made in a later age. Stray finds of bell-shaped idols or of the snake-goddess are remarkably rare, though so many are discovered in sanctuaries and in rooms which may once have been sanctuaries. Apart from the Boston statuette there is a rude leaden image found in the pillar room in the Little Palace of Knossos in the neighbourhood of which the bull's head *rhyton* was found⁵. The figure is of the debased fabric of the latest Minoan age and represents a woman with raised arms and a conical lower part to her body. The head of a snake seems to appear above the front of the broad cap⁶. There is further a figure from Zakro published by Mariani⁷. The terracotta figure from Phaestus⁸ is different. The lower part of the body is conical and the arms are held before the breast with the hands clasped. It is especially noteworthy that bell-shaped idols are absent from the rich deposits of the cult

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 248, figs. 1, 2, 3.

² *Boll. d'arte*, II, 1908, p. 455; cf. above, p. 259, n. 1.

³ See above, pp. 88 and 254.

⁴ See above, pp. 257.

⁵ Above, p. 205.

⁶ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 75, fig. 84.

⁷ Above, p. 260, n. 1.

⁸ Cf. above, p. 254, n. 3; *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 125, fig. 53.

caves and the open air sanctuaries; they belong exclusively to the house cult.

Together with the bell-shaped idols a curious kind of vessel was found both at Gournia and at Prinia, which has been responsible for many hypotheses. At Gournia they were found *in situ* arranged round the table of offering in the centre, on which the base of a fifth similar vessel stood¹. Three were complete, the fourth preserved only in part. They are tube-shaped, without any bottom, slightly tapering upwards with a somewhat broader base and a slightly widening mouth beneath which there are two or three low ridges. So far they show a certain resemblance to the water pipes of the drains². They have on both sides a row of three or four vertical loops or handles formed by a single string of clay, on the back another bigger vertical handle, and above this a pair of horns of consecration. One specimen shows a round disc above these, and round another two strings are twined which can only be interpreted as snakes. They come out from the lowest of the loops ending on the other side in pointed tails, cross each other within the back handle and continue upwards; the upper part of the vessel is, however, fragmentary.

The specimens from Prinia are similar but not so elaborately decorated³. The one which is intact shows only the two rows of four loops on both sides; the other, of which only the upper part remains, shows similar loops and between them an upward-coiling string, the upper part of which encircles the mouth of the vessel; this is also a snake and exactly resembles those twined round the fragmentary arms found on the same spot.

The specimens from Koumasa (fig. 6, p. 91) were found on the Acropolis where there appears to have been a shrine⁴, not in the cemetery, together with a long conical object, a fragment of a sacred table of clay, a stone vessel and a stone object like a pulley. One of the vessels is cylindrical and

¹ Above, p. 74.

² *BSA*, VIII, p. 13, fig. 7; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 142, fig. 103.

³ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, p. 249, figs. 4 and 5.

⁴ Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, p. 50 and pl. XXXIII. Cf. above, p. 90.

has two low ridges beneath its mouth; the rows of loops have been broken off and restored. The second is much larger than the other specimens, about twice the size, and is also cylindrical; the lower part is wanting, but the rows of loops are preserved. A unique feature is that it has a curvilinear decoration painted in black. In addition to these there are two cylindrical tubes without loops; the upper part of one, which is very large, is broken, but the other, and smaller, one shows the usual ridges beneath its mouth¹.

Professor Wide took the rows of loops to be snakes and so also does Miss Williams², who calls them conventionalized snake handles. It is very doubtful if this can be true; but that the snake was associated with these vessels is shown beyond doubt by the one specimen from Gournia and the other from Prinia where snakes are modelled on the vessels. Wide supposed these objects to be aniconic images of the same goddess as is represented by the idols found together with them, a hypothesis which must be abandoned in view of the discovery at Gournia, where one such object once stood upon the table of offering in the shrine; this is certainly not the place for a deity. Other still more hazardous hypotheses are hardly worth mentioning³.

¹ The age of these vessels is open to discussion, the more precise circumstances of the find not being published. Xanthoudides promises to do this later in another place. He takes them to be Middle Minoan and more reliance may be placed upon this statement than upon the opinion of Prinz — with reference to the decoration of one specimen in the article quoted below, n. 3 — that they belong to the 14th century B. C. With regard to these objects the usual chronological determinations of ceramics hardly hold good, as religious conservatism here plays its part. Therefore the doubts of Zahn in Kinch, *Vroulia*, p. 28, concerning the age of the idols from Gournia, raised by their similarity to the idols from the Late Minoan III shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, are not sufficiently well founded. We shall see that these idols survive into the geometrical period.

² Wide, *Athen. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*; B. E. Williams in *Gournia*, p. 48.

³ Thiersch in *Aegina*, p. 372, supposes that these objects are the high head-dresses of snake charmers such as he recognizes in the goddess from the Central Palace Sanctuary (see above, p. 268, n. 1). The goddess has a high head-dress, but it in no way resembles the objects in question.

H. Prinz, *Ein Mützenidol aus Kreta, Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität Breslau der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (1914), pp. 577, compares these objects with two terracotta heads from the palace

Miss Williams noted a close resemblance to the Egyptian so-called offering-stands¹, which, however, are not with certainty related to the cult, and guesses that the worshipper placed his bowl of offering on the top of the tube-shaped vessel. It might be added that the Minoan 'fruit-stand' vases resemble this superposition of a bowl upon a stand. But as Dr Zahn remarks in proposing his sound and very simple explanation², why are not the least traces of such offering bowls found either at Gournia or at Prinia? He compares certain tube-shaped or cylindrical objects without any bottom from a later age, one from the geometric period to which we shall recur later³, and another black figured vessel from Athens⁴. The last-mentioned indicates its connexion with the cult of the dead by its pictures, Charon in his boat surrounded by a swarm of *eidola*. Their purpose is the same as that of the great Dipylon vases and other bottomless funeral vases, namely that the libations poured into them might flow down into the earth and reach the dead. The Mycenaean age had the same custom of allowing the libations to percolate into the tomb. The altar placed above the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae is a hollow ring of stones without any bottom⁵.

Several tombstones and other sepulchral monuments from the Greek age show a modelled and painted snake approaching

of H. Triada with very high caps (*loc. cit.*, p. 579, figs. 5 and 6). The cap of the latter figure especially has a certain resemblance to our objects, being very high and showing a number of low ridges; at its top it has a very broad mouth, but being broken at the edge it may also have been a cup. The resemblance is, however, only superficial; the loops which are essential to our objects are wanting. The hypothesis that these caps represent the female deity, just as the double axe represents the male god, is purely fantastic. The closest analogy to the high head-dresses of the idols from H. Triada is provided by an archaic ivory figure from Ephesus, *Excavations at Ephesus*, pl. XXII.

¹ *Gournia*, p. 48.

² In Kinch, *Vroulia*, pp. 27.

³ Below, pp. 386.

⁴ Published by Furtwängler, *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, VIII, 1905, pp. 191.

⁵ On the whole subject matter including the *bothroi* of the Mycenaean age see G. Oeconomos, *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus*, *Bibl. de la Société arch. d'Athènes*, vol. XXI.

in order to partake of the libations; a very illuminating instance is a tomb altar in the museum of Candia on two sides of which a snake is shown in relief approaching the bowl placed upon the altar¹. But the snake is in classical Greece a representative not only of the dead but also of gods. The Dioscuri were house gods and like other house gods appeared as snakes and received offerings placed in vessels. From the archaic age onwards the symbols of the Dioscuri are two amphoras, and reliefs and coins show one or both of the amphoras entwined with snakes, or snakes approaching the amphoras². The idea that the god approaches in the shape of a snake is very clearly expressed, and the simple idea of the snakes on the libation-tubes from Gournia and Prinia is just the same. These Greek analogies are of course of no decisive value for the Minoan cult, but even without laying undue stress on them, the simple facts in themselves lead to the interpretation that the snakes modelled on the sides of these objects are the sacred animals, or representatives of the goddess, which come to partake of the libations.

That the tube-shaped vessels are designed to receive libations poured into them agrees quite well with their arrangement in the shrine of Gournia, where they were found *in situ*, four arranged around the table of offering in the centre and the fifth standing on this table itself. The snakes modelled on some of them and representing the goddess approaching to partake of the libations are clearly identical with the snake, which is added to the images of the goddess herself, and is,

¹ Wide, *Grabesspende und Totenschlange*, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XII, 1909, pp. 221.

² Cf. my paper, *Schlangeustele des Zeus Ktesios*, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 282. The coins: *British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins, Peloponnesus*, pl. XXIV, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14. A late relief in the Sparta museum, Tod and Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, p. 161, No. 291. An archaic relief, p. 191, fig. 65, shows two amphoras between the Dioscuri and in the gable an egg approached by two snakes. Cf. the *σφαγῆς* relief, *BSA*, XIII, p. 214. The Argenidas relief at Verona, Tod and Wace, *loc. cit.*, p. 113, fig. 14, shows a snake approaching the mouth of one of the amphoras. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II: 2, pp. 1062, but I cannot approve of his theory that the amphoras represent burial-pithoi.

to speak in the terms of Greek religion, her sacred animal or her attribute. Such attributes are not invariable adjuncts either to the image of the goddess or to the vessels into which libations were poured for her; they are added for the sake of explicitness, to show who the goddess was and to whom the vessels belonged, perhaps also with an unavowed intention of enticing the goddess or her representatives to come. That the image attracts the original to itself is a prevalent idea of the primitive mind. Consequently not only do the tube-shaped vessels without snakes belong to the same cult as those with snakes, but there is also a great probability that the bell-shaped idols without snakes represent this same goddess whose attribute is the snake.

This is corroborated by the fact that these idols, apart from the few stray finds, are always found in palace or house sanctuaries. This is true of the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, the shrine at Gournia, and that at Koumasa, although the more precise details of this important discovery are unfortunately not yet published. It is further very probable that the bell-shaped idols found in the S. E. wing of the palace of H. Triada indicate a sanctuary there, and in my opinion the idols of the same form found in a tomb in the neighbourhood belong to the house cult of the disused house, which afterwards was used for interments. It is to be regretted that no details about the discovery of the bell-shaped idols and tube-shaped vessels at Prinia are forthcoming, but in view of the other finds it must be supposed that they come from a house sanctuary, and this is stated by Dr Zahn¹ with a reference to the observations of Dr Pernier. The objects of the stone cists at Knossos are certainly the stored away contents of a palace sanctuary. There remain only the chryselephantine statuette in Boston, the bell-shaped idol published by Mariani, and the small leaden image from the Little Palace at Knossos. The last of these was discovered in a house; where the two others were found is wholly unknown.

In view of this evidence it can be stated that the cult

¹ Zahn in Kinch, *Vroulia*, p. 33.

of the goddess represented by the bell-shaped idols, often with snakes as her attribute, is a domestic cult carried on in houses and palaces. The characteristic absence of these idols from the deposits of the cave and open air sanctuaries has already been noted; a survey of the other monuments on which this goddess or snakes occur will add new evidence. The snake is surprisingly rare¹, almost absent in other works of Minoan art. The heart-shaped gold amulet (fig. 83) from the

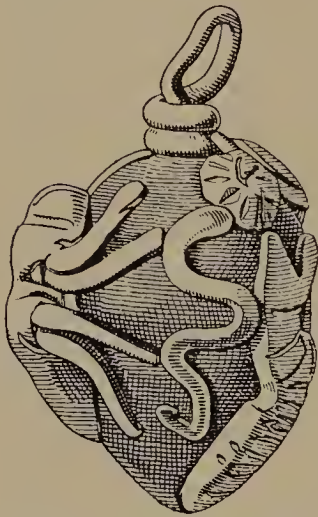


FIG. 83. AMULET FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF H. TRIADA.

tomb in the old house near H. Triada, to which a hand, a spider, a scorpion, a snake, etc. are added², belongs to quite another series of ideas; the snake is here the noxious animal. It occurs among other animals as a hieroglyphic sign³, but here there is of course no evidence for an originally religious meaning of the sign. There remains the remarkable gold ring from tomb I at Isopata⁴ representing the epiphany of a goddess and a cult dance of women in a meadow; above these figures a human eye and a coiling line with a thick dot at one end appear; this is taken for a snake, which it certainly resembles. Even if we grant that it is a snake, it is nevertheless very uncertain, whether it is meant to be the representative of the goddess. Together with it an eye appears; an eye and an ear appear also on the Warren gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum⁵. It seems more consistent with the ideas of an early religion to explain the eye and the ear as some kind

¹ The instances collected by E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griech. Kunst und Religion, Religionswiss. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, XIII: 2, pp. 28, are of hardly any importance in this connexion.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIV, pp. 736, figs. 35 and 36.

³ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 211; a very fine instance is the Early Minoan II ivory seal in the form of a bird's head from Sphoungaras, Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 53, fig. 25.

⁴ See above, p. 240.

⁵ See below, pp. 296.

of amulet rather than as the all-seeing eye and the all-hearing ear of the deity, an idea which appears in the Greek religion only in the age of syncretism¹. Consequently it may be asked, whether the serpent is not here also to be claimed as having an apotropaic significance, as on the amulet from H. Triada.

The question is of some importance because the engraved rings and gems do not show representations of the cult of this domestic goddess, with the one possible exception of a seal impression from Zakro². Hovering before a shrine with the usual exterior and with horns of consecration is a small figure whose contours in spite of its smallness seem undoubtedly to indicate a bell-shaped idol. If this be right the example is valuable, because it shows that the shrines in which these idols were venerated had the façade so well known from wall paintings and other monuments. To the right there is a man bending down over a construction with a pair of horns of consecration, and further backwards what seems to be a tree, if we allow for an incongruity in the proportions. Now it was remarked above³ that the horns of consecration are absent from the sanctuaries of the tree cult; they are characteristic of the shrines in the palaces and houses, viz. the domestic cult. The case of the Zakro seal impression is somewhat difficult. On the one hand it would not be unnatural to suppose a connexion or confusion of the domestic cult with the tree cult and regard the seal as evidence of such a cult. On the other hand its small size makes the interpretation of the figures somewhat uncertain. What may be a tree is called by Dr Hogarth a lotus-like bloom on a stalk; it can also be understood as a sacred bough which appears in conjunction with the horns of consecration. To return to the Isopata ring it is a little picturesque to describe the background as a flower-decked meadow and rather hazardous to take the scene as a scene of the tree cult on the strength of this description. The exact meaning of these two representations must remain uncertain in some degree; and apart from these it must be stated that there

¹ Weinreich, *Θεοὶ ἐπιήμοιοι*, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 1.

² Cf. above, pp. 234, n. 1, and 243.

³ Above, p. 234.

is a clear distinction between the tree cult and the cult of the domestic goddess represented by bell-shaped images and whose attribute is the snake. She herself and her cult are not figured on paintings, but her cult images and vessels have come down to us. The reverse is more or less the truth about the tree cult¹.

We have here a most important clue for our knowledge of Minoan religion. For a closer understanding there are two starting points, viz. that the cult of the Snake Goddess is a domestic cult and that the snake is her attribute. I leave out of the reckoning for the present the bird which appears in some cases, though more rarely than the snake; my reason for this will be seen later in a special chapter devoted to the rôle of the bird in the Minoan religion. Our first task will consequently be to determine more closely the goddess represented by the idols in question, starting from the two facts that her cult is a house cult and that the snake is her attribute. This seems to be very easy, for it is well known from a mass of evidence both of words and of images from all quarters of the world that the snake is the representative of the dead, — a form in which the dead or his soul appears, — or a soul animal, as the snake is often called. In Greek religion and also in some other

¹ Quite recently in the excavations of 1923 a gem apparently with the figure of the Snake Goddess was found at Knossos. I quote the account by Sir A. Evans in *The Times*, August 28th, 1923: "The Lady of the Under-world. On the attributes of the goddess herself, moreover, a new light has been thrown by the discovery of a very interesting cornelian intaglio. The goddess there appears as Lady of the Under-world, with snakes ascending from her skirts, holding in one hand what seems to be a holy-water sprinkler, resembling the Roman *aspergillum*, and in the other a sword — the symbols respectively of spiritual and civil dominion. We meet again with these attributes in the relief design on the steatite cup from H. Triada, in that case held up by an attendant before a young Minoan prince. This gem was found in some house remains to the south-west of the palace, in immediate proximity to a large hoard of bronze vessels. — — — With them, besides a bronze double axe and a stone lamp and bowl, was a painted jug dating from the very beginning of the Late Minoan age — a welcome chronological clue." It is impossible to form any judgment on this most remarkable representation, its details, and interpretation, before the gem is published.

religions the snake appears also as an attribute of certain gods¹. These gods are said to be chthonic. The underworld in the sense of the realm of the dead is fused with the realm beneath the surface of the earth from which the plants and the crops grow up. The earth is on the one hand the resting place of the dead who are embedded in her bosom, on the other the giver of fertility. The chthonic deities are taken in the double aspect of lords of the dead and of fertility.

I have more than once given voice to doubts as to the general value of this systematizing hypothesis, especially when it is developed further and the chthonic deities are opposed to the Olympian gods², but this is not the place for a discussion of this vast topic. Instead of this I wish to call attention to another function of the snake which is all too lightly passed over, although instances of it are well known and are found among many peoples, especially in Europe, and in different religions up to the present day, — I mean its function as a protector and guardian of the house.

The house snake is well known in European folk-lore. In modern Greece the genius of the house appears in the guise of a snake, which is believed to have its permanent dwelling in the foundations of the house, and not infrequently some crevice or hole in the rough cottage floor is regarded as the entrance to its home. Around such holes peasants have been known to sprinkle bread-crumbs. A libation of milk is

¹ Cf. above, p. 274. Sir Arthur Evans says, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 509, that the snake raising its head above the tiara of the goddess from the Central Palace Sanctuary curiously recalls the uraeus in similar positions on the head of Hathor and other Egyptian goddesses, and referring to the symbol of the Delta Goddess Wazet, which was taken over by Minoan art, thinks that we have to recognize an Egyptian influence in this goddess. Although I estimate the Egyptian influence highly, it is hard to believe that it was so great as to introduce Egyptian gods into Crete, and it will appear from the following exposition that there is absolutely no need to assume such an influence in order to understand the Minoan Snake Goddess. If there is any Egyptian influence in the faïence statuette of the Snake Goddess, it is only formal and wholly external. In the first place it ought to be compared with the other Minoan representations of the Snake Goddess.

² See e. g. my *History of the Greek Religion*, p. 122; *Eint. in die klass. Altertumswiss.*, 3rd ed., II, p. 280.

sometimes poured into the hole, and if the snake really appears it is greeted with silent delight or with a few words of welcome quietly spoken. On no account must the 'master of the house' (*νοικοκύρης*), or 'genius of the place' (*τοπάκας*), as it is sometimes called, be frightened, still less hurt. In this case the house itself falls, or the member of the family who was guilty of the outrage dies in the same way in which he slew the snake ¹.

Among the Albanians of the Riça villages the genius of the house is thought of as a small snake with a speckled skin. It dwells in the walls of the house which it seldom leaves. If it is seen it is welcomed with great reverence and greeted with good wishes and benedictions ². In Herzegovina and the Serbian lands, east of the Adriatic, it was not an uncommon thing for snakes, who had sought human hospitality, to be fed with milk and treated as domestic pets. Such a household snake is known as *domachitsa* or 'house-mother' ³. Old authors relate that the Lithuanians venerated black snakes as the genii of the house and gave them food offerings ⁴. The last catholic Archbishop of Sweden mentions the Lithuanian custom, and says in another passage ⁵ that the house snakes were regarded as the *penates* of the house in the districts of the far North and were nourished with cow's milk, and that they played with the children of the house and slept in their cradle. To hurt such a snake was regarded as a great sin. This has continued to our own days. I have myself heard people describe cow sheds which were crowded with harmless snakes, to which milk was given; it was forbidden to hurt them and they were thought to bring good luck to the house

¹ J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 260; more details in B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, pp. 184; already described by Leo Allatius, *De quorundam Graecorum opinionibus*, (Cologne, 1645), ch. XXI. As regards antiquity see Theophr., *Charact.*, ch. XVI.

² J. G. von Hahn, *Albauesische Studien*, I, p. 162.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 509.

⁴ Quotations in Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 91.

⁵ Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), ch. III, 1 and XXI, 48.

and the cattle. These snakes were called luck snakes or courtyard snakes (*tonitorm, gårdsorm*)¹.

In Calabria white harmless snakes are allowed to live in the houses and are nourished; they are called *fata*, i. e. *fées*. If such a snake leaves the house it is a bad omen for the family, and it is a grave sin to kill one. They bring good luck to the house and its inhabitants².

The house snake and its cult are not found in European folk-lore only, but space prevents me from collecting instances from other parts of the world. I end with a quotation from an Indian story by Kipling³ which is curiously reminiscent of the story related by Herodotus of how the Athenians evacuated their town when they saw that the sacred snake had vanished from its abode in the temple of Athena on the Acropolis. He makes the people of the doomed village say: "Who could fight against the Jungle, or the Gods of the Jungle, when the very village cobra had left his hole in the platform under the peepul?"

The same cult of the house snake occurs in classical antiquity although slightly disguised by the polytheistic forms of the religions of the ancient peoples. In Roman houses snakes were lodged and fed in such numbers that if their swarms had not been sometimes reduced by conflagrations they would have made life well nigh impossible⁴. They were not merely domestic pets and ladies' playthings as is sometimes contended. The house altars at Pompeii show regularly one or two snakes approaching the offerings on an altar, and they were also painted on the outer walls of the houses as a means of protection. The common saying is that the snake represents the genius of the *pater familias*, and the two snakes

¹ Often related in collections of Swedish folk-lore; I refer only to the classical work of E. Hyltén-Cavallius, *Wärend och Wirdarna*, (1868), II, *Appendix*, pp. XXX.

² Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche*, II, p. 61.

³ Kipling, *Letting in the Jungle* in *The Second Jungle Book*.

⁴ Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIX, 72; Servius, *Schol. in Verg. Aen.*, V, 85: *nullus enim locus sine genio est qui per anguem plerumque ostenditur*; cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, ch. 72; B. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, p. 184, n. 1.

this and that of the lady of the house as well. If the snake dies he will die also. But on the other hand the snake is also the *genius loci*.

I have noted already ¹ that one aspect of the cult of the Dioscuri is that of a house cult and that they are represented by snakes coming to partake of the offerings placed for them in amphoras. Another cult presents a close parallel to this, that of Zeus Ktesios, the Acquirer, the special god of the store-chamber, i. e. a most pronounced house cult ². Passages in some authors show that offerings, a kind of *panspermia*, were placed for him in a vessel in the store-chamber, and these vessels were his *σημεία*, just as the amphoras were those of the Dioscuri. Zeus Ktesios is represented in the shape of a huge snake. Zeus appears in the same function and in the same shape under the names of Philios ³ and Meilichios ⁴. The name of Zeus was of course added to the house deity which appeared as a snake, because Zeus was also the protector and guardian of the house (Zeus Herkeios etc.) despite the strangeness of such a guise for this god. The snake deity appears also with the more abstract name *Δαίμων μελιχίος* ⁵ and the equivalent

¹ Above, p. 274.

² See my paper *Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios, Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 279. I am unable to approve of the hypothesis of Dr Cook, *Zeus*, II: 2, pp. 1054, that Zeus Ktesios represents a forefather or king buried in a *pithos* beneath the floor of the house. Archaeological evidence is against it. Usually only children were buried in *pithoi*, and kings have much more stately tombs.

³ Furtwängler, *Sitzungsberichte d. Ges. d. Wissenschaften, München*, 1897, pp. 401.

⁴ Reliefs with a snake and inscribed with dedications to Zeus Meilichios, from Piraeus, Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 383; *Bull. corr. hell.*, VII, 1883, pp. 507; cf. Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 17. Recently a relief dedicated to the same god with two symmetrically arranged snakes was found at Sunium, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 510. In view of this find I venture to assert more definitely than in my above-cited paper that the stele from Ios, *Inscr. gr.*, XII: 5, 15, with two snakes and the inscription *Θύσαις μὴνός Ὀμηροῦνος ἰς* refers to sacrifices in the cult of the house snake.

⁵ Small marble stele from Lebadeia with an omphalos and a snake and between them the inscription *Σ]ωσίας Δαίμονι Μελιχίω*, *Delt. arch.*, III, 1917, p. 422, No. 2. The idea that Zeus Meilichios is a gloomy god of expiation is erroneous.

name of Ἄγαθός δαίμων. A snake relief from Piraeus is dedicated only to τῷ θεῷ¹. Agathos Daimon² is known as a god of the house cult. After a meal a cup of wine was poured out for him, and Timoleon dedicated his house to him. At Alexandria certain harmless snakes were venerated as guardians of the houses and called ἀγαθοδαίμονες³. This cult may be of Egyptian origin, but was well understood by the Greeks who knew a similar cult. The cult of the house snake which was brought into line with Greek polytheism under various names is well testified in ancient Greece.

Some scholars of folk-lore think that the snakes as well as other guardians of the house⁴ are spirits of deceased ancestors who after their death take care of the house and are venerated as its protectors. This seems to be corroborated by certain information from Africa⁵, where the ancestors are believed to appear as snakes, and if a snake appears in or near the dwelling it is greeted with reverence and fed with milk. In spite of this it seems to me very doubtful whether this method of deriving the domestic cult of the snake from its cult as an incarnation of the dead is correct or necessary. There is no convincing evidence for an animistic origin of all snake cults. In old times as in quite recent times under poor rustic conditions harmless snakes lived in the walls and under the floors of the cottages. There is no need to insert ancestor worship as a connecting link. The idea that these snakes were beings of some importance for the welfare of the house and the

¹ Harrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 20, fig. 4; *Bull. corr. hell.*, VII, 1883, p. 510.

² Cf. O. Jacobsson, *Daimon och Agathos Daimon*, Diss., Lund, 1925.

³ See Rohde, *Psyche*, 5th ed., I, p. 254, n. 2; Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 32, says that the people at Alexandria sacrificed to these snakes on the 25th of Tybi as τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσι προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκῶν. There is no reason to assume a chthonic origin of this snake cult as Thiersch does, *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria*, p. 16, although it was associated with the cult of the dead.

⁴ E. g. *tomten*, the house goblin in Scandinavia; with regard to him I refer to the illuminating paper by G. Landtman, *Hustomtens förvantskap och härstamning*, *Folkloristiska och etnografiska studier*, III, (Helsingfors), 1922, pp. 1.

⁵ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, V, pp. 84.

family may very well have arisen independently of the cult of the dead. Snakes which dwelt in the habitations of men and silently appeared and disappeared in their crevices became quite naturally guardians and protectors of the house and its inhabitants. In this way it is much easier to understand how the snake cult became a pre-eminently domestic cult and how a deity, male in later Greece, female in the Minoan age, developed out of it. On the other hand, if the Minoan Snake Goddess were the Mistress of the Souls, the gloomy Lady of the Underworld, it would be surprising and difficult to understand why this gloomy goddess and no other was venerated in the interior of the houses and in the shrines of the palaces as the special domestic goddess. Whatever may have been the origin of the domestic snake cult, the Snake Goddess of Minoan Crete was a domestic goddess.

CHAPTER X.

BIRD EPIPHANIES OF THE GODS.

The fact that the large bell-shaped idol from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos has a bird perching upon its head has been adduced as evidence for its being a real cult idol, viz. an image of a goddess. For the bird is a form of the epiphany of the gods; that much is made clear by the pictures on the sarcophagus from H. Triada. On one side a libation is poured out beneath two double axes supported by high columns; on each a bird perches. On the other side the column with the double axe stands between a construction with horns of consecration and the altar on which a priestess is placing offerings; on the axe a bird has alighted. The double axe is more prominent in these than in any other representations. It is not surprising that the sacrificial scenes of this monument should have given rise to the opinion that the double axes are cult objects, the embodiments of the deity. I have given my reasons against this opinion, but whatever may be the origin of the double axe and its precise meaning, it is conspicuous as the most prominent cult symbol of the Minoan religion. Therefore it cannot be merely by chance that a bird is perching on each of the double axes. The birds have come to be present at, and we may add, to partake of the sacrifices performed beneath the place where they have alighted. The one obvious explanation is that the birds are signs of the presence of the deity, to whom the sacrifice is made, or to speak in terms of the concrete conceptions of an earlier age, the embodiments of the god; in what sense will be discussed later.

The significance of the boughs in the Minoan cult is

known; they are real cult objects. When we see a bird perched on the sacred bough placed between the horns of consecration¹, we again recognize the epiphany of a deity.

An instance of the bird epiphany from a much earlier age, Middle Minoan II, is found among the relics of temple and altar models in the so-called Sanctuary of the Dove Goddess at Knossos², a group of three columns on a common base supporting in each case above their square capitals the round ends of a pair of beams on which a bird perches. I have given the reasons why these columns with capitals and beam ends are to be taken as the epitomized model of a shrine³; the birds are the embodiments of the deity coming to visit its temple. A still more striking expression of the same idea is the small gold model of a shrine from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae⁴. Each of the three compartments containing columns and horns of consecration is crowned by horns of consecration, and on the horns above each of the side compartments a bird has alighted. Here the shrine is given in full with the birds representing the epiphany of the deity in its temple. An epitomized representation is again shown on a recently found seal impression from Mycenae⁵: a column with a capital crowned by horns of consecration upon which a bird is perching. Two other birds are seen in the space on either side of the capital and beneath them are two animals⁶.

¹ On the votive bronze tablet from the cave of Psychro, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 632, fig. 470; cf. above, p. 226.

² Above, p. 81.

³ Above, p. 219.

⁴ Described fully above, p. 147.

⁵ *BSA*, XXIV, p. 205, fig. 1; cf. above, pp. 147 and 215.

⁶ A very curious find was made in the tomb at H. Triada, which was thought above, pp. 258, to contain the remains of a house sanctuary. It consists of a small female figure and two slightly tapering columns of terracotta; *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 747, figs. 42 and 43. The female figure is half seated and clad in a short skirt leaving the legs partly bare, and is pierced through the hips. The columns have no capitals but rounded endings, on which are some protuberances now broken off. These are taken by della Seta, *loc. cit.*, to be remains of birds, and by a close examination of the originals the head and one wing of a bird are clearly recognizable on one of the columns. The top of the column is pierced obliquely by a hole from the top to the side. The

The meaning of the bird perched upon the head of the idol from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos is clear. It is the same as that of the snake coiling round the idol from Gournia. The bird as well as the snake is the embodiment of the deity, the form of its epiphany, and is added to the anthropomorphic representation to make its significance clear, in the same way as an attribute is added to the image of a Greek god, the word attribute here being used without any preconceived opinion as to its real significance. Two pieces of gold-leaf from the IIIrd shaft grave at Mycenae representing a nude woman holding her arms before her breast are well known; in one the woman has a bird apparently in flight upon her head, in the other a bird is attached to each of her elbows by its tail¹. The figure must consequently represent a goddess, although the gold-foils are pierced with small holes for attachment to some object.

We return to birds occurring in representations of a religious significance. On the great gold ring from Tiryns (fig. 26, p. 125)² there is a bird behind the chair on which is seated the goddess whom four 'genii' approach holding libation jugs. The late *larnax* from Episkopi (fig. 107, p. 375)³ shows a bird together with three pairs of horns of consecration, one pair

pieces are now in the Museum of Candia restored as a swinging maiden, the swing being suspended between the two pillars (fig. 84). This ingenious restoration seems correct, indeed the only possible one; the difficulty is to reconcile the swinging and the epiphany of gods, if the birds here also are taken to indicate this. But swinging is well known as an agrarian rite; I refer to the Attic festival of Aiora; see my paper, *Die Anthesterien und die Aiora*, in the Swedish periodical *Eranos*, XV, 1915, pp. 189. Instances from all quarters of the world are collected by Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IV, pp. 277.

¹ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 200, figs. 267 and 268; often reproduced.

² *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1916, p. 147, fig. 5; *Delt. arch.*, II, 1916, *App.*, pl. I, 1.

³ *Delt. arch.*, VI, 1921, *App.*, p. 158, fig. 5.



FIG. 84. TERRACOTTA GROUP FROM H. TRIADA, RECONSTRUCTED.

with a double axe and two bulls. The representation may be taken for the epitomized indication of a bull sacrifice. A gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus (fig. 74, p. 231)¹ with a scene of the tree cult shows a flying bird. In these cases the bird clearly indicates the epiphany of the deity. On one of the short sides of the H. Triada sarcophagus a bird is hovering over the griffins which draw the chariot. The discussion of this difficult representation must be deferred to a later place.

Other representations are more doubtful, for it must always be remembered that the bird may also be represented and meant as the simple animal. Sir A. Evans mentions some curious seal impressions from Knossos, which show a female figure of small dimensions in a flounced skirt holding what appears to be a string with the other end attached to a swallow, towards which another swallow is flying². Mariani sketched from memory a gem showing a woman holding a bird in her hand³.

It is uncertain whether the vases with birds have a religious significance. There are *rhyta* in bird form, a grotesque Early Minoan specimen from Koumasa and a beautiful Middle Minoan I vase from Knossos⁴. Of the animal bowls from Palaikastro one shows a flying white bird modelled in the interior in the round⁵. These animal bowls were probably made for votive purposes. A sherd of a Kamares vase in the Museum of Candia shows a bird attached to the rim of the vessel.

In view of the fact that the bird indicates the epiphany of gods, the discovery of terracotta birds in the house sanctuaries though unattached to figures, becomes of deeper interest. In the shrine of Gournia three terracotta birds were found (fig. 3 a, 3, 4; p. 75)⁶. In the S. W. wing of the palace of H. Triada,

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 577, fig. 50.

² *BSA*, VII, p. 18.

³ *Mon. ant.*, VI, p. 178, fig. 11.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 122.

⁵ Above, p. 120.

⁶ *Gournia*, pl. XI, 3 and 4. Miss Williams says, p. 48, that possibly one bird was perched on the head of the idol. It is much to be regretted that this is only an uncertain conjecture. Equally uncertain is the guess that the missing symbol on the back of one of the tube-shaped vessels was a bird (a dove); of the two others one shows snakes, the other a round disc.

where with some probability a sanctuary is believed to have existed¹, two or three terracotta birds were found together with bell-shaped idols². A shrine is also supposed in the N. E. part of the palace³. Here a great quantity of terracotta animal figures was found, especially bulls and 'doves' decorated with bands, groups of lines, and spirals in red, but no idols. From the circumstances of their discovery these birds may be considered as votive figurines. In a room at Palaikastro three female figures and a lyre-player were found, which were put together to form an interesting group⁴, and six terracotta birds of various sizes. The placing of a bird on the ring-shaped base in order to fill the open space between the dancing women is a mere guess. It is possible, however, here also to assume the remains of a domestic shrine with bird figures.

This survey shows that terracotta birds are often found in the domestic shrines; on the other hand, they are rare in the votive deposits of the cave and open air sanctuaries in comparison with the masses of other animal votive figures. It is especially stated that birds occur rarely at Petsofa; they are of the common votive type with outstretched wings and three short feet⁵. Three small terracotta birds were found in the cave at Patso among other votive terracottas of animals. A bird figure may of course, like other animal figures, be dedicated as a votive gift, but there was perhaps less reason to dedicate birds than other animals. The occurrence of birds in the house sanctuaries is of greater interest. It appears that the birds are not votive offerings, but representations of the epiphany of a deity.

Birds of various kinds appear on seals and as hieroglyphic signs⁶. Finally, bird figures may be used in a purely decorative fashion, e. g. the flying peacock on the ivory carving from Palaikastro⁷ and the double birds of gold-leaf from

¹ Above, pp. 88 and 270.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 73.

³ Above, p. 88.

⁴ Above, p. 95 and fig. 7.

⁵ *BSA*, IX, p. 377.

⁶ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 210; *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 30, figs. 17—20.

⁷ *BSA*, XI, 285, fig. 14 a.

the Ist and IInd shaft graves at Mycenae¹. An Early Minoan II seal has the shape of a bird².

Therefore, where bird figures are found together with objects which do not give any clue as to their significance, this must remain uncertain. We are thus hardly justified in assuming that bird figures from the neolithic age, which occur together with other animal and human figures, have any religious connexion³. A chalcedony bird from Mochlos⁴ is pierced for use as a pendant or amulet. Similar figures are found in early Cycladic cist tombs⁵.

When Schliemann found at Mycenae the small gold-foils of a nude woman with birds, he described them as images of Aphrodite and the birds as her doves in accordance with the tendency to explain all things in the light of Greek ideas and monuments, which was quite natural in the early days of discovery and strengthened in Schliemann, moreover, by the belief that he was on the track of Homer. Since then the greatness and extent of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization and the great gap between it and the Greek age have been realized, but I am not so sure that there is not still a certain disposition to recognize as doves the birds which appear in the monuments of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, a tendency which is encouraged by the Oriental origin of Aphrodite and her doves. The majority of Minoan bird figures are hailed as doves. Sir A. Evans recognizes doves in the birds which surmount the columns from the 'Sanctuary of the Dove Goddess'; he calls the idol from the Shrine of the Double Axes a Dove Goddess, the bird-shaped Kamares vase a 'dove vase', and classes the neolithic and Early Minoan bird figures as dove amulets⁶. Dr Dawkins in publishing the small bird figures from Palaikastro calls them doves as a matter of course, and Miss Williams and Halbherr do just the same with regard to the

¹ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 213, fig. 274 and p. 364, fig. 480.

² Hall, *Sphoungaras*, p. 53, fig. 25 A.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 44, fig. 11 a, b, c.

⁴ Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 20, IV, 7.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1898, pl. VIII, 16, 17 and 23.

⁶ See especially Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 222.

bird figures from Gournia and H. Triada. Even the badly broken and not easily recognizable birds on the top of the terracotta columns from H. Triada are called doves by della Seta. If one is determined to recognize doves in these figures some actual resemblance to doves may be found, in as far as they are birds, especially in the gold-leaf from Mycenae and the birds of the three columns from Knossos; but, to speak frankly, the resemblance is very slight and a zoologist would hardly venture to determine the species of the birds. It is no help if the birds are painted, for the colouring is not naturalistic but entirely imaginary and derived from the love of colour as such¹. The so-called doves crowning the three columns are black with white and powdery red spots. The bird on one small side of the H. Triada sarcophagus is yellow with a blue tail, a blue upper zone on the wings, and a black collar. On his head there are erect hook-shaped plumes closely resembling those of the cockatoo, but neither this bird nor any other with a similar plumage is found in the fauna of Crete or its neighbouring countries. Like the griffins which draw the chariot he is a product of the artistic imagination. He is perhaps a transformation of the purely decorative peacock on the ivory plaque from Palaikastro, the only bird which is recognizable with certainty.

How impossible it is to determine the species of the birds depicted is revealed by the vigour with which the identity of the birds perching on the double axes in the paintings on the H. Triada sarcophagus is discussed. Professor Karo calls them eagles, referring to their black colour, and expressly states that neither these nor the birds of the shrine model from Mycenae can be doves². Sir A. Evans says that they are perhaps the black woodpecker of the Cretan Zeus³. Professor von Duhn identifies them with ravens and is able to refer to the high authority of Dr Warde Fowler in this matter, who without hesitation recog-

¹ Cf. the colours of the bull on the sarcophagus from H. Triada or those of the hounds and horses on the wall paintings from Tiryns.

² *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, p. 130 with n. 4.

³ *Transact. of the 3rd Congress for the History of Religion at Oxford*, II, p. 195.

nizes them as ravens and denies that the birds can be woodpeckers, but he adds cautiously that the conventionalizing methods of artistic representation admit deviations from nature; he wished only to compare the pictures with nature ¹. Professor E. Petersen admits none of these identifications ². The birds are neither eagles nor ravens because of the mixed light and dark colour; nor doves, nor woodpeckers, because these do not alight on the top of anything. He believes that they are cuckoos, for these hold their wings somewhat outspread when they call.

This discussion shows clearly how hopeless it is to try to determine the species of the birds, and this is still more true of the usually rather rude bird terracottas. The reason why the identity of the birds is so warmly debated is, at least unconsciously, the idea that a certain species of bird is the attribute of a certain god, as e. g. in the Greek religion the eagle is the bird of Zeus and the dove the bird of Aphrodite. There is no convincing reason why the same must be supposed for the Minoan-Mycenaean age. In any case, owing to the impossibility of identifying the birds, we are bound to find an explanation which does not take the species of the birds into account.

We commence with the sarcophagus from H. Triada. If the scenes refer to the cult of the dead exclusively, the birds must be 'soul-birds', representations of the spirits of the deceased. But this opinion is almost universally rejected on the ground that the axes on which the birds are perching are symbols of the divine cult ³; and this is certainly decisive. Consequently attempts have been made to find an explanation in the divine cult, notably by Miss Harrison ⁴, whose words I quote in full, because they are an excellent summary of the kind of systematizing syncretism which prevails in the interpretation of the Minoan religion. "The bird is perched upon a pillar.

¹ Fowler's statement in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XII, 1909, p. 167. Cf. Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 31, and Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 518.

² *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXIV, 1909, pp. 162.

³ See Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 32.

⁴ In her lecture on *Bird and Pillar Worship in connexion with Ouranian Divinities*, *Transact. of the 3rd Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford*, II, pp. 156.

The pillar, as Dr Evans has clearly shown, and as is evident from the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, stands for a sacred tree. That pillar, that tree, takes human shape as a goddess; and that goddess is the Great Mother, who, taking divers shapes as Mother and Maid, develops later into Gaia, Rhea, Demeter, Dictynna, Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena. As Mother Earth she is also *Πότνια Θηρών*, with her lions, her stags, her snakes. And the bird? If the tree is of the earth, the bird surely is of the heaven. In the bird brooding upon the pillar we have, I think, the primal form of the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia, of Sky the father with Earth the mother. And of that marriage sprang, as Hesiod has told us, not only mortal man but all the glory of the gods." This is a theology which according to my views cannot be ascribed to a people in the religious stage which we ought to suppose for the Minoans; it is even less probable than the syncretism which was rejected above.

Another view is expounded by Professor Wide in referring to some ideas appearing in folklore ¹. He connects the bird cult and the tree cult. The bird, he says, is the genius of the sacred tree, especially the woodpecker, and there is a very old idea that these birds were associated with an axe, which in certain cases at least, was identified with the beak of the bird. This axe became, however, an independent cult symbol which was later appropriated by the gods. Fire was kindled by rubbing together two pieces of wood; consequently fire and also lightning came from the trees, especially the oak. The bird is therefore the thunder bird. This web of hypotheses is certainly too thin. The comparisons of the woodpecker with a carpenter and of his beak with an axe (he is called *πελεκᾶς* by the Greeks) are the one real point, and the cause of this is very obvious to everyone who has seen and heard this bird, but it contains of course no very profound or elaborate meaning.

We must needs content ourselves with stating the fact which is obvious from the monuments, that the birds, whatever their species may be, and they are very probably of various

¹ Wide, *Baum, Vogel und Axt, Festschrift tillegnad K. F. Johansson*, Göteborg, 1910, pp. 62.

species, were taken to be a form of the epiphany of the gods. This belief is quite intelligible; for the birds dwelt in the sacred groves, and were enticed to come by sacrifices and libations. Their appearance was sudden and unexpected. In later Greek and Roman religion, as well as among other peoples, birds were divine but in another sense; they predicted the future. They were also taken as embodiments of the spirits of the deceased, and in this case the fact that the kind of bird may vary is not disputed. Except for the idea that certain birds belong to certain gods, there is no reason why various birds should not also be the epiphanies of the gods. So much can confidently be stated; to go further involves us in uncertain and very questionable hypotheses, which cannot be warranted by the testimony of the monuments, our only source of indisputable knowledge.

Only one thing need be added. There is a strong probability that the bell-shaped idols of the domestic sanctuaries represent one and the same domestic goddess. Consequently it may be stated that this goddess appeared both as a snake and as a bird, a combination which we shall find also in the Greek religion.

CHAPTER XI.

EPIPHANIES OF THE GODS IN HUMAN SHAPE.

Representations of Minoan cult scenes occur chiefly on engraved gems and gold rings; these are the richest source of our knowledge of Minoan religion because they give more details than other finds. They depict the gods as they appeared in human shape to the religious and artistic imagination. Anthropomorphism was already prevalent. The images of the gods or the actual cult idols with the one exception of the seal impression from Zakro are not depicted, and we ought to be careful not to draw any conclusions as to the cult images from these representations. For it may be that the cult was devoted to an idol perhaps of the rude bell-shaped form, or was even aniconic, although man in his religious and artistic imagination thought of the gods in human shape. The forms of the cult images, being fettered by religious conservatism, never keep pace with the ideas of the appearance of the gods living in men's minds. Some of these epiphanies of the gods have already been discussed in dealing with the tree cult.

One class of representation shows a god or goddess hovering in the air or descending through the air. This forms a connecting link with the bird epiphanies of the gods, for in both cases the gods descend from the skies, and this lends colour to the supposition that the Minoan gods made their appearance in the form of birds. Here the deity itself is shown instead of the bird, the actually visible form of the epiphany.

We have already noted that a seal impression from Zakro seems to show an actual bell-shaped cult idol hovering in the air before a shrine with horns of consecration¹. If this is the

¹ Above, p. 277.

correct interpretation of the small figure, it is the only instance in which an idol is represented in a cult scene.

A small female figure with locks flowing out on either side is seen hovering in the air on the gold ring with a cult dance from tomb I at Isopata¹; this must be a goddess. As we have already stated it is uncertain whether the woman in the centre who is figured on the same scale as the other women is also a goddess, and whether we consequently have two goddesses appearing or a double form of the epiphany of the same goddess. That more than one deity, however, may appear at the

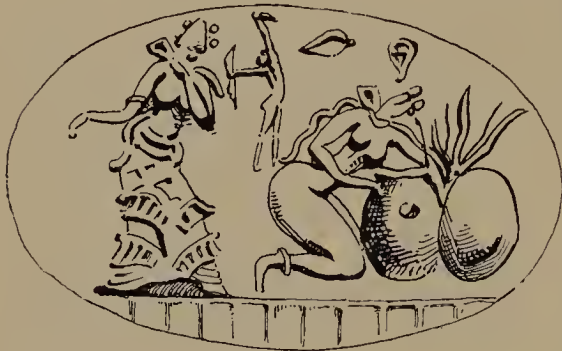


FIG. 85. GOLD RING IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

same time is shown by the great gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae. For the full-sized woman seated beneath a tree must be taken as a goddess, because votaries are approaching her, and moreover as a goddess of the tree cult². Another deity represented on a smaller scale is hovering in the air. The body is covered by the 8-shaped shield; only the head, the feet, and one forearm holding the spear are visible. The whole appearance is rigid and stiff.

This figure is generally understood as a war-god because he carries the shield; whether this name is justified we shall inquire later. Such a god can be paralleled with another representation. A gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (fig. 85 and pl. I, 3) shows a very notable scene³. Below is a kind of exergue. To the left there is a woman in a flounced skirt apparently dancing or moving towards the right; her left hand is

¹ Above, p. 240.

² Above, p. 242.

³ This ring was presented to the Museum by Mr Warren, and the Keeper, Dr Hogarth, informs me that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, Mr Warren had known of its existence almost as long as the contents of the Vaphio tomb have been known.

raised towards her left shoulder, her right forearm stretched outwards. To the right is a woman kneeling on her knees and leaning over a big oval object, which must be taken for a large jar; the rim of the mouth and one handle are clearly discernible; a second jar, of which, however, neither rim nor handle can be seen, stands close by to the right. From the angle formed by the curving upper parts of the jars rise slightly sinuous, thinner and thicker lines resembling twigs or flames (?). Above the kneeling woman there are a human eye and ear¹. In the air, between the eye and the dancing woman, a small figure appears, undoubtedly male, in a stiff attitude. He seems to stretch one arm straight upwards, and the other, which holds a bow, straight backwards, unless we are mistaken as to which is the front and which the back. The oval-shaped objects recur on the gold ring with a tree cult scene from the necropolis of Phaestus²; here the object near the left edge seems to have a rim to its mouth, which is wanting on the object in the middle; but this may perhaps be due to the worn condition of the ring. It appears that these jars had some place in the cult; the libation scene on the H. Triada sarcophagus and a bead seal from Thisbe³ show libations being poured into big amphoras, and a seal impression from Knossos⁴ shows a seated woman pouring a libation into a large amphora, which is placed between the horns of consecration. But in the light of our present knowledge it must be a mere guess to suppose that they were filled with wine, and that this intoxicant played a part in the Minoan cult as it did in the cult of Dionysos, although the ecstatic movements in these scenes may be thought to lend some colour to such a supposition.

On a gold ring from Knossos⁵ the god appears with a spear in his outstretched right hand in a similar stiff attitude, and descends with flowing locks in front of a column, perhaps

¹ Cf. above, p. 276.

² See above, p. 231, fig. 74.

³ *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 17, fig. 19 and pl. II, 2.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 20.

⁵ Above, p. 220.

destined to support a double axe, and a tree cult sanctuary. The god with the shield is recognized by Sir A. Evans on a painted sarcophagus from a chamber tomb at Milato¹. The rudely painted figure is apparently nude; beneath him there is a fish. The zig-zag lines on either side of the head are now taken by Sir A. Evans as the flowing locks of the descending figure, which seems to be hovering in the air. The interpretation of this figure seems rather uncertain. A god and goddesses with bows will be mentioned below².

The most important monument of the deity with the shield is a painted limestone tablet found in a room in the S. W. part of the Acropolis of Mycenae³. It is ascribed by Professor Rodenwaldt to the miniature style of Late Minoan I. On each side there is a woman seen in profile; of the woman to the right only the lower part with the flounced skirt is preserved. These women stretch their arms forward towards the figure in the centre; in front of the woman to the right there is a round altar. The gesture, according to Rodenwaldt, is a gesture neither of adoration nor of dancing but of carrying something, and this seems likely, although owing to the damaged surface of the plaque it is impossible to make out whether they hold anything in their hands. In any case the women are votaries of the remarkable figure in the centre. The most striking feature is a great 8-shaped shield almost wholly covering the figure. The feet have vanished, and above the shield appear the neck and the head, which is turned to the left, but great parts of both are wanting; further, the horizontally outstretched right arm and the left arm, visible from the elbow, appear from beneath the shield. The colour of the head and limbs is white; and the figure is therefore female; for Rodenwaldt is right in saying that there is no certain exception to the rule that white paint for the flesh denotes a figure as female in Minoan art. This incidentally casts doubt upon the common assumption that the

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 174, fig. 50; *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos, Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 99, fig. 107.

² Below, pp. 306.

³ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 78. Illustrated by Tsoundas, *Eph. arch.*, 1887, pl. X, 3; a new publication with a valuable treatment by Rodenwaldt, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 129 and pl. VIII.

similar shield-carrying figure on the ring from the Acropolis treasure is a god, although Rodenwaldt¹ emphatically states that it is male. From the contour there is no difference of sex to be noted between this figure and that of the limestone tablet. The same author² has made the striking observation that the stiff appearance of the goddess somewhat resembles an idol, and that the representation is influenced by the cult image, although she is thought of as a living being. Professor Blinkenberg has taken up this suggestion and would have it that the idol is a personification of the shield which was once the object of worship itself³.

In most cases the gods are depicted in the same manner and the same size as the human figures of the cult scenes. That a deity is meant is shown by the reverence paid to him in some way or other. In describing them I arrange the examples from the point of view of form, and commence with the representations of seated female figures.



FIG. 86. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM
H. TRIADA.

A rude seal impression from H. Triada (fig. 86)⁴ shows a seated woman; the form and the nature of the seat are uncertain. Before her is another figure, perhaps a man, holding in his outstretched left arm a funnel-shaped vessel of the size known from the wall paintings in the Corridor of Procession at Knossos. Another seal impression from Zakro⁵ shows a woman seated on a stool and before her another woman, apparently dancing; to the left there is part of a second woman, who seems to be quickly running away. A gem from the Bourguignon collection at Naples⁶ again represents a seated woman and before her a standing one. The objects between these two

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 135, n. 1.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 138.

³ Blinkenberg, *En Kretisk Seglring, Aarbøger f. Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1920, p. 316. Cf. below, pp. 348.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 43, fig. 38.

⁵ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 77, fig. 2.

⁶ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 37, fig. 15.

cannot be made out with certainty; one of them is wrongly said to be a basket or a pair of horns of consecration. These representations are of little significance. More important is a very worn gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus¹, showing an apparently nude woman seated to the right before a column, indicating a shrine, to the left a woman lifting her right arm as though in adoration, and a dog-like animal standing erect on its hind legs, a curious representation which is almost unparalleled.

The best known instance of this type is the famous gold ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae. The votaries approaching the seated woman make it clear that she is a goddess, and the small votary behind her, touching the branches of the tree, shows that she is connected with the tree cult. The six animals' heads to the left have been taken as the skulls of sacrificed animals nailed up in the sacred grove. We have here a kind of Minoan pantheon; a shield-carrying figure and a double axe hover in the air, and at the upper edge are the sun, the moon-sickle, and a wavy band variously interpreted as the rainbow or the milky way. The small gold ring in Berlin² shows a kindred but abbreviated representation of a similar cult; a tree cult sanctuary is to the right, to the left the goddess appears and is venerated by a man stretching out his arm towards her, and above this there is a small round dot with large rays, without doubt the sun.

A similar cosmic representation recurs on the largest of all Mycenaean gold rings, the one found during the war near the acropolis of Tiryns in a bronze cauldron, together with other objects of which a Hittite seal cylinder is the most prominent; some of the objects belong to the geometric period³. The composition of this ring is astonishing, and it should perhaps be mentioned that doubts have been cast upon its authenticity. The representation shows some curious features, e. g. the folding chair with a back upon which the

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 578, fig. 51; above, p. 220, fig. 68.

² Above, p. 229, fig. 71 and pl. I, 1.

³ Above, p. 125, fig. 26; *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1916, pp. 144, fig. 5; *Delt. arch.*, II, 1916, *App.* pp. 13, pl. I.

goddess is seated. Below is an exergue with a frieze closely resembling the *kyanos* frieze from Tiryns. The goddess is seated to the right holding up a big conical cup; behind the back of the chair a bird appears, and beneath her feet there is a stool. She is clad in the 'stole'-like garment described above¹; before her stands a slender column with a round capital and above this an inverted conical object on the top; it can hardly be taken for anything but a *thymiaterion*. Four 'genii' approach the goddess with lifted libation jugs; behind each of them there is a slender bough standing erect. Above the figures is a space bounded by a wavy line; it is sprinkled with small dots, and in it appear a six-spoked wheel, (viz. the sun), a crescent, and four slender boughs.

Another remarkable gold ring belongs to the great find from Thisbe². The figures are placed on a double line and above them are wavy lines recalling those of the great gold ring from Mycenae. The figures are four women clad in the Minoan dress, one seated to the left stretching her arms forward and holding in her hands some indistinguishable objects; her hair hangs down her back like a string of pearls. The other seated figure, which is turned in the opposite direction, is similar, except that she wears a kind of triple flat cap and lifts up her arms towards her head. She holds in both hands something that Sir A. Evans takes as poppy capsules hanging downwards, but they are distinctly different from the poppy heads which are presented by the votary before her, and I should prefer to call them *taeniae*, which she may be in the act of winding around her head. Before and behind this figure there is a smaller standing female figure turned towards her. The one in front offers poppy heads with one hand; in the other she holds what looks like a necklace. The votary behind holds in each hand the same objects as the goddess herself. Sir A. Evans takes the seated figure to the left to be an attendant; it may be a goddess. The scene is curiously reminiscent of Demeter and Kore. The seal impression from Knossos³ showing:

¹ Above, p. 135.

² *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 11, fig. 11 and pl. II, 1.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 20; cf. above, p. 297.

a seated woman pouring libations into a big jar has already been mentioned; in this case the figure must be a priestess.

An important seal found at Knossos is described, though not figured, by Sir A. Evans ¹, as restored from a clay matrix and several impressions. It displays a goddess seated in an attitude closely recalling the goddess on the great ring from Mycenae, while a female votary holds out to her a two-handled cup, immediately above which is an orb said to represent the sun. Behind this female figure there is another, half turned away, apparently performing an orgiastic dance. The group is placed on a kind of terrace among rock scenery. I may add from an examination of the original that the rock scenery does not appear clearly, and that there is another somewhat larger ring before the knee of the votary.

Two rings add special features which, however, are very difficult to explain sufficiently. One is the ring from Mochlos which shows a shrine and another construction with a tree, and a woman of large proportions seated in a boat whose prow ends in an animal's head ². The small objects appearing in the air are unintelligible — (two orbs with flames (?) or twigs (?), and two other smaller objects). On a gold ring from Mycenae ³ a goddess appears seated before a shrine and holding in her raised right hand an object which exactly resembles a mirror with a handle; before her a female votary is standing. Finally Sir A. Evans mentions ⁴ a seal impression representing a seated goddess with a lion in front on a rock.

An electrum ring from the Lower Town of Mycenae ⁵ shows a woman of large proportions seated on a stool which has also been taken for a shrine; behind her is what seems to be a bush. Before her stands a much smaller male figure, apparently nude, with a spear in his left hand. His right

¹ *BSA*, VII, p. 19, cf. p. 101.

² Above, p. 231. Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 52 facing p. 90; A. J. Reinach, *Rev. archéol.*, XV, 1910, p. 32, fig. 14; Evans, *Transact. of the 3rd Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford*, II, p. 196.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 190, fig. 64; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 21.

⁴ *BSA*, VIII, p. 76.

⁵ Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 175, fig. 51; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 36, fig. 14.

forearm is bent forward across that of the woman, which is held in the same attitude. Both the hand of the woman and that of the man show the same gesture, a forefinger and the thumb being pressed together. One has the impression that they are engaged in a very vivid conversation. The scene is claimed as a *sacra conversazione* between the Great Goddess and her consort, though for my part I must admit that the scene strikes me as entirely secular in character¹.

In some scenes already discussed² the goddess appears standing; it has also been pointed out that in some cases it is uncertain whether we should take the same figure as the epiphany of a goddess or as a female votary. To these uncertain examples a seal impression from H. Triada, showing two figures holding up double axes and a central figure in a flounced skirt and a peaked cap, also belongs³. This figure is apparently dancing, the body being bent slightly backwards, the face turned upwards, and the arms held to the waist. The scene is more likely to represent a cult dance than the epiphany of a goddess⁴.

Other standing goddesses of the Mistress of the Animals type will be treated separately below, because they represent the goddess alone and not as the centre of a cult scene. The remarkable image of the 'Mother of the Mountains' on seal impressions from Knossos⁵ is in fact connected with this type, the recently discovered gems from the Kalkani necropolis at Mycenae especially forming a connecting link. But the Knossian seal reproduces an epiphany, with the addition of a male votary and a shrine, and it must therefore be classed among the epiphanies here described. The image is restored from

¹ Furtwängler's idea that the man grasps the woman by the wrist, the symbolical gesture of marriage, is certainly erroneous; cf. H. von Fritze, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 73, fig. 6 and p. 76.

² Above, p. 229.

³ See above, p. 134, fig. 32.

⁴ Evans takes her for a goddess, *BSA*, IX, p. 60; and *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 12, he compares another seal impression from H. Triada (fig. 75, p. 231), showing a larger female figure surrounded by two smaller ones, with two other representations with similar figures (they are apparently dancing, see p. 237), and claims them to be the goddess accompanied by two child attendants, whom he also recognizes on the ring from Thisbe and the great gold ring from Mycenae.

⁵ *BSA*, VII, pp. 28, fig. 29; cf. IX, p. 37; often reproduced.

a series of fragmentary impressions of the same seal found in a recess on the western side of the Central Court. The central figure is a goddess in a flounced skirt standing on a heap of stones or a mountain, her right arm is bent, the hand being held towards the waist, and in her left hand, which she holds straight in front of her, there is a staff or a spear. On each side of the mountain there is a lion resting its forelegs midway up the side of the mountain. To the left is a two-storied shrine with columns and horns of consecration, to the right a male votary ¹.

A very remarkable intaglio from the hoard of Thisbe ² shows a woman, clad in the Minoan dress with a kind of tripartite cap, rising from the ground which conceals her body below the thighs; on each side of her is a flower reminiscent of an archaic Greek palmette. In her left hand she holds poppy heads. To the left there is a half kneeling youth who leans forward and grasps her left wrist, while with the other hand he seems to support her elbow in an endeavour to assist her to rise. Sir A. Evans recognizes snake heads above her right shoulder, but I am not able to determine the nature of these small projections; they may be knots which women sometimes wear on their neck ³. This type is really surprising, and there is no other so closely kindred to Greek religious ideas both in matter and form. The representation of the Earth Goddess with the lower part of her body concealéd in the earth is known as typical of Greek art, and a series of monuments shows her rising with the help of Satyrs or Nature daemons ⁴. Nothing of a similar kind is known from Minoan monuments, and this really looks more Greek than Minoan ⁵.

¹ The conjecture of Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 159, n. 3, that the staff may be the shaft of a double axe which has disappeared seems very questionable, the double axe not being seen elsewhere in the hand of a deity; see above, pp. 190.

² *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 15, fig. 16 and pl. II, 3.

³ See e. g. the bead seal reproduced, *loc. cit.*, p. 13, fig. 15, although they are here much larger,

⁴ See e. g. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 277, fig. 68 and seq.

⁵ Sir Arthur Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 4, touches on the question of the authenticity of this astonishing treasure and finds it well testified on technical and other

On the representations here enumerated female deities are the more prominent, but in most cases the goddess is not characterized by special features or attributes so as to permit a closer determination of her nature. A seated goddess receiving adoration or libations is a type which may be used to represent various deities. The instances which give really characteristic details are the more important for the knowledge of the deities worshipped by the Minoans and their functions. And these characteristics must be held apart; for there may be various deities with different functions. These single types are the 'Mother of the Mountains', who must be treated once more below, and the war goddess with the shield; the goddess of the tree cult has been treated in a previous chapter, and the remains of the shrines inform us that the domestic cult was devoted to a snake goddess. Two other instances are less clear. The goddess seated in a large ship is most naturally taken as a goddess of sea-faring and a protectress of ships. Most enigmatical is the goddess seated before a shrine and holding up a mirror, if that object really is a mirror, and one must own that any other interpretation seems hardly possible. But the mirror very seldom appears in a religious connexion. The only instance, as far as I know, is the mirror which is one of the Japanese regalia and is said to be a symbol of the sun, but this example is not only solitary but also far-fetched¹.

There is only one instance of a goddess appearing in the air, that of the gold ring from tomb I at Isopata. A male god appears surprisingly seldom, — the goddesses are dominant, — and there is only one certain instance in which he is represented full size, the nude figure standing between the horns of consecration on a gem from the neighbourhood

grounds. Every piece must, however, be tested independently, the practice of introducing some forged pieces among genuine ones not being unknown.

¹ That the mirror is mentioned among the symbols of the Orphic mysteries (references given by R. Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christl. Antike, Bibl. Warburg, Vorträge*, 1922—23, II. Teil, p. 98, n. 1) can hardly be compared. The interpretation of Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 36, may be mentioned because of its strangeness. The image in the mirror is, he says, an apparition of a soul; consequently the goddess with the mirror is the Mistress of the Souls.

of Kydonia¹. The god is elsewhere represented as a small figure descending through the air and as an armed god. He holds the bow on the ring in the Ashmolean Museum; the spear on the ring from Knossos, where he is seen descending before a tree cult sanctuary; and the shield on the great ring from Mycenae, if this figure is to be considered as male. More doubtful is the figure on the sarcophagus from Milato.

This armed god is further recognized on a seal impression from Knossos² showing a male figure armed with a spear and a shield and wearing a peaked cap or helmet, and at his



FIG. 87. SEAL IMPRESSION
FROM H. TRIADA.

side a large animal which resembles a lioness but may also be a big dog. The figure may be a warrior god but it may also be a human warrior or hunter; for the famous inlaid dagger from Mycenae shows that shields and spears were used in hunting. Another seal impression from H. Triada (fig. 87)³ shows a male figure with a bow and a similar peaked cap and at his side a lion. Together with the first-mentioned Knossian seal impression another was found with a precisely corresponding female figure⁴. She wears a high peaked cap and holds a spear in her

hand; at her side is a lion turning its head and looking up towards her. The figure is strongly reminiscent of the 'Mother of the Mountains'. These two types are the oldest, being found in the temple repositories and belonging to Middle Minoan III. From Zakro comes a quite similar seal impression, of a somewhat later date (Late Minoan I)⁵; the figure seems to lack only the high cap. It may also be mentioned that

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 708, fig. 532; cf. below, p. 309.

² *BSA*, IX, p. 59, fig. 38. Eight examples of this impression were found.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 44, fig. 40.

⁴ *BSA*, IX, p. 59, fig. 37. Eleven examples of this impression were found.

⁵ *BSA*, XVII, p. 265, fig. 2.

a gem from Crete in Berlin¹ shows a woman rapidly moving forward with a bow. Much more remarkable is a bead seal from the hoard of Thisbe showing a richly clad woman moving rapidly forward to the right, bow in hand and with a quiver on her back; she has just shot an arrow which sticks into the back of a deer before her².

Animals and hunting scenes being very common on Minoan gems³, the assumption would not be unnatural that the instances here mentioned also belong to this class and have no religious connexions, but they cannot be separated from another series, whose religious association is obvious. If only a human figure and an animal appear together, it may be a motif taken from daily life; but there is a group which must have some special significance, a female figure grasping an animal standing erect before her. A sardonyx from Elis in Berlin shows a woman grasping a goat by the horns, while her other arm hangs straight down. A chalcedony from Vaphio has the same group, only with the addition of another woman. A cornelian, also from Vaphio, shows a woman holding up a large ram whose head rests on her right shoulder⁴. A seal impression from Zakro⁵ is so similar to the last-mentioned gem that it may almost have been taken from it. There is also a very similar *galopetra* from H. Triada (fig. 88)⁶. Instead of a human figure a daemon of a singular pot-bellied shape appears, holding up a



FIG. 88. SEALSTONE
FROM H. TRIADA.

¹ *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 22, fig. 25; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 24.

² *JHS*, *loc. cit.*, p. 21, fig. 24 and pl. II, 4.

³ I note only a very early specimen showing that hunting was a subject of art already in Middle Minoan I, namely the ivory half cylinder from Knossos, showing a dog, a man shooting an arrow, a tree, and an *agrini*; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 197, fig. 145.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 27, 26, 25; the last two also *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 33, 34.

⁵ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 77, fig. 3.

⁶ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 45, fig. 42.

hind, on a square cornelian from the necropolis of Phaestus (fig. 89)¹. Other gems show daemons of the usual kind carrying a dead animal; a chalcedony of unknown provenance a goat, and a serpentine in Berlin a stag². Consequently it is impossible to interpret the first-mentioned figures as priestesses offering or carrying sacrificial animals.

This type is again connected with another, of which the peculiarity is the symmetrical composition, often conventionalized into the heraldic scheme, precisely corresponding to the



FIG. 89. SEALSTONE FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF PHAESTUS.

two above-mentioned types, with a tree or a column and one, or more often two symmetrically arranged, animals or monsters. The two animals with few exceptions are of the same species; they are usually lions but sometimes also fabulous monsters. Daemons may also take the place of the animals or of the human figure. The central human figure is most frequently female, but may also be male. A gem from Kydonia³ shows a male figure grasping by their heads two lions sitting upright. Seal impressions of two varieties⁴ show a male figure between a pair of confronted lions stretching his arms over their heads; others from the Rooms of the Archives likewise show a male figure between two lions⁵. Two gems, one from Mycenae and another in Berlin, show a man grasping a lion with each hand, one by the throat and the other by the hind leg⁶. A gem from Knossos⁷ shows a winged griffin and a lion standing erect and confronted; the figure in the centre seems to be male but is much damaged.

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 625, fig. 97 a.

² Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 30, 35.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 163, fig. 43.

⁴ Described *BSA*, VII, p. 101.

⁵ *BSA*, VIII, p. 76.

⁶ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 44, fig. 20 and n. 5.

⁷ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VIII, 136.

The most remarkable male figure is that on a gem from Kydonia¹. He is nude but for a girdle, and stands between the horns of consecration with his hands on his breast. To the left is a winged goat and to the right a daemon with a libation jug in his hand. The heraldic scheme is here broken up, one animal is left to express the nature of the god as the Master of Animals, while for the other a daemon is substituted. A still more noteworthy feature is that the god occupies the same place as the sacred bough and other cult implements on other seals, the minister of the cult being in each case a daemon.

A gem from Mycenae shows a female figure apparently kneeling between a lion and a lioness with her forearms raised, and another gem shows her seated between two lions in an heraldic pose². A very interesting detail is that she is seated on a separate animal's head; it has been noted above³ that this is a proof that she is a goddess. On a recently discovered signet-ring from Amari, west of Ida, the goddess is seen seated on a broad base, and upon the outer edge of this on each side a lion rests his forelegs⁴. Seal impressions from Knossos show a female figure in a flounced skirt laying her hands on the necks of two lions which stand back to back with their heads turned towards her⁵. A Late Minoan II gem from Western Crete⁶ shows a goddess with what appears to be short wings proceeding from her shoulders between two confronted griffins. A gem from Mycenae⁷ shows a daemon erect between two symmetrically seated lions. In the same heraldic scheme birds, perhaps swans, also appear. A jasper in the British Museum⁸ shows a female figure surrounded by two large flying birds symmetrically arranged; she is standing on

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 708, fig. 532.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 164, fig. 44 and p. 165, fig. 45.

³ Above, p. 199.

⁴ Evans, *The Ring of Nestor*, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 66, fig. 56.

⁵ *BSA*, VII, p. 101.

⁶ Mentioned by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 708; figured *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 24, fig. 28; cf. below, p. 312.

⁷ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 168, fig. 46.

⁸ *British Museum Catalogue*, new ed., pl. II, No. 82; *Rev. archéol.*, 1878, pl. XX, 3.

a kind of exergue formed by undulating lines which may be taken as waves. An amethyst from Vaphio¹ shows a woman with a bird grasped by its long neck in each hand. Finally one of the bead seals from Thisbe² shows the same representation; on one side of the woman's head is a star and on the other a small round disc.

The idea contained in these figures is not difficult to understand; the grasping of the animals is a symbol of the deity's power over them. We have, to apply a term used of



FIG. 90. GEM FROM THE CAVE OF PSYCHRO.

analogous figures in the archaic Greek age, a *πότνια θηρῶν*, a Mistress of Animals; though in the Minoan-Mycenaean age there was also a *πότνιος θηρῶν*, a Master of Animals. The 'Mother of Mountains' seal impression from Knossos belongs formally to this class; the goddess is standing between two heral- dically placed lions, but here we have an actual cult scene with a shrine and a votary; it is beyond any possible doubt a goddess. That a goddess is also to be recognized on the two gems recently found in a chamber tomb in the Kalkani hill near Mycenae (pl. II, 9) and on the closely kindred gem from the cave of Psychro in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (fig. 90 and pl. II, 8) is proved by the curious object carried on her head. The absolutely identical representations on the two gems from the Kalkani necropolis are de-

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 5.

² *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 23, fig. 26 and pl. II, 5.

scribed by Mr Wace as follows¹: "The Mother Goddess is arrayed in the usual flounced skirt and open bodice, with a fine rampant lion on either side. Below her feet three lines make a kind of exergue and above her head is a ritual object, formed apparently of snakes, from the centre of which rises the sacred symbolic double axe." To this I add that the goddess carries the object above her head with both hands raised and that the head is diminutive, almost non-existent, a device peculiar to Late Minoan I. These remarks apply also to the figure on the gem from the cave of Psychro, which shows a closely kindred representation. The figure of the goddess is very similar; she is surrounded by two symmetrically arranged standing griffins with large outspread wings. There is no exergue, but the griffins stand on a higher level than the goddess, each upon a separate ground line. The goddess again raises both hands to support the same object above her head. Here it is not double, as is the case on the gems from Mycenae, but triple. The double axe is absent.

In a beehive tomb at Dendra near Mideia, which was excavated last summer by Professor Persson, a gold ring with a very curious representation was found in one of the two graves in the vaulted chamber (fig. 91)². It shows without doubt the same object but complicates the question still more. The field is divided into two zones. In the lower two couchant quadrupeds, perhaps pards, are arranged symmetrically; in the upper zone there are two monsters seen en face, recalling certain of the Zakro types³, standing in an



FIG. 91. GOLD RING FROM THE BEEHIVE TOMB NEAR MIDEIA.

¹ *JHS*, XLI, 1921, p. 264; cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, p. 721. One of them is figured here, pl. II, 9, by the kind permission of Mr Wace.

² I owe the provisional design reproduced here to the kindness of Professor Persson; the ring will be reproduced and treated in his forthcoming work on his discoveries in this series.

³ E. g. *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 84, fig. 22.

object which must be identified with the one discussed here. The position of the monsters seems to imply that they are of religious significance, and this is certainly somewhat surprising, but the object itself seems to have been misunderstood in some degree. The three parallel projections on the sides with their ends resembling snakes' heads are quite similar to those of the representations discussed above, but the middle part resembles a plaited band.

A gem in the Museum at Cassel¹ (fig. 92) shows a very careless repetition of the above type: the head of the goddess is as diminutive as in the above-mentioned representations. The object which she carries on her head has degenerated into three plain curved lines; her lifted hands do not touch it. From her waist two enigmatical lines issue upward, one on each side; they are perhaps to be compared with the so-called branches issuing from behind the thighs of the figure on the Aegina gold pendant². The goddess is here surrounded by two standing lions, whose hindquarters are concealed by the lower part of her body.



FIG. 92. SEALSTONE IN THE MUSEUM AT CASSEL.

It may perhaps be hesitatingly asked whether a Late Minoan lentoid from Crete³ does not also belong to this type. The facing figure of the Goddess is standing with her hands clasped before her breast between two heraldically arranged griffins. Her head is button-like; from her shoulders two downward-curving objects issue. Actually there is one sole object beneath the throat of the figure projecting on each side of the shoulders; it resembles a bow. Sir A. Evans had at first mistaken these projecting parts for short wings, now he thinks that they are sacral knots, but the latter are worn at the back of the neck and not below the throat. The object resembles those discussed above, but there is the difficulty that it appears not on the head but below the throat of the figure.

¹ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. VI, 5.

² Below, p. 316, fig. 94.

³ *JHS*, XXXV, 1925, p. 24, fig. 28.

Here also it may be pointed out that similar objects issue from behind the thighs of the figure on the Aegina gold pendant.

This object as seen on the first-mentioned gems is most perplexing. It may for the sake of convenience be described as consisting of two or three slim, bow-shaped objects, whose middle parts and ends curve upwards, the ends pointing almost vertically. They terminate on each side in what resemble snakes' heads with rings beneath them. On the strength of this similarity and through a comparison with the snake goddesses these objects are taken as snakes, but this must be erroneous. I do not attach much weight to the remark that these snakes, if they be snakes, have heads at both ends. Far more decisive is the fact that the two parallel objects on both the gems from Mycenae are connected with each other by three cross bars in each of the two lower curves. This is evidently impossible if snakes are intended.



FIG. 93. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM ZAKRO.

I know nothing which can be compared with these representations except a three-sided seal impression from Zakro (fig. 93 and pl. II, 10), in the Ashmolean Museum, of which one side shows a bucranium with large horns, with a bird to the left and right, and above it two similar parallel objects. These are here, however, somewhat different. The ends do not curve upward so sharply and are not thickened; the middle part is markedly thicker. The objects are not connected with each other, but show on each side at some distance from the centre, at the point where the thickening of the middle part sensibly diminishes, two parallel cross lines. Nobody will hesitate to recognize in these objects bows which are in all respects similar to the Greek bow. The parallel cross lines may be taken for rings which fasten the separate shorter strengthening piece, which was laid on the middle part of the bow¹. Such an ex-

¹ Two seal impressions from Zakro, *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 85, figs. 24

planation would agree with the composite bow already found in ancient Egypt and used by many peoples especially in Asia from its westernmost parts to China and India. Professor von Luschan produced from Turkestan a variety of this type of bow, in order to provide a sound explanation of the ancient Greek and the Homeric bow¹. The bow was used by the Minoans, but the reliable representations are on too small a scale to show positively whether the composite or the simple bow is meant²; though as the composite bow is found in Egypt there is no need to doubt that it was known also in Minoan Crete.

There are, however, features in the first-mentioned representations which seem to argue against their being explained as bows, viz. the thickened ends and the cross bars apparently connecting the parallel objects, not to mention the figure as a whole and its apparent meaning. I am bound to confess that this explanation seems also to be beset with difficulties, but I am not able to find another more probable, and it will fall in with the other representations of the series treated here.

The goddess accompanied by lions is a hunting goddess; she has the spear in her hand on the so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' seal impression, and the Knossian seal impression mentioned above shows her with the lion at her side. In consequence we shall probably also be correct in taking as the

and 25; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 702, fig. 525, d and c, show bucrania. Fig. 25 is a fantastic transformation, the horns ending in animals' heads, and a meander with dots crowns the head. Fig. 24 is more interesting and seems to be derived from the type in the Ashmolean Museum. From the skull behind the horns wings emerge, or they may be birds, for the heads with the beak are recognizable. Beneath the muzzle are two parallel curved lines which very vividly recall the object carried on her head by the goddess on the gems from Mycenae.

¹ F. v. Luschan, *Ueber den antiken Bogen*, *Festschrift f. Benndorff*, (1898), pp. 189; cf. W. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, 2nd ed., pp. 112.

² The siege scene on the fragment of a silver vase from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae, see e. g. *Eph. arch.*, 1891, pl. II, 2; the god descending on the gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum, see above, fig. 85, p. 296; a seal impression from H. Triada showing a man with a bow accompanied by a lion, *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 44, fig. 40 (here fig. 87, p. 306); deities with the bow see pp. 306.

same goddess the woman shooting an arrow on the gem from Thisbe and on the one in Berlin; this at least seems more probable than to assume that a mortal huntress is represented, for although the wall paintings from Tiryns show women in a chariot on their way to the hunt, hunting was of course not a common sport of women in Minoan days. The seal impression from Zakro in the Ashmolean Museum, which in part shows a striking resemblance to the gems from Mycenae, would thus too be naturally connected with this goddess. Instead of the goddess the central figure is here the bucranium, the skull of the sacrificial animal; on each side is a bird — the goddess also appears surrounded by symmetrically arranged birds — and above it are two parallel bows. Here the bows are recognizable beyond doubt. On the three gems we have noted certain details which seem to contradict this identification, viz. the thickened ends and the cross bars. It may be that the holy bow of the goddess was used as a ritual object and therefore transformed. This object, which the goddess carries on her head, is somewhat reminiscent of the horns of consecration, and this resemblance is strengthened by the position of the double axe between the upward curving ends of the bows, just as it is placed between the horns of consecration. Consequently there is another alternative: that the characteristically vivid imagination of the Minoans effected a formal modification of the object under the influence of the horns of consecration.

There is, however, still another monument, though later in date, in which the same enigmatical object is showed in another manner, a gold pendant from the Aegina treasure (fig. 94), composed of two thin openwork plates. I describe it in the words of the Catalogue a little abridged¹: A male figure stands with his feet turned right; he wears a loin-cloth girt at the waist and a raised crown of four feathers, surmounted by a fluted cylinder for suspension. With each hand he grasps a water-bird by the neck; the bird is turned outwards and pecks at buds which issue from two ribbed

¹ Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewelry in the British Museum*, p. 54, pl. VII, 762.

and curved branches. The branches seem to rest on two lotus-flowers which form the terminals of a support (boat?) on which the figure stands. What interest us here are the objects called branches in the Catalogue. They are parallel and issue from behind the thighs of the figure. Their contour, if we add the pieces concealed by the body of the figure, is exactly like that of the object carried on the goddess's head on the two gems from the Kalkani necropolis, and the whole appearance is so strikingly similar that it seems to leave no

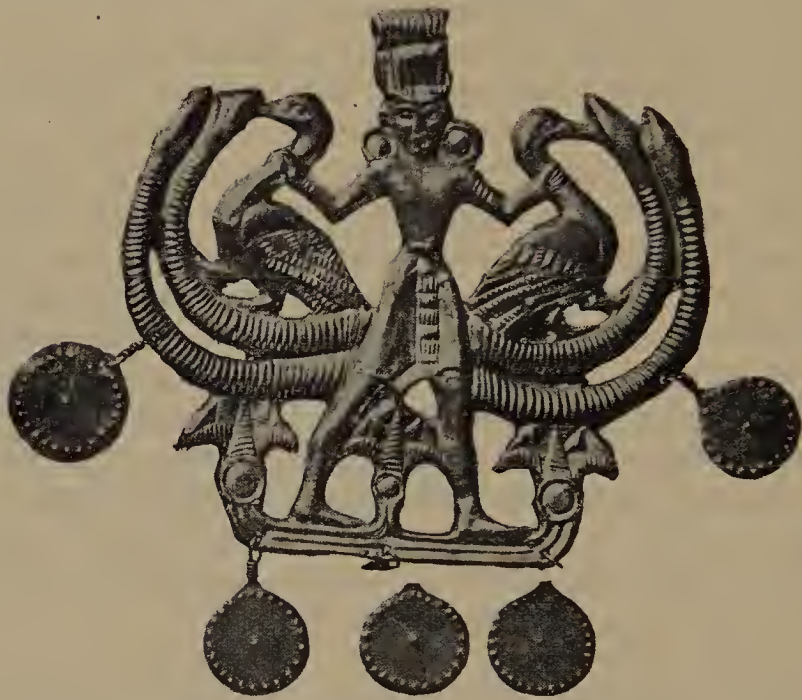


FIG. 94. GOLD PENDANT FROM AEGINA.

doubt as regards their identity, although the object is here placed behind and not above the figure. And the figure itself, if not identical, is at least the male form of the same deity: the Master of the Animals, here exceptionally represented together with water birds, as is the Mistress of the Animals in some instances quoted above. This is a further valuable proof of the close parallelism of the male and the female deity. So far all goes well. But doubts are raised with regard to the nature of the object. It is described in the Catalogue as consisting of branches with buds, but this interpretation is hardly possible;

we must admit frankly that the so-called branches resemble snakes, but on the other hand the same difficulties stand in the way of this identification as in the case of the gems from the Kalkani necropolis. At all events the object is here a motif transmitted from an older age and perhaps not wholly understood. I have to end by confessing my own uncertainty with regard to this object, and stating simply that it appears as a characteristic attribute of the Deity of the Animals.

We have already noted the fact that not only a man and a woman appear as Master and Mistress of Animals but that a daemon also occurs in this capacity in the antithetic group. Before we estimate the meaning and the importance of this fact, it will be necessary to investigate closely the nature of these daemons and their functions. I leave out the fabulous animals, sphinxes, and griffins which Minoan art took over from Oriental art and which often appear in religious associations, but which with the exception of the amazing 'Ring of Nestor' are only of accessory value, hardly more significant than the same figures in Greek art and mythology, where they often appear as followers and attributes of the gods, e. g. Apollo¹. In the Minoan age they appear also in the same function as the lions and other animals as followers and guardians of

¹ I have compiled a list of the representations of griffins and sphinxes, omitting instances of merely decorative value.

Griffins (cf. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, I, pp. 1745, and Prinz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, VII, pp. 1911) Couchant without wings on wall painting on one side of the throne in the Throne Room in the Palace of Knossos, restored, Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., pl. I, facing p. 16. The above-discussed gem in the Ashmolean Museum; a griffin on each side of the goddess, see p. 310. Gem from Knossos, griffin and lion standing erect, human figure in the centre, see above, p. 308, n. 7. Gem from Vaphio, man in 'stole' holding a female griffin by a cord, *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. X, 32; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 39. Gold ring from Mycenae; seated man holding a female griffin, seated before him, by a cord, *loc. cit.*, pl. VI, 18 and vol. II, p. 27, fig. 18. *Larnax* from Palaikastro, standing griffin, *BSA*, VIII, pl. XVIII. Gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus, running griffin, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 522, fig. 12. Gem from Pediada, Crete, griffin of the same type as those on the gem in the Ashmolean Museum, *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 101. Bead seal from Menidi, couchant griffin with outspread wings, *Das Kuppelgrab von Menidi*, pl. VI, 2. Seal impressions with griffins both single and confronted, mentioned *BSA*, VII, p. 101 and

the gods, the sacred objects, and places. So their importance seems to be chiefly artistic, but in the lower compartment of the 'Ring of Nestor'¹ we see a griffin seated on a stool and adored by two women with griffins' heads; other such beings, and men and women swarm or dance about it. We must return to this most remarkable representation later. I also put on one side the composite monsters which occur on Minoan seal impressions especially on those of the great hoard from Zakro. These are the most varying and fantastic combinations of heads and limbs of men and animals which seem to be the product of an over-heated fever-stricken imagination, and of course have no religious value, or to quote the words of Sir A. Evans²: "The types

VIII, p. 77. Two others from Zakro and one from Knossos figured by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 712, fig. 536. Fragment of Miniature fresco from Knossos, couchant griffin, *loc. cit.*, p. 549, fig. 400. The gold-leafs and ivory carvings from Mycenae are merely decorative.

Sphinxes (cf. J. Ilberg in Roscher's *Lex. d. Mythologie*, IV, pp. 1338). Gold ring from Mycenae, two symmetrically seated sphinxes, *fleur de lys* column in the centre, Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 155, fig. 53; cf. above, p. 246. Gem from Mycenae, symmetrical *kriosphinxes* with one common head, *loc. cit.*, p. 159, fig. 37; cf. above, p. 217. Bead seal from Thisbe, man attacking a winged sphinx with a cap, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 27, fig. 31 and pl. III, 1. Gold-plated ring from pit cave No. 7 at Zafer Papoura, running sphinx with outspread wings, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 416, fig. 21. Cornelian from the necropolis of H. Triada, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 718, fig. 21. Fragment of wall painting from Knossos, couchant sphinx with white human head, below frieze of alternating white and blue rosettes, unpublished. Couchant sphinx sculptured in the round in black steatite from a tomb near H. Triada, assumed to be a weight, *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 749, fig. 44; *Ant. cré.*, I, pl. XXIV, 2. The style is distinctly foreign and more probably to be connected with Babylonia (Karo) than with Egypt (Paribeni); see A. della Seta, *La Sphinge di H. Triada, Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVI, 1907, pp. 699. Two standing sphinxes symmetrically arranged on either side of a column, ivory sculpture from Menidi, *Das Kuppelgrab von Menidi*, pl. VIII, 10 (here fig. 67, p. 215). Merely decorative sphinxes, e. g. the figure from Mycenae, *Eph. arch.*, 1887, pl. XIII, B; from Menidi, *loc. cit.*, pl. VIII, 4; and as mirror handles, e. g. from Zafer Papoura, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 454, fig. 69; on an ivory comb and on a glass plaque from Spata, *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1878, pl. XVII, 2, etc. Sphinxes with butterfly wings, seal impression from Zakro, *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 83, fig. 19; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 705, fig. 529 c.

¹ Evans, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 68 and pl. IV, 2.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 702, cf. p. 707.

shift and transform themselves like phantoms of a dream". He thinks that this is due to the utilitarian purpose of baffling forgers¹. After the deduction of these forms there remain a number of composite monsters and daemons which appear or are said to appear in religious associations. Our first task will be to separate the types, and we will begin by singling out some peculiar specimens that differ from the great series which is so important with regard to the question of the Nature deities.

I have already noted a worn gold ring from the necropolis of Phaestus showing an apparently nude woman seated before a column indicating a shrine, a woman in adoration, and a dog-like animal standing or perhaps seated (the hind legs have vanished owing to the worn condition of the ring) before the votary and turned towards the goddess²; the animal too is evidently worshipping the goddess. This is of importance for judging a seal impression from Zakro³ showing a similar seated animal and a woman turned towards each another. The animal lifts up both forelegs (or arms), the woman lifts one arm while holding the other against her bosom. Both appear in the guise of votaries, but in the case of the ring from Phaestus we must regard the woman as the deity and the animal as the votary or servant. The same animal, seated and with raised forelegs, occurs on a seal impression from H. Triada (fig. 95)⁴. Sir A. Evans recognizes an adoring cynocephalus, the Egyptian dog-ape⁵; consequently it is not a monster composed of a bestial head and human limbs, as



FIG. 95. SEAL IMPRESSION FROM
H. TRIADA.

¹ A valuable analysis justly laying stress upon the inorganic composition of these figures is given by della Seta, *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVII, 1908, p. 420.

² *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 578, fig. 51; above, fig. 68, p. 220 and p. 300.

³ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 78, fig. 4.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 39, fig. 32.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 683.

Dr Hogarth thought. In some of the frescoes discovered in the excavations at Knossos in 1923 apes of the cercopithecus genus, not found nearer than the Sudan, are so vividly depicted that Sir A. Evans assumes that the artist must have studied them from life, and that tame specimens were kept in the palace¹. The type has no great interest in connexion with Minoan religion, but as it was borrowed from abroad and not as a rule understood correctly, the ape not being a native of Crete, it may



FIG. 96. SHELL TABLET FROM PHAESTUS.

have been taken for a monster, composed of human and animal parts, and have given an impulse to the forming of other composite monsters. Of foreign origin also is the remarkable representation on a shell tablet from Phaestus (fig. 96), bored with holes for attachment to some other object. Four daemons with animals' heads are advancing towards the left in the same dress — a long garment held together round the waist by a girdle whose long hanging ends terminate in a ball or small disc, — and in the same attitude, the left arm hanging down, the right holding staffs, as tall as themselves, which they grasp by the top, bending their elbows at a right angle. Three have quadrupeds' heads, the third being horned, although its species is uncertain (perhaps dog(?), boar, and bull); the fourth has a bird's head². The figures and

¹ In a lecture delivered before the Meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, reported in *The Times*, August 29th, 1923.

² *Mon. ant.*, XII, pp. 129, pl. VIII, 1; *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 92, fig. 33. Hogarth calls them "first cousins of Nilotic divinities", but the resemblance to Babylonian figures is much more striking and evident. The connection with Babylonian representations was recognized by della Seta, *La conchiglia di Phaistos e la religione Micenea*, *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVII, 1908, pp. 399, who also sought for other traces of Babylonian influence. These

their attitudes recall so strongly the rows of animal-headed daemons on some Babylonian and Assyrian amulets, e. g. the second zone of the 'Hades tablet'¹ or a similar tablet from Assur (fig. 97)², that they are without the slightest doubt to be derived from Babylonian prototypes, even if the examples quoted may be later in date. Babylonian seal cylinders, imported into Crete in Middle Minoan I and imitated there³, testify the connexion, though Babylonian influence on Minoan art is questionable. This relief is therefore important, because it shows that Babylonian figure types also were taken over,



FIG. 97. TABLET FROM ASSUR.

if it is of Minoan make, but this is doubted by Professor Karo⁴. The material, conch shell, is, as regards Crete, here alone employed for reliefs; Dr Pernier remarks that it was used in Lower Chaldaea.

A much discussed specimen of a composite figure is provided by the so-called Minotaur seal from Knossos⁵. Two fragments were found exhibiting what appears to be a man clad in a kind of cuirass, with his body bent towards a cross-legged seat, on which there is a monster with the legs of a man, but with the head, forelegs, and the upper part of the body,

were rejected, but the Babylonian type of these daemons approved by A. J. Reinach, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LX, 1909, pp. 235.

¹ See e. g. *JHS*, XIV, 1894, p. 118, fig. 13; W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 282.

² Roscher's *Lex. d. Mythologie*, IV, p. 1494, fig. 55.

³ See below, p. 330, n. 3.

⁴ *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 1793.

⁵ *BSA*, VII, p. 18, fig. 7 a.

including the tail, of an animal resembling a calf. Between them is a tree. It is very often said that the bull was a sacred animal among the Minoans, and this is natural in view of the desire to account for the myth of Minotaur by a bull-cult¹. But in reality, with the solitary exception of this seal, there is no evidence for a bull-cult among the Minoans². The calf-man is seated, but the man standing before him is certainly not adoring him; he seems to regard the monster with an astonished and fixed expression. Perhaps this seal impression is one of the few mythical representations found in Minoan art.

It is often assumed that Minoan bull-fighting was a sacral performance, but there is nothing in the Minoan monuments to prove that it was more than a very popular secular sport³. The dangers of the bull-ring and the numerous works of art with monsters composed of human and animal parts account satisfactorily for the origin of the myth of Minotaur.

There are daemons with human bodies and with heads of various animals, even of the bull⁴, but they appear never to have

¹ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 467, thinks that the sun was conceived as a bull, that the Labyrinth was an orchestra of a solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance, and that Minotaur was a Knossian prince masquerading as a bull.

² The reasoning of Pottier, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXI, 1907, pp. 121, is of too general a kind to prove anything for the Minoan age.

³ The instances collected by A. Reichel, *Die Stierspiele in der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur*, Athen. Mitt., XXXIV, 1909, pp. 85. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 497. B. Laum, *Das Eisengeld der Spartaner, Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen der Akad. zu Braunsberg*, 1924—25, thinks that the *agones* in the Spartan cult of Artemis Orthia were derived from the Minoan bull-fights. His parallels are very questionable.

⁴ To bring out this point I note some of the simpler specimens which may be called composite monsters, heads and limbs being exchanged for the corresponding parts of other animals; I leave out the purely arbitrary compositions. Man with a goat's head and wings instead of arms, *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 80, fig. 12, and pl. VII, 34, cf. 36. Woman with a bird's head and wings instead of arms, *loc. cit.*, p. 79, fig. 8; cf. p. 80, fig. 13, and *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VIII, 150; seated *Mon. ant.*, XIII, p. 38, fig. 30. Woman with a bull's head, wings, and a fan-tail, *BSA*, VII, p. 133, fig. 45 c. Man with a horned bull's head, bovine ears and tail, seated with his left leg crossed upon his right knee and his hands extended, *loc. cit.*, fig. a, cf. b, and *JHS*, *loc. cit.*, pl. VI, 17 and 18. Small standing four-legged bronze animal with a human head from the cave of Patso, *Museo di ant. class.*, II, 1888, pl. XIV, 8. Winged

been adored. The crouching position and grotesque appearance (resembling a foetus) of these man-bulls¹ are absolutely inappropriate for a divine being, even in the Minoan age². Sir A. Evans published together with the so-called Minotaur seal impression two gems with composite figures from Knossos³; their body is human, but the head and the forelegs those of an animal. They are not, however, man-bulls; the cloven horns show that they are man-stags. One of these gems is important because it indicates a religious association; on one side of the monster is the detached head of a goat and on the other a pair of horns of consecration with a bough between the horns. But I do not consider it warrantable to conclude that a cult was devoted to the monster; it is more probable that it haunted the sacred places as a servant of a deity whose cult is indicated by the sacral horns and the head of the sacrificial animal⁴.

Sir A. Evans made a very illuminating remark in discussing the seal from the Western entrance. "The gem illustrates the fact that the Minotaur was only one of several similar monstrous creations of Minoan art that were rife at this period, and of which the man-stag and the man-lion as well as the eagle-lady afford further illustrations. It is to be noted that in the Zakro sealings representing the transitional period between the latest Middle Minoan and the earliest Late Minoan phases, these compound figures are seen under less stereo-

goat, gem from Kydonia, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 708, fig. 532. Lower part human, and from the waist the foreparts of a goat and a bull bent downwards on either side, gem in the British Museum, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 41. Part below the waist human, above, part of an *agrini*, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 40.

¹ *JHS*, XXII, 1902, pl. VI, 17 and 18; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 702, fig. 525 f.

² Cf. Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 703: "Sometimes we detect a grim humour, as where a Minotaur appears to be devouring his own hand". It is perhaps more likely to be a three-forked tongue in his mouth.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 359, fig. 260, d and e; *BSA*, VII, p. 19, fig. 7, b and c.

⁴ A bead seal found at the Western entrance of the Knossian Palace, *BSA*, XI, p. 18, fig. 10, shows similar monsters, a man-stag and a man-boar, in similarly distorted attitudes. Among the great hoard of seal impressions found in the Room of the Archives composite monsters, man-goats, etc. are also enumerated, *BSA*, VIII, p. 77.

typed and more fantastic aspects.”¹ These monsters were originally purely imaginative creations, but as the imagination weakened they were reduced to fewer and poorer forms. They may sometimes have been taken for a kind of daemon, of the same order as the other daemons to be discussed next, and in one case they have been brought into association with the cult as servants of a deity.

A peculiar type of daemon remains to be considered; it is fixed but admits of slight variations².



FIG. 98. WALL PAINTING FROM MYCENAE.

These are sometimes said to be horse or lion daemons, but the feet are paws, not hoofs, and the head is hardly lion-like³; moreover the ears are long and mobile. The back is especially characteristic; it seems to be covered with a loose skin which terminates in a kind of wasp-tail, while the ridge of the back is beset with bristles, sometimes with a small round dot at their ends. The same type is represented on a well-known fragment of a wall painting from Mycenae (fig. 98)⁴, which shows parts of three daemons carrying a long pole or a rope on their shoulders. They are said to have asses' heads but this assertion is some-

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 19.

² The attempt of Cook, *JHS*, XIV, 1894, pp. 81, before the days of the great discoveries to distinguish special types within this group itself, ass, lion, horse, swine daemons in addition to the half human monsters composed with bull, goat, and stag, and to explain them as due to an animal worship derived from totemistic ideas is disproved by the subsequent discoveries.

³ Cf. the good characterizing given by Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 39, but in spite of this he calls the figures lion-daemons.

⁴ *Eph. arch.*, 1887, pl. X, 1.

what arbitrary. What is decisive is that the same loose skin covers their backs and is here coloured blue and red in contrast to the other parts of the figures, which are yellow. The only difference is that this version comes from a wall painting, and the others from engraved gems. The action is, however, enigmatical. Perhaps we may find a parallel in the gems showing a daemon carrying a dead animal.

We have already found these daemons employed as servants of the cult. They pour out libations on to the sacred boughs, on to altars, tripods, and sacred cairns¹, they approach the goddess with libation jugs in their uplifted hands², and many other representations show them handling the libation jug; the list was given above³. I may add that Sir A. Evans mentions seal impressions from Knossos showing a Mycenaean daemon holding a ewer⁴ and among the hoard from the Room of the Archives lion-headed and other daemons in some cases holding pointed vessels⁵. They are seen holding an animal erect or carrying the body of a dead animal⁶. A gem from Crete (fig. 99) shows a daemon carrying on his shoulder a pole from each end of which an animal is hanging⁷. Another gem shows the daemon standing beside a bull and apparently grasping its horns⁸.



FIG. 99. CRETAN SEALSTONE.

They appear as the central figure in the antithetic group. A gem from Mycenae⁹ shows a daemon in the guise of the Master of Animals between two symmetrically seated lions laying his hands on one of them. A bead seal from Hydra in the

¹ The gem from Vaphio and the glass plaques from Mycenae, see p. 125.

² The great gold ring from Tiryns, see p. 125, fig. 26.

³ Above, p. 125.

⁴ *BSA*, VII, p. 18.

⁵ *BSA*, VIII, p. 76.

⁶ Above, pp. 307.

⁷ Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 55, fig. 44 b; *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 94, fig. 14.

⁸ *JHS*, XIV, 1894, p. 153, fig. 21; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 33.

⁹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 168, fig. 46.

British Museum¹ shows the daemon standing in the middle and on each side of him a human figure.

Usually their position is more humble. Two daemons are arranged symmetrically on either side of a central figure just as animals are in similar cases. On a gem in Berlin² the man shows his power over the daemons by grasping them by their hanging tongues. On a gem from the Castellani collection³ he grasps the daemons by their heads; they are holding libation jugs and behind each of them is a slender bough. Here the religious association is evident. One side (fig. 100) of a



FIG. 100. ONE SIDE OF A BEAD SEAL FROM PHAESTUS.

three-sided bead seal found in the necropolis of Phaestus⁴ shows two daemons facing each other without any central figure. A much worn seal cylinder from a *larnax* burial at Palaikastro⁵ shows two female figures and a daemon, which in the drawing look somewhat unusual but which are in reality of the ordinary type. The objects between the figures are indefinable.

Professor Wolters' suggestion⁶ that this type of daemon is a Minoan adaptation of the Egyptian Hippopotamus goddess Ta-urt has been taken up and developed by Sir A. Evans⁷ and has also been adopted by several other scholars. She was known in Minoan Crete, a white Middle Minoan I steatite scarab from Platanos showing an imitation of her⁸. There is also as it happens a striking resemblance between this Hippopotamus goddess and the thick-bellied short-legged daemon with a big head on the cornelian from Phaestus⁹, and this was discovered after the suggestion had been made. But this is quite an exceptional type; with regard to the common type I am

¹ *JHS*, XVII, 1897, pl. III, 5; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. VI, 16.

² Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 34.

³ *Loc. cit.*, III, p. 37, fig. 16.

⁴ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 520, fig. 10 c.

⁵ *BSA*, VIII, p. 302, fig. 18.

⁶ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 108; cf. Milchhöfer, *loc. cit.*, p. 56, note.

⁷ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 169; *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 19.

⁸ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 200, fig. 148.

⁹ *Mon. ant.*, XIV, p. 625, fig. 97 a; here fig. 89, p. 308.

not able to find more than a very far-fetched resemblance. As Furtwängler remarked¹ the hippopotamus shape and the female sex characterizing Ta-urt are absent. The real enigma, the meaning of the apparently loose skin which covers the back, is as yet unsolved; for it is not explained by the comparison with the Hippopotamus goddess. The only influence that we can allow from this direction is purely secondary and concerns the manner of representation alone; the functions of these daemons are not derived from abroad, but are Minoan in origin and manifestly belong to Minoan belief.

There are clearly marked differences between the fabulous animals — sphinxes and griffins —, the compound monsters, and the daemons of this last type. The fabulous animals, with the exception of the scene on 'Nestor's ring', appear like the other animals, especially the lions, as guardians and attributes of a god. The monsters, bull-men, eagle-women and the like, appear neither in this function nor in any other association with the cult except in the single instance of the gem from Knossos where cult objects are found in connexion with a man-stag; the so-called Minotaur seal has no cult significance, and is perhaps mythological. The daemons on the contrary are intimately associated with the cult. They appear as ministrants of the cult and, like the animals, as guardians and attributes of a deity, or rather as his servants and subjects over whom he exerts his power. But a daemon appears also as the central figure exerting his power over lions and in another case with a man on each side of him. That he occupies the place usually set apart for the deity, or his symbol or shrine, can hardly be explained except on the assumption that he is of the same divine, or at least semi-divine, nature. The nature of these daemons is consequently in a certain respect ambiguous, but seems easily intelligible. They are not gods themselves, but the stuff of which gods are made, daemons or beings of popular belief, roaming the land and haunting the sacred places and groves, superior to animals

¹ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 41. He even proceeds to the contrary suggestion that a Mycenaean influence contributed to the creation of Ta-urt, but this is very unlikely.

and to man and feared by him, but subject to the gods like the wild animals, and like man the ministers of their cult. The close parallelism between gems showing a woman, who probably is a goddess, holding an animal erect and those showing a daemon in the same situation is another proof of their semi-divine nature. Thus the representations of these daemons show clearly how at times they are identified with deities since they occasionally appear in the rôle of the Master of Animals; but more commonly they are seen as the servants of the gods and ministers of the cult and especially as subjects of the Master of Animals. They still remain on the lower stage where a plurality of Nature daemons is found; on a higher stage one of them is singled out and becomes a god, the others remain below as his servants and followers¹. But while the god is represented in purely human shape, the daemons preserve in their composite monstrous form a vestige of their origin.

Knossian seals show both a man armed with spear and shield and a woman spear in hand and accompanied by a lion². We are now able confidently to recognize them as deities, for these representations cannot be separated from those in the form of the antithetic group. They are not war deities, however, but hunting deities, or to put it more correctly, the Master or the Mistress of Animals in the guise of a hunter-god, which is natural and appropriate to such a god. They are also lords over the Nature daemons, and therefore the daemons occasionally take the place of the animals in the antithetic group. It now becomes clear also why the daemons are represented carrying dead animals; these are the spoils of the chase. The goddess does not carry them herself: she is represented holding an animal erect, a sign of her power. That the male figure does not appear in this function may be considered as accidental. The so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' seal shows the cult of such a goddess, surrounded as usual by lions heraldically arranged. As a goddess of wild nature she is standing on a mountain or a heap of stones, and as

¹ Cf. my *History of the Greek Religion*, pp. 111.

² Above, p. 306.

the Mistress of Animals and a huntress she has a spear in her hand.

It is a very notable fact that either a male or a female deity may appear as the central figure in the antithetic group exerting its power over animals and monsters. There is both a Mistress of Animals and a Master of Animals. This duality is not difficult to understand when we remember how the monuments show these deities as still in the stage of evolution and transition from Nature daemons to gods. The Nature daemons, which roam the mountains and forests, foster the animals, and bring good luck in hunting, are both male and female, their sex being a matter of slight importance. Consequently both a male and a female deity develop from them, both a Master and a Mistress of Animals, though the Mistress of Animals was more popular and more frequently venerated; she occurs more frequently on the monuments than her counterpart, the Master of Animals.

It has always been felt that the antithetic group and especially the heraldic scheme were foreign to Minoan art. "Nothing is itself more contrary to the native genius of Mycenaean art, so free and naturalistic in its home-born impulses, than the constrained and schematic pose of the animals and mythical monsters that in this group of designs appear as guardians or supporters of the sacred trees and columns", wrote Sir Arthur Evans in 1901¹, and this judgment is equally true concerning the groups just treated, in which a human figure or a daemon occupies the centre. After having called attention to the reduplicated monsters on Babylonian seal cylinders, he proceeds to derive the heraldic scheme from Egypt. Later the problem was judiciously treated by Dr Jolles², who, however, was hampered by the scarcity of material, especially as regards Babylonia. His conclusion that this artistic scheme developed independently in all three countries is therefore not satisfactorily founded. In Minoan art the premises of the antithetic group seem to be wanting³. In Egypt it seems to have

¹ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 152.

² Jolles, *Die antithetische Gruppe*, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XIX, 1904, pp. 27.

³ The idea of della Seta, *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVII,

been most in vogue in the pre-dynastic age and the Early Kingdom, and from here it is impossible to trace any connexion with the Minoan type, which developed suddenly at the end of the first half of the first millenium B. C.; later examples are chiefly of a purely decorative character. It seems more probable to derive it from Western Asia, whose art was developed under Babylonian influence. But the matter is not yet sufficiently cleared up in all its details. Professor Curtius ends his searching treatise on the Gilgamesh and Eabani types¹ with the verdict that the antithetic group in Minoan art depends on Babylonian prototypes. His general reasoning is sound, but the two instances alleged² are not sufficient for a well-founded argumentation. Generally speaking the old Babylonian cylinders show no closely similar type, although antithetic scenes and figures crossing each other are common; the chief difference is that they represent mythological scenes and not cult scenes nor hieratic schemes, and this is also the case with the Hittite seals. The groups and figures most closely resembling the Minoan types, including the heraldic scheme, are found in Assyrian and Syrian art and in the latest phases of Hittite art, e. g. at Charchemish, including the glyptic art, e. g. 'the Tree of Life' surrounded by antithetic winged genii and the 'Master of Animals' type, but these are much later than the Minoan specimens³. A searching investigation would be

1908, p. 423, that owing to the circular form and the reversed impression of the seal the antithetic group originated in glyptic art merits consideration in so far as this may have been a cause of its popularity on gems. But the origin is not to be found here, for the antithetic group is in other countries much older than the circular seal.

¹ L. Curtius, *Studien zur Geschichte der altorient. Kunst, I, Gilgamisch und Heabani, Sitzungsber. der Akad. der Wiss., München, Philol.-hist. Kl.*, 1912, No. 7, pp. 65.

² A group of a palm between two goats on a late vase from Ligortyno (*Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXI, 1907, pp. 116, fig. 1), recurring in a curtailed form on a seal cylinder from the age of the dynasty of Ur (Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 199), and the comparison of the double animal with antithetic bodies and a single head with Babylonian monsters with one upper and a double lower part of the body (p. 58, fig. 21).

³ That an influence from Western Asia and even from Babylonia has taken place is proved by the seal cylinders of this origin found in Crete and

of great importance, but it must be made by an archaeologist who has a thorough knowledge of the seals and other glyptic art of Western Asia and their chronology. In all probability, however, the antithetic group in Minoan art is Oriental in origin.

This conjecture is supported by the sudden appearance of the antithetic group in Minoan art and by the date of this appearance¹. The Egyptian influence on Early Minoan glyptic art is very marked both in design and in material (ivory); seals with hieroglyphic signs predominate in Early Minoan I and II. There are some specimens of antithetic composition: on one face of a three-sided Early Minoan III bead seal there are two women and between them an orb with hook-shaped protuberances², while a Middle Minoan II seal shows two confronted *agrimi* resting their forelegs on a heap of stones³. The scheme is symmetrical, even heraldic as regards the bodies but not as regards the heads, the one animal turning its head forwards, the other backwards. It is very characteristic that no example of the antithetic group is found in the great hoard of Middle Minoan III seal impressions discovered in the temple repositories⁴.

It seems as if the contention that the antithetic group Greece. The seal cylinder is absolutely foreign to Crete but was imported and imitated, though rarely. The most important instance is a Babylonian cylinder, dated round about 2000 B. C., found in a *tholos* tomb at Platanos together with Middle Minoan I pottery. See Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 198 and fig. 146; Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, pp. 116 with figure. An imitation was found at Palaikastro and published, *BSA*, VIII, p. 302, fig. 18. In the Museum of Candia there are five others: one of lapis lazuli set in gold found in the palace of Knossos, a small one of haematite from Tylissos, and three more from different parts of Crete. A Hittite cylinder, the only Hittite object as yet found in Greece, was among the objects found near Tiryns together with the great gold ring; see above, p. 300. Finally a Cyprian cylinder was found in one of the tombs recently excavated by the British School near Mycenae.

¹ On Minoan-Mycenaean glyptic art see the short but judicious remarks by Karo, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 178, and for its earlier phases Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 118 (E. M.), 196 (M. M. I), 272 (M. M. II), and 669 (M. M. III).

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 124, fig. 93 A b 1.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 275, fig. 204 m.

⁴ Enumerated in *BSA*, IX, pp. 54.

is one of those artistic schemes, which appear independently in the art of various peoples, was to some extent justified. It occurs, although very rarely, in the older phases of Minoan glyptic art, but is abandoned by the energetically naturalistic art of Middle Minoan III. Then it is taken up again, conventionalized into the heraldic scheme, and becomes very popular in Late Minoan II and III; to Late Minoan II belongs e. g. the 'Mother of the Mountains' seal. On the one hand this is beyond doubt due to some foreign impulse, probably from Western Asia; but on the other, it must be connected with the artistic taste of the age, which shows a strong tendency towards architectonic compositions and a conventionalizing of the subjects depicted.

The derivation of the antithetic group from the Orient is supported by the foreign origin of the sphinx and the griffin which are associated with the heraldic scheme and often appear in it. The origin of these monsters has often been discussed and is commonly traced back to Egypt through a Western Asiatic medium which in some measure transformed the Egyptian figures¹. The Egyptian sphinx has no wings. How far Minoan Crete is indebted to Egypt or to the art of Western Asia is, still, however a matter of dispute which need not to be taken up here. The chief point is that the foreign origin is generally admitted.

It may be asked whether we should not also postulate a foreign origin for the animal which occurs most frequently, the lion. Lions lived in some northern districts of the Balkan peninsula and in western Asia in historical times, but it is improbable and generally denied that they existed in Greece. It seems at least doubtful whether the lion lived in Crete in the Minoan age. A zoologist whom I consulted replied that it is not impossible that the lion existed in Crete, because

¹ The article *Gryps* by Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lex. d. Mythologie* is still very valuable; cf. also *Ant. Gemmen*, p. 42. A more recent treatment by Prinz under the same word in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.* Still later is the article *Sphinx* by Roeder and Ilberg in Pauly-Wissowa. Evans supports the Egyptian origin, see *Palace of Minos*, I pp. 709.

lions existed when the land bridge connecting Crete with Asia Minor and Greece sank beneath the level of the Aegean in the tertiary period, but that no remains have been discovered in Crete. If the lion existed there it was liable to be extirpated very soon in an island the area of which was relatively small for such an animal. It seems to me more probable that the lion in Minoan art was borrowed from abroad as is the case in Greek art, which was also fond of lions. It is much to be regretted that the question cannot be answered for certain, because it also will assume a considerable importance with regard to religious representations. Generally speaking, it will be seen that this discussion of the transmission of art types from the Orient to Crete is of no little importance for the foreign connexions of the Minoan religion.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN PANTHEON.

The so-called 'Mother of Mountains' seal is evidence of primary importance for the Minoan religion. In the general ideas about this religion and its kinship with other religions it plays a dominant rôle, the identity of this Minoan goddess with the Great Mother of Asia Minor being taken for granted and the religious ideas associated with the cult of the Magna Mater being applied also to the Minoan goddess. The appreciation and interpretation here given of this important document differ in certain respects from those generally put forward. Stress was laid upon the connexion between this image and a long series of other representations showing a goddess, who may be called by the name of 'Mistress of Animals', and who also appears as such in the function of a hunting goddess armed with the bow or the spear.

This connexion is of course recognized; but the difference is that the nature of the Mistress of Animals as shown by the representations is generally extended by attributes borrowed from the Magna Mater, while here the more restrained conception of the Mistress of Animals and the hunting goddess, testified by a long series of gems and seal impressions, has been taken as the fundamental idea. I cannot illustrate this difference better than by quoting the judgment of Sir Arthur Evans on the seal impression from the temple repositories at Knossos showing the goddess with the peaked cap and a spear accompanied by a lion (I remark that in this passage both this goddess and the so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' are termed warrior goddesses)¹: "The seal from which the present design of the fe-

¹ *BSA*, IX, p. 59.

male divinity was taken was in this case smaller and has been simplified by the omission of the rocky peak, the pillar temple, and the votary." Here on the contrary the seal from the temple repositories is not regarded as a simplification of the so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' seal, but on the other hand this latter as a later development, enlarged by the accretion of new features. I venture to think that already the chronology is a proof of the view that the simpler forms are the earlier. The seal impressions from the temple repositories are dated to Middle Minoan III, while the 'Mother of the Mountains' seal belongs to Late Minoan II. There is nothing in the new features which is not again and again paralleled in Minoan glyptic art: the shrine and the votary, seen on a series of seals, the heraldic scheme so popular in the Late Minoan period. The heraldic pose of the lions was substituted in accordance with the artistic taste of the age for the one lion accompanying the goddess on the seal of Middle Minoan III date, a period in which the heraldic scheme was unknown. That the so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' is standing on a rocky peak or a heap of stones is regarded as a chief point; it is very natural for a goddess of wild nature, and rocky scenery was a favourite subject already in Middle Minoan II¹ and afterwards as well on Late Minoan gems. The glass plaques from Mycenae show daemons pouring out libations on to sacred cairns. There is nothing in the so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' seal which cannot be accounted for by Minoan art and religion.

The name 'Mother of the Mountains' has taken, however, a powerful hold on the modern imagination. It is justified in so far as the goddess is perhaps standing on a rocky peak, which for all that may quite well be a pile of stones, or a cairn. Whether the name 'Mother' is permissible needs proving. But mountains and lions so vividly recalled the Great Mother of Asia Minor, who was venerated on mountain peaks and was named Dindymene, Sipyrene, etc. after the different mountains, and drawn or guarded by lions, that both were identified without the slightest hesitation; and from this identification a

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 671.

conclusion as to the religious and ethnological identity of the Minoans and the population of Asia Minor was inferred. It appears that this conclusion is groundless if the so-called 'Mother of the Mountains' seal in reality shows only a Minoan Mistress of Animals; and there is positive evidence for this view, for the goddess is armed with the spear, and the spear is an attribute appropriate to a hunting goddess, not to the Magna Mater who never carries it.

The view here advanced implies neither a questioning of the Oriental influence nor a denial of the racial affinity of the Minoans and some of the peoples in Western Asia Minor nor of the connexion between the Minoan goddess and the Magna Mater. The Oriental influence was discussed in the preceding chapter, and it was stated to be certain, although all too little known in details. But it affects the form alone. This is not surprising. The monuments show that Egyptian influence was much stronger from a very early age and still more lasting; it introduced the sistrum and the *ankh* into the cult, but there is no trace of any Egyptian god or type of a god introduced into the Minoan world, unless we admit the very questionable derivation of the Minoan daemons from the Hippopotamus goddess, Ta-urt. The Minoans took over the artistic forms, though remodelling them in the process; but the content is purely Minoan. In religion also the Minoans display their fresh and vigorous originality.

The racial affinity between the Minoans and some peoples of Western Asia Minor is probable, but must be demonstrated by other arguments; and while a racial affinity implies a certain affinity in religion, it by no means implies identity. Civilization developed in very different ways in Crete and in Asia Minor; even Mycenaean remains are strikingly scarce on the Asiatic coast. The high road of the Minoans went along the Southern coast of Asia Minor and Syria to Egypt, not to the neighbouring Western shore of Asia Minor. Gods also have their history and are subject to change, and a primitive deity may, if we presuppose a common origin, have developed in different ways during the second millenium B. C. in Crete and in Asia Minor, where except as regards the Hittite gods our know-

ledge is confined to those of a much later age. It may well be that the Minoan Mistress of Animals and the Magna Mater of Asia Minor are kindred and derived from a common origin, but when the Magna Mater crystallized into those forms in which we recognize her is unknown. It has been remarked above, first, that it is very doubtful whether we are justified in using inferences drawn from Hittite religion when expounding Minoan religion; and secondly, that the Hittite influence in Western Asia Minor was less far-reaching than is usually supposed.

Analogy and the fascinating name of the Great Mother determine the views of most scholars; furthermore they all have in common a certain tendency to bring all representations of a female deity into a comprehensive formula and to apply them to one goddess only, although they disagree in naming this goddess. Some consider her to be the Great Nature Goddess or the Great Mother, sometimes also known as the Lady of the Underworld; others call her by the name of Mother Earth, or put all these three names together. Whatever name is given to the goddess, there is a common feature, the wide significance of her name and the wide range of the functions ascribed to her. It is of course necessary to provide a very comprehensive formula if all the specialized features and functions shown by the representations are to be fused into the person of one and the same goddess, but it is very doubtful if this is the right way¹. An early religious stage always

¹ That this view has been almost universally accepted is especially due to the high authority of Sir Arthur Evans, but it appears from a personal letter that he regards this as a provisional formula and takes into consideration the probability that, in reality, the Minoans knew a plurality of gods. With his kind permission I am able to quote his words: "There is one explanatory observation about my own views, as described on p. 18 that I should like to make. I have always in mind the possibility that the Goddess who appears in so many relations in Minoan scenes and impersonations may cover what were really regarded as separate divinities with separate names — equivalent to Artemis, Rhea, Athena, Aphrodite, etc. But as a provisional procedure it is convenient, in default of more definite knowledge, to treat the Goddess as essentially the same great Nature Goddess under various aspects, — celestial with the dove, chthonic with the snake, etc., etc." The passage

shows gods with more or less specialized functions covering only a part of the life of man or of Nature, and peoples in the stage of civilization reached by the Minoans always have a plurality of gods and goddesses. There is an *a priori* probability that the same was the case in Minoan Crete. A god or goddess may widen the circle of his or her functions; some already in their origin possess a function whose extension is easy and natural. But the progress of a deity to a wider function and significance, and still more to a wholly dominant position is the result of a lengthy development of civilization and religion. Nevertheless it happens in certain cases in an early religious stage that a deity prevails over the others but does not wholly oust them. And this must be assumed here, in order to suit the theory quoted, if the other premiss, which seems to be evident in the case of a nature religion, is also to be admitted, viz. that it started with a plurality of deities. The evolution logically assumed by those who believe in the Great Minoan Goddess, that she split up later into more specialized divinities, is certainly the inverse of the general religious development as known elsewhere.

Another view which seems more in touch with reality is hinted at by Professor Blinkenberg¹. He says that the use of names such as *Φάρασσα* and designations such as *Ἀθηναία*, *Lindia*, *Paphia*, etc. for the goddess, whose cult was handed down from the pre-Greeks to the Greeks, justifies the suggestion that the Mycenaean called their supreme goddess simply 'the Lady' (*Notre Dame*), without giving her a particular name. And he interprets *Ἥρα* as the Greek translation of this Mycenaean name².

referred to is the following from my *History of the Greek Religion*, p. 18: "There is a tendency to explain these figures along one particular line. Evans finds everywhere the great Nature Goddess with her paramour; Dussaud the chthonic goddess, Earth the Mother. It is tempting thus to reduce the explanation of the figures to a single formula, but in this simplification there is a risk of doing violence to the evidence. For it is very possible that the Minoans had a multitude of gods — indeed this is likely, to judge by other peoples with a similar or somewhat less developed culture."

¹ Blinkenberg, *Le temple de Paphos, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd.*, IX: 2, 1924, p. 29.

² Cf. below, p. 418, n. 4.

I think that this view is very probable, if it is restricted to the town goddesses or local goddesses who survived generally under the name of Athena in the Greek age. But there were also goddesses with other functions and other origins. If the principle were applied to the Mistress of Animals she would be called after e. g. different mountains, like the Magna Mater after Dindymon, Sipylos, etc. This implies, however, that there were various 'Ladies' with different functions, some protecting towns, others wild nature, etc. The facts are so meagre that we cannot do more than form hypotheses. At all events the most important task is to inquire into the functions of the deities as they are shown by the monuments.

In view of our knowledge of other nature religions we cannot but consider the views adopted by many distinguished scholars as a piece of syncretistic theology rather than as the appropriate method of approach to the religion of a people in a similar stage of civilization as e. g. the Babylonians and the Egyptians, and spiritually certainly less developed than those great peoples with their civilizations stretching back for thousands of years. In Egypt and in Babylonia also there was a syncretistic and systematizing theology, but it never went so far as the kind of monotheism¹ ascribed to the Minoans, and it was not a popular but a priestly wisdom and had only a slight effect on the monuments. Sound criticism cannot credit any of these peoples with a cult of a personified Supreme Principle, such as e. g. Dr Hogarth ascribes to the Minoans.

In summing up the evidence of the monuments concerning the Minoan deities, it will be safer not to fuse them into one all-embracing deity but to distinguish them according to the characteristics given by the monuments. Accordingly our best method will be to begin the discussion without any preconceived opinion, and to start from the various special characteristics without trying to fuse them into one formula².

¹ Hogarth in his article, *Aegean Religion*, in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religions and Ethics*, I, p. 143, uses the actual expression 'Dual Monotheism'. What the dualism is will be shown below, p. 345.

² With regard to the general views on the development of the gods expressed here cf. my *History of the Greek Religion*, ch. IV.

In the small sanctuaries in the houses and palaces the bell-shaped idols are found whose attributes are the snake and the bird. We have demonstrated already that the bird is the general type of an epiphany of a deity and consequently does not permit us to draw any conclusions as to the nature of the deity. It is quite another matter when the birds are arranged on each side of the goddess in the antithetic group or when she grasps them by their necks; then they are characteristic attributes and these representations evidently belong to the Mistress of Animals type. The attribute really characteristic of the domestic goddess is the snake. It is asserted that the snake denotes her as the Mistress of the Souls, and as the souls and the chthonic deities are held to be the givers of fertility, this goddess is fused in the Great Mother, who is also supposed to appear in the Minoan world as the Lady of the Underworld. This fusion is, however, unparalleled. There is reason to think that the very wide-spread parallel of the domestic cult of the house snake, here appearing in anthropomorphic guise as the cult of a goddess whose attribute is the snake, will suit the facts much better than the over-intellectualised interpretation just mentioned. The snake goddess is only known through her idols and shrines; she does not appear in the representations on gems and seals, etc.; and in fact the monuments provide no justification whatever for fusing her with any other goddess.

Best known among the other goddesses¹ is the one represented by the two gold leaves found by Schliemann in the IIIrd shaft grave at Mycenae, a nude woman with birds. On both

¹ I can only in a note briefly mention the last discovery of a Minoan goddess, which is said to have been found some distance east of Candia, and was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; see *The Times*, Febr. 6th, 1926, and *Ill. London News*, Febr. 13th, 1926. The goddess is standing erect and wears a wide skirt with pleated flounces, over the upper part of which there is a short apron, a bodice with short sleeves, and on her head a three-tiered cap of a conical form. This idol is unique in two respects, namely that the goddess holds or presses her breasts and that it is made of marble, this material elsewhere only being used for idols of the Cycladic type. A discussion must be put off until Mr Wace's publication has appeared.

representations she has a bird on her head, and on one she has also a bird attached to each elbow. This leaf shows the heads of two nails with which it was attached to some object, and the other six holes for attachment¹. Consequently their cult significance is somewhat doubtful. The birds being taken for doves, these nude female figures were formerly thought to be representations of Aphrodite; but we do not know how early Aphrodite immigrated into the Greek world. The nudity is, however, very remarkable, and since the cessation of the nude idols of the Early Minoan and Cycladic age is unparalleled in Minoan-Mycenaean civilization, except for the nude idol enthroned from Delphi². The numerous Minoan representations of goddesses invariably show them as clad in the usual dress or in the bell-shaped skirt. In these circumstances we probably ought to suppose a foreign, viz. Oriental influence³.

Of the goddesses depicted on the monuments two are specifically characterized, the palladium-like goddess armed with a shield, on the painted limestone tablet from Mycenae, and the goddess seated in a ship, on the ring from Mochlos⁴. Here are a war-goddess and a goddess under whose care are ships and sea-faring, — both very special functions, sometimes adopted by deities with other functions, but quite inappropriate to the Great Mother. There are, moreover, excellent reasons why the sea-faring Minoans should have a goddess of navigation, and the war-like Mycenaeans a goddess of war.

These two very specialized goddesses each occur in a single instance only; on the other hand, the goddess distinguished under the name of Mistress of Animals is represented very frequently and in varying types. We see her spear in hand accompanied by a lion, or testifying her power and nature by holding an animal erect or shooting with a bow. For this simple type is substituted the antithetic group of the

¹ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 209, figs. 267 and 268.

² Above, p. 262, fig. 82.

³ To assume with Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27, that the nude goddess came to Cyprus from the Mycenaean world seems to be an inversion of the facts, for she is extremely rare there but common in the Orient, with which many connexions already existed in this period.

⁴ Above, pp. 298 and 302 respectively.

heraldic scheme according to the artistic taste of the Late Minoan age. The animals which are her guardians, or over which she exerts her power, are most frequently lions and the fabulous monsters imported from the Orient, sphinxes and griffins, but she appears also with big long-necked birds; indeed, her realm is the whole kingdom of animals. There appears also, though less frequently, a Master of Animals, armed with shield and spear and accompanied by a lion; he also is seen later in the heraldic scheme. Both originate in the primeval belief in Nature daemons, which still retain something of their primitive nature in their half human, half bestial shapes, and seldom appear as deities, or Masters of Animals, though commonly as servants of the gods and ministers of their cult.

Another important cult, to some extent kindred though by no means identical with the activities of the last-named deities, is the tree cult. The forms of this cult are such that they can persist and have persisted through the ages without being embodied in anthropomorphic deities. That this was the case also in the Minoan age is evident from the sacred boughs often depicted in cult scenes, but it is also evident that an anthropomorphic goddess had developed from the tree cult. Her epiphany is beyond doubt recognizable in some tree-cult scenes, e. g. on the great gold ring from Mycenae and on the gold ring from Candia published here.

But a word of caution must be added. No single cult form has penetrated the whole cult to such an extent as the tree cult has in most religions. Among a great many peoples, certainly among all European peoples, the gods have their abodes in holy groves, and sacred boughs appear everywhere in all cult ceremonies. If a sacred tree or bough appears in a cult scene, we are not thereby immediately justified in concluding that it is a scene of the tree cult or that the god is a deity of the tree cult, unless there are some accessory indications, such as the touching of the boughs of the tree on both the above-mentioned rings. This detail allows us to infer that the woman seated beneath the tree, holding poppy heads in her hand, and approached by votaries, on the ring from Mycenae, and the goddess whose epiphany is depicted on the ring from Candia are true goddesses

of the tree cult. There is of course a close connexion between the Goddess of the tree cult and the Mistress of Animals, both being Nature goddesses, so that it would not be unnatural to regard them as forms of the same deity. It may further be alleged that the daemons often appear as ministers of the tree cult tending the sacred boughs; they are never seen, however, in other scenes of the tree cult, perhaps because these represent cult scenes in which men partake. To begin with, it may be more prudent to make a distinction between the two goddesses, but we must not overlook the fact that Nature deities in the Minoan age were still apparently in an evolutionary stage which admitted a greater latitude of expression than was possible afterwards, when the fluctuating shapes of the deities had begun to harden and to settle in one uniform type.

This question is very interesting, because it is connected with an attitude towards the development of the gods traceable in the Minoan images. But for the Minoan religion itself there is another question of still greater importance, the question of the presence of male gods in certain representations. Except for the Master of Animals male gods are surprisingly rare; and even he appears on the whole less frequently than the corresponding female deity; he occurs especially in the heraldic scheme. Other representations, at least the indisputable ones, may be counted on the fingers of one hand. Male cult idols are absent; there is no evidence whatever for the assumption that some of the bronze statuettes of men are to be thus described¹. These representations are²: the small descending figure with a shield and spear on the great gold ring from Mycenae (if it is male); the descending figure with a bow on the gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum; the descending figure with a spear on the gold ring from Knossos; the figure with the shield on the sarcophagus from Milato, if he is rightly interpreted as a god; the god standing between the horns of consecration on the gem from Kydonia; and the man with a spear partaking in the *sacra conversazione* on the gold ring from

¹ This suggestion of Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 124, seems to have been tacitly abandoned.

² Cf. above, pp. 296.

Mycenae, if it be sacred at all. We may also recall the god accompanied by a lion and armed with shield and spear on the Knossian seal and the god with a bow on that from H. Triada¹.

I have already stated my reasons why the god in the two last-quoted instances and on the gem from Kydonia is to be taken as the Master of Animals. In the other instances where a male god occurs, except in the very doubtful so-called *sacra conversazione*, he is represented as descending through the air, armed with spear, or bow, or shield and spear, and, except on the sarcophagus from Milato, if that figure is to be called a god, always on a small scale. This is remarkable, for the much more frequently occurring goddess is only once represented on a small scale as descending, namely, on the gold ring from Isopata, to which we must add the seal impression from Zakro, showing perhaps a bell-shaped idol, but at all events a goddess descending.

The usual interpretation of these scenes is based on the cult and myths of the Magna Mater conceived as the Great Mother of Nature, at whose side stands a mortal consort, her son or paramour, who dies and is lamented but revives again, and whose epiphany is celebrated with joyous festivals. A similar pair are the Semitic gods, Ishtar and Tammuz. Here it is said that we recognize the very cardinal point of the Minoan religion. It may be given in the short formula of Dr Hogarth already referred to²: "They personified the Supreme Principle as a woman to whom was subordinate a young male, less in honour and probably later in time. There is no evidence for more deities than these. The religion was what may be called a Dual Monotheism". This formula is also applied to the Minoan cult symbols. Sir A. Evans speaks³ of a dual pillar worship, and says that the tall column on the gold ring from Knossos with the descending god represents the male form of the aniconic image and the small column the female form of the divinity. It is moreover suggested that the reduplication of the blades of the double axe, which

¹ Cf. above, pp. 309, 302, 306.

² Above, p. 339, n. 1.

³ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 169.

above ¹ was taken to be purely ornamental, may stand for the divine pair, a solar and a lunar divinity ². Dr Hogarth styles the dual axe a fetish of the bi-sexual god ³, adding still another trait taken from the Oriental deities, namely androgynism ⁴. In his last great work Sir Arthur Evans interprets the full-sized female figure on the ring from Knossos as the Minoan Mother Goddess bringing down the warrior youth, either her son or her paramour, in front of his sacred pillar ⁵. On another gold ring from Mycenae ⁶ he finds the goddess mourning for her youthful consort, and he proceeds to describe the baetyl as a tombstone, the ideas of the aniconic image and of the sepulchral monument having coalesced. The so-called *sacra conversazione* is taken to represent the warrior god and his consort, or per-

¹ Above, p. 169, n. 5.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.

³ Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. He goes so far as to interpret the sign resembling a triangle with a shaft which appears on some gems and seals (see above, p. 195) as a *phallus* in connexion with a *vulva*. Here it should be emphatically stated that no phallic emblems are ever found in Minoan-Mycenaean art and religion, a most notable fact in view of their frequent occurrence in other religions and above all in Greece. The idea that some male statuettes are phallic is generally recognized as erroneous, and the more frequently repeated assertion that the men in the procession on the Harvesters' vase from H. Triada have *phalloi* has no better foundation. Even Dr Hammarström in the most recent attempt to explain its representation (*Ein minoischer Fruchtbarkeitszauber, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, III, 1922, p. 12) does not venture to suppose that the men have *phalloi*, although such a supposition would well agree with his interpretation, the gist of which is seen from the title of his paper. He compares the walking round of gardens and fields with a magic purpose, which is known from classical antiquity and modern times (*Flurumgang*); he observes that noise-making was common in these customs and compares this with the fact that some of the persons on the vase — women, he thinks — are singing. The interpretation is clever but a little hazardous. There is nothing in the representation to prove that the procession was of the said kind, and in my opinion the singing persons give the impression of a regular singing chorus rather than a noise-making company. I think that the commonly accepted name, viz. a harvesters' procession, is correct, but that it is impossible to get a detailed understanding of the religious ideas which may underlie it.

⁴ Cf. Margaret O. Waites, *The Deities of the Sacred Axe, Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, XXVII, 1923, 25.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 159.

⁶ See above, pp. 220 and 237 sq.

haps more properly in the inverted order, the Great Goddess and her youthful consort.

A part of the ideas and rites underlying the Oriental religions of the Magna Mater — Attis, Ishtar — Tammuz, Aphrodite — Adonis is the sacred wedding, known in Greece as the *ἑρὸς γάμος*, and in our oldest source, Homer, confined to Crete in the myth of Demeter and Iasion; the rite underlying this myth is designed to promote the fertility of Nature and especially of the fields, but this simple rite and idea were developed into a great complex through the idea of the decay and revival of Nature, especially of vegetation. This idea has taken shape in the dying and reviving god and in the separation and reuniting of the Goddess of the Fertility of Nature and her male consort, who consequently takes a subordinate position as her son or paramour.

These ideas are of such general occurrence that it would not be at all surprising to find them among the Minoan people also. It is very probable that in a religion where the tree cult had such an importance certain rites accompanied the decay and the revival of Nature; we have noted as probable¹ that a gold ring from Mycenae represents such a cult scene, and we shall later try to find traces of such rites. It would not be surprising either if the sacred marriage were known in the Minoan age. Both these rites and the ideas in which they originate are, however, known to have existed among many peoples without having coalesced in that complex scheme of rites and myths represented by the pairs, Magna Mater and Attis, and Ishtar and Tammuz. The cardinal question is whether we are justified in applying this scheme to Minoan religion. Even a racial affinity between the Minoans and the peoples of Western Asia Minor, who venerated the Magna Mater and Attis in historical times, is no sufficient proof of identity with regard to so complicated a religious form. The transmission of just these religious ideas and the rites connected with them is perhaps the more probable hypothesis, but here we are groping in the dark and must take into account the independence of the Minoan genius, which even when borrowing foreign forms fills them

¹ Above, p. 238.

with its own native content, as was remarked above concerning the relations of Minoan culture and religion to Egypt and Egyptian religion.

To the same ideas others give a turn which is more in accordance with Greek religion. The Great Goddess is a chthonic goddess as well as the Mistress of Animals and Wild Nature; she is Mother Earth. The birds are her celestial messengers, and she is associated with a celestial god, the Lord of the atmospheric phenomena, whose symbols are the double axe and the shield, a precursor of the Greek Zeus¹. Or, to quote Miss Williams²: The Earth Goddess is recognized already in the steatopygous neolithic idols. Later she appears accompanied by snakes which chiefly testify her underworld associations. Cows and goats suckling their young, flowers, fruits, shells, and flying fish were found with her, perhaps as offerings of first fruits, perhaps merely as decorations suggestive of the different gifts of the Earth Goddess, the mother of all, and of her functions in connection with the production of life and the nourishment of all young things. May not the doves symbolize her connection with the upper air, the cause of her fertility? She had another and fiercer aspect as goddess of the hunt and the wild things, the *πότνια θηρῶν*, guarded by lions and worshipped as a Mountain Goddess. Representations of the Earth Goddess having been found, all preconceived notions lead to the expectation of finding a god as her consort. The male deity is, however, of rare occurrence and his position is a distinctly inferior one. His advent is late, and he may indicate that already the northern influence of the Achaeans was causing their god to be accepted by the Minoans, though always as subordinate to the indigenous goddess.

Our best method will be to interpret the monuments without preconceived ideas, even upon such subjects as these tempting connexions. Sir Arthur Evans assumes that the full-sized woman on the gold ring from Knossos is the Great Mother causing her consort to descend. The figure is, how-

¹ H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèbe*, pp. 2.

² In *Gournia*, pp. 51; I have abridged the passage a little.

ever, in all probability a votary, and was so interpreted above in agreement with other scholars; it was conjectured that the tall column was destined to support a double axe¹, and it was supposed that the small column appearing in the doorway was a baetyl. In reality we cannot read more into this representation without introducing ideas from without. Because it remained unpublished, the gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum has not been appreciated by scholars, but here also there is no reason to suppose that either the kneeling or the dancing woman is a goddess. The figure on the sarcophagus from Milato is unique and does not give sufficient starting points for a closer interpretation. I have already expressed the opinion that the so-called *sacra conversazione* is an entirely secular scene. There remains the great gold ring from Mycenae. Here and here alone we have both a goddess and a god. The goddess is a goddess of the tree cult seated beneath her holy tree, the double axe hovers in the air, and the god descends through the air armed with a shield, if indeed it is a god and not a goddess. But it is improbable that he is the male consort of the goddess descending to reunite himself with her. The attention of the goddess is directed towards the votaries approaching her, not to the descending god. The celestial symbols, of which an account will shortly be given, indicate that the scene is a kind of Minoan Pantheon, and there is really no reason why two deities should not appear in such a scene without their being so intimately connected as the hypothesis of the Great Goddess and her male consort presupposes.

It is a distinctive feature of the male god that he is armed, with bow, spear, or even shield. He is therefore supposed to be a warrior god, but attention has been called to the fact that wherever a male god appears full-sized he is always accompanied by an animal, even if he is armed, and this associates him with the Master of Animals, of whose cult the gem from Kydonia gives most important evidence. The same weapons, shield and spear, not to mention the bow, were used in hunting as in war. Consequently we must ask whether the

¹ E. g. Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 376; above, p. 220.

descending armed god is a warrior god or the Master of Animals in his guise of a hunting god. This implies a discussion of hoplolatry, the cult of gods impersonated in a weapon, or rather, fetishes in the form of a weapon, which is ascribed by some scholars to the Minoans.

First we must note the curious fact that among the Minoans this cult is not concerned with the offensive weapons, the spear, the dagger, or the sword, but solely with the protecting armour, the shield. The sacredness of the shield and its cult has been a favourite topic since the first discoveries of Mycenaean remains. No doubt this depends largely on the fact that a line of evolution was traced, which was in accordance with a widely accepted view concerning the development of the gods in primitive religions and with the fact that some peoples are known actually to have venerated weapons in the place of gods. The shield is made into an anthropomorphic figure in a very simple manner by adding legs, arms, and a head, recalling certain Egyptian figures.

Professor Gardner heads the list. He collected in 1893 the examples of shields, and put forward the view that the armed image on the painted tablet from Mycenae was a palladium and the shield a symbol or abbreviation of the armed deity¹. In 1901, when still more instances had been discovered, Sir Arthur Evans judged it possible that the Mycenaean shield itself, which so often appears as a symbol in the fields of gems and signets, may at times represent like the double axe the aniconic embodiment of the divinity or departed hero². Dr Girard proceeded to show that Aias Telamonios originated in the Sacred Pillar, and that he was the Lord of the Pillar appearing on the gold ring from Knossos. He recognized the same god in the shield-bearing figures and his symbols in the small shields discovered in several places; the figure on the great gold ring from Mycenae is, so to speak, the Pillar clad in the shield, through which its rigidity is transparent, and furthermore provided with legs, a head, and an arm. The pillar and the shield are one, the pillar having changed into a living

¹ E. Gardner, *Palladia from Mycenae*, *JHS*, XIII, 1893, pp. 21.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 122.

being¹. In a very acute paper, in which all sorts of evidence is brought together, A. J. Reinach developed this idea². He observes that the palladium is said to have fallen down from the heavens, and asserts that a tribe who thought that thunder was the noise of the celestial shields represented the palladium by a shield, referring to the legend of the Roman *ancilia* and the Trojan palladium. Besides these shields which protected the whole tribe, the individuals procured for themselves, he says, the protecting images of the shields; hence the great number of such shields which is found. The shield attached to a pillar became arms and wings, the palladium was transformed into Pallas. He recognizes such shield-shaped palladia even in some early idols, which are taken by others to be a conventionalized reproduction of the human shape. Finally Professor Blinkenberg, selecting the substantial parts of the theory of hoplolatry gave a sketch of the evolution of the Mycenaean religion³. The Mycenaean, he thinks, venerated the celestial powers not in human shape but in objects, the Sun and the Moon directly in the celestial bodies, lightning in the double axe. The shield belongs to the same category. When figured on the works of art it has an apotropaic value, and its personification is seen on the monuments already mentioned⁴.

¹ P. Girard, *Ajax, fils de Télamon*, *Rev. des études grecques*, XVIII 1905, pp. 1.

² A. J. Reinach, *Itanos et 'l'inventio scuti'*, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LX, 1909, pp. 161, 309, and especially pp. 319, and LXI, 1910, pp. 197.

³ Blinkenberg, *Kretisk Seglring, Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1920, pp. 315.

⁴ I think it fair to quote the Greek examples: the spear venerated at Chaeronea and said to be the sceptre of Zeus, Paus. IX, 40, 11 sq.; the legend told of Kaineus that he venerated his spear and forced others to do so, *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.*, I, 57; *Schol. Ilias*, I, 264 and Eustathius *ad locum*. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 547, n. 2. Alexander of Pherae consecrated the spear with which he killed his uncle Polyphron, decked it with wreaths, and sacrificed to it as if it were a god under the name of Tychon, Plut., *Pelop.*, 29; cf. Schwenn, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XX, 1924, pp. 299. Instances from other peoples are collected by Frazer in his *Commentary on Pausanias*; see his notes on the above-quoted passage. It is, however, a notable fact that those weapons to which worship was paid are always offensive wea-

I have recorded the theories expressed by various scholars at some length, because the question is of great importance for our conception of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion as a whole. To test them we must review the occurrence of shields among and on the monuments. I give a list below¹. There

pons, spears and swords, and that, as far as I am aware, not a single instance of a shield thus venerated is mentioned. This does not, however, seem very difficult to understand. The Roman *ancilia* occur in a different context. They are the sacred weapons used in the spring ceremony preparatory to war and in the purgatory ceremonies in autumn after the war; see Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 58, and Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., p. 144.

¹ A. *Separate shields* found usually, but not exclusively, in tombs; at Mycenae, both by Schliemann and by Tsoundas; at Spata; and on the Acropolis of Athens, of ivory, faïence, and glass; Gardner, *JHS*, XIII, 1893, p. 22, figs. 5—8; Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 124, fig. 171.

B. *Ornamental*. Lid of ivory casket from a tomb at Zafer Papoura, decorated with a great number of larger and smaller shields, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1905, p. 434, fig. 41. Frieze consisting of shields from Tiryns, *Tiryns*, II, pl. V. Axe with a shield on side from Vaphio, *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pl. VIII, 2. Miniature faïence bowl from Knossos with four coins decorated with shields, *BSA*, IX, p. 72, fig. 49. Necklace from Enkomi, Reichel, *Hom. Waffen*, 2nd ed., p. 3, fig. 8. The silver vase from shaft grave IV, *ibid.*, p. 13, fig. 17.

C. *Rings, gems, seal impressions*. a. Gold ring with tree-cult scene from Vaphio, on the ground shield seen in profile with 'cuirass', see above, p. 236. The ring in Copenhagen, see above, p. 241, fig. 77. Three women, at the left edge and between the heads of the two to the left a shield, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LXI, 1910, p. 232, fig. 28. b. Antithetic group of seated lions and column, behind the back of each a shield, *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 100. Ditto of bulls with one common head, above, a shield, *Delt. arch.*, IV, 1918, pl. V, 2. A man, two bulls, above their backs a shield, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 23. Monster with human legs and the upper parts of two animals; between the legs a shield, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 41. Monster, lower part man, upper part *agrîmi*, behind its back a shield, *loc. cit.*, II, 40. Bull, beneath its belly and above its hindquarter a shield, *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pl. X, 28. Bull and palm tree; beneath its belly stands a shield, Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. III, 51. Lioness suckling a cub; above her back a shield, *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 89. Five towers of ashlar masonry, three shields, on a seal impression from Zakro, *JHS*, XXII, 1902, p. 88, fig. 29. Building (there is no evidence that it is a shrine), and two shields, *loc. cit.*, fig. 30. Representations of warriors and hunters armed with shields are of course left out. Among these must also be counted the seal impression *BSA*, VIII, p. 77, fig. 41.

is not a single instance in which the shield appears, like the double axe or the bough, in such manifest connexion with a cult scene as to give indisputable proof of its existence as a cult object. The shield occurs in fact only rarely in cult scenes. The Vaphio ring shows a tree-cult scene¹. This is the one and only instance in which the shield appears in profile and full-sized; on it is placed a 'cuirass' or knot. The real meaning of the shield is uncertain, but the scene by no means gives the impression that the shield plays a part in the cult ceremonies performed or that it is the object of a cult. We see two shields on the ring in Copenhagen, if this is reliable evidence, but they are not heeded by the figures; Professor Blinkenberg says that the men have laid down their shields on the ground; if this is so, they are the usual armour and not sacred symbols or cult objects. A. J. Reinach² interprets the gem showing three women and three shields as a sacred dance of women corresponding to the Roman *Saliae virgines* around shield fetishes. If the Roman analogy holds good, it only shows that some war ceremonies were performed by women, which is known among the Greeks and many primitive peoples besides³, and that in these ceremonies shields were used. Even if they may be sacred *ancilia*, they are not so much fetishes or cult objects as cult implements. But the interpretation is questionable; the shields may be ornamental as they are in so many other cases.

Of all the other gems with shields there is then not one with a cult scene. They show antithetic groups, animals, and monsters, and these cannot prove that a shield added to the representation is a cult object. The evidence, on the ground of which the shields are asserted to be cult objects, is very slight and dubious. They may be a purely decorative addition, just as the shields on the frieze from Tiryns and those on the ivory lid from Zafer Papoura are merely ornamental. To find an apotropaic meaning, e. g. in the frieze from Tiryns, is without doubt going too far. These

¹ Cf. above, p. 236.

² *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LXI, 1910, p. 232.

³ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, p. 403.

representations and the separate shields found in great numbers show that shields were a favourite decorative theme; hence they were used on gems also to fill an empty space. That they do not appear on ceramics is in accordance with the principle of Minoan art which made a clear distinction between the decorative motifs of vessels and other objects.

Consequently the evidence is not sufficient for the assumption that the shield was a cult object in the Minoan age and that it was anthropomorphized and became a war goddess. Neither is the assumption necessary in order to explain the existence of armed gods. Arms are appropriate to all war gods and hunters' gods. We must return to the question whether the armed god discussed here is a war god or a hunters' god, for, as noted above, the same weapons were used both in war and in the chase. The god armed with spear and shield on the Knossian seal and with a bow on that from H. Triada, and in both cases accompanied by a lion, cannot be separated from the series representing the Master of Animals. The god descending with a spear in his hand on the gold ring from Knossos appears before a sanctuary of the tree cult, and the great gold ring from Mycenae showing the god descending, armed with shield and spear, is the best piece of evidence for the tree cult. The scene on the ring in the Ashmolean Museum with the epiphany of a god armed with a bow has none of the usual characteristics of the tree cult, but represents a cult scene of an ecstatic character. The connexion in which the armed god appears seems clearly to indicate that he is the Master of Animals in the guise of a hunting god, as he certainly is on the two first-mentioned seals; for the affinity between the Master of Animals and the tree cult is obvious. The Minoan artists were quite able to characterize clearly a war god and they would no doubt have done so if they had intended to represent such a god. There is only one deity which may be recognized as a deity of war, and this is female, the goddess on the painted limestone tablet from Mycenae.

One point also deserves attention in this connexion, the peaceable disposition of the Minoan people. It would be an

overstatement to deny on such grounds that the Minoans had war gods, for wars and battles no doubt occurred among them. I noted some years ago that representations of war and hunting are relatively seldom found in Crete but very frequently on the mainland¹, and this point was also brought forward by Professor Rodenwaldt². The absence of fortifications round the Cretan towns and the massive walls of the Mycenaean sites on the mainland testify the difference, although these are later in date. The Minoans were acquainted with war, and also with hunting, but did not delight in it as the noblest of all sports. As they had a god who was the Master of Animals, it was quite natural that he should at times appear also as a hunting god. It seems, however, quite doubtful whether they ever represented a war god. The Mycenaeans loved war and the chase: battles and hunting scenes appear very often on gems and other objects found on the mainland and on wall paintings from Tiryns and Mycenae. The age was such that a war deity was sorely needed. And if there was not already one, they created one, which they depicted on the tablet from Mycenae. This is why I am a little doubtful whether the descending figure on the great gold ring from Mycenae may not also be the war goddess. It very much resembles the figure on the tablet, and the ring may have been executed by order and according to the wishes of a Mycenaean prince. It certainly looks as if the scene represented here were intended for a kind of Pantheon, and therefore it may be said that a war goddess can appear side by side with a goddess of the tree cult. In addition to these there are the cosmic symbols. But I am fully aware of the great uncertainty of the matter.

To sum up, we have recognized two parallel gods, one male and one female, both derived from Nature daemons, Lords over the wild animals and therefore also hunting gods. Of their mutual relations we know nothing more than that they were parallel in character; they did not represent different aspects of the same cycle of ideas like the Great Mother and her consort.

One very interesting and very difficult question of Mi-

¹ In a paper in the Swedish periodical *Ymer*, 1918, pp. 50.

² Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, pp. 52.

noan religion still remains, namely the cult of the Heavenly bodies. That these formed a component part of Minoan religious belief is evident from the great gold ring from Mycenae. Near its upper edge appear the sun as a rayed disc and the moon sickle, and beneath them two parallel and somewhat undulating lines forming the segment of a circle which encloses them. The latter is certainly a celestial phenomenon, but is variously interpreted as the Milky Way or the rainbow. The corresponding representation on the great gold ring from Tiryns is distinctly curious¹. The upper part forms a kind of exergue, separated off by an undulating line, and is sprinkled with small dots or points, perhaps meant to represent the stars. In the centre there is a six-spoked wheel, with the spokes projecting a little beyond the ring, viz. the sun. On each side there are two boughs and between those on the left the moon sickle, lying with its horns pointing downwards.

The sun and the moon had a place in the religious ideas of the Minoans, but these representations are not sufficient to prove that they also had a cult. For although the sun and the moon are very prominent gods in the cults of some peoples there are others among whom they are chiefly cosmic and mythological gods or at most have a very insignificant cult. So it was e. g. in classical Greece. Although the sun god and the moon goddess are very often represented in sculptures and paintings, their cult was very rare, and where it was more important, e. g. at Rhodes, it had been imported from the Orient. The Heavenly bodies were in the genuine Greek religion mythological gods, but not cult gods. This is ultimately due to their origin in myths designed to explain the creation and constitution of the universe. Most peoples have such myths and deities which are cosmogonic personages but not cult gods, even, for example, the Egyptians, among whom the cosmic gods had generally no cult, although the sun god himself was the highest power of all². The difference between cult gods and mythological gods is of the greatest importance in

¹ See above, p. 125, fig. 26.

² This is the statement of Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, 2, 3rd ed., p. 94.

the history of religions; for instance, the monotheistic hypothesis of Andrew Lang breaks down because of the mythological character of the Creator of primitive peoples. I cannot develop this at length here, but must be content with these brief indications to state the nature of the problem.

We have to examine the monuments which represent or are thought to represent the Heavenly bodies. With regard to the moon there is, besides the two rings I have mentioned, the bronze tablet from the cave of Psychro, and the mould from Palaikastro, only one more example in which it is recognized, the gem from Ligortyno showing a votary before a sanctuary with a tree¹. In the lower angle formed by what may be described as the portal and the superstructure of the edifice, which may be a shrine, a big moon sickle appears lying on its back. Sir Arthur Evans thinks that it connects the cult with a lunar divinity. It is, however, a most surprising place for the moon, and better evidence for the cult of the moon is wanting. The crescent is perhaps not to be taken for the moon, but for some other ornamental object².

The disc or orb of the sun recurs more often. The most important representations have been mentioned³; to these must be added a bead seal from the great hoard from Thisbe with the Mistress of Animals holding two large long-necked birds with a star on one side and a small orb, the sun, on the other side of her head⁴; and perhaps the seal impression from Knossos⁵ showing a votary holding out a two-handled cup to a seated goddess. The rayed circle with small points which is taken to be the sun is, however, immediately above the cup and this is not its most appropriate place. There is moreover a similar, only a little larger circle before the knee of the votary. These circles were wrought with the tube-borer. The Minoan gem-engravers were so fond of this tool that they

¹ See above, pp. 150 and 231. The mould see below, p. 362; the bronze tablet above, p. 226.

² The crescent is a hieroglyphic sign, Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 222.

³ See above, pp. 300.

⁴ Evans, *The Ring of Nestor*, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 23, fig. 26 and pl. II, 5.

⁵ Described by Evans, *BSA*, VII, p. 19; cf. above, p. 302.

sometimes used deeply bored circles as mere ornaments, even when not altogether suitable¹. For this reason I cannot be positive that these circles are meant as representations of the sun; they may also be taken for wreaths, although these hardly occur elsewhere in Minoan art. They are most probably purely ornamental.

The sun is, however, represented not only as a disc but also as a small orb or dot from which rays project. A certain instance is shown on the small gold ring in Berlin². But on the other hand this manner of representing the sun gives rise to almost grotesque confusion, less impossible than it appears at a first glance, between the disc of the sun and a sea-urchin. A gold ring from Moni in Cyprus³ shows between two conventionalized trees a disc or ring with a dot in the centre and eight small projecting points and above this a dolphin. The disc is rightly interpreted as a sea-urchin. The animal is more naturalistically designed on a gem from Crete⁴, as an orb with a number of short lines radiating from it; above there is again a dolphin. One side of a three-sided seal⁵ shows a fish (?) and two similar sea-urchins, and a Middle Minoan III seal from Mochlos (fig. 101) shows one together with an octopus, a fish, and a dolphin⁶. On a late painted *larnax* from Palaikastro⁷ one panel shows in a frame of wavy lines a dolphin and two so-called stars,



FIG. 101. SEALSTONE FROM MOCHLOS.

¹ Instances may be seen e. g. in *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII and VIII, and very characteristically on the scarab with Minoan engravings in Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 199, fig. 147. On the Middle Minoan gem from Mochlos, fig. 101, the arms of the octopus are given as circles by means of the tube-borer; between the boughs on the gem in the British Museum, fig. 37, p. 146, there are two circles with a deep hole in the centre; they are absent on the other similar gem, fig. 38.

² Above, fig. 71, p. 229.

³ *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 65 and pl. III, 1.

⁴ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 94.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, 46 γ.

⁶ Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 22, fig. 6.

⁷ *BSA*, VIII, pl. XVIII and XIX.

one consisting of a smaller round disc in the centre and around this a star-like circle with eight triangular points, while the other is still more elaborate, another circle with fifteen triangular points encircling it. In addition to these there is a round disc encircled by two rows of dots. The frame-work suggests waves; we have a favourite subject from the sea, a dolphin and sea-urchins, although these are much conventionalized into some kind of star-like rosettes. The same motif recurring on a panel on the other side with a standing griffin cannot be interpreted otherwise, but it is to be noted that the original sense may have been forgotten and the motif transmitted only as a decorative one.

This circumstance renders doubtful the interpretation of the star-like rayed orb, which has some resemblance to the round disc of the sun, on certain gems. On a gem in the Museum of Candia precisely the same rayed orb is seen above a flower ¹ as that on the gem already mentioned; it is also seen on a gem in the same museum above two confronted lions resting their forelegs on an altar base ², and on a bead seal from H. Andonis near Goulas ³ above a bough by the side of the libation jug and an object resembling the *lituus* of the augurs. Sir A. Evans calls it a rayed sun, but this designation must be considered as doubtful. Similar stars or rayed orbs are seen on a gem from Crete in Berlin ⁴ beneath the head and the hind-legs of a dead animal carried by a daemon; on a gem in the museum of Candia on each side of a woman, who is apparently dancing with her hands on her waist ⁵; and on a gem with a man-stag from Knossos ⁶.

It would of course be a gross exaggeration to derive all similar star- or rosette-like motifs from the conventionalized sea-urchin. They are in reality a very simple motif of geometric origin,

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 95.

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 161, fig. 41; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. III, 22.

³ *JHS*, XLV, 1925, p. 20, fig. 21.

⁴ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 35.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 86.

⁶ *BSA*, VII, p. 19, fig. 7 b.

and dots and circles are especially suited to glyptic art on account of the tools used. In this light one may regard a gem in the museum of Candia showing a circle with a dot in the centre and around it a circle of round dots connected with the former by short oblique lines, a second where a central dot is encircled by dots connected with it by longer curving lines, and a third where a similar design is encircled by an ornamental band with transverse lines¹. The origin may be found in the concentric circles with a dot in the centre appearing on several gems on the same plates of the *Ephemeris archaiologike*.

Thus it is very doubtful if the star-like and rayed hieroglyphic signs, similar to the designs treated here, represent the sun or stars². If they do they are at least in part so conventionalized that their original sense is forgotten. I am consequently unable to believe that



FIG. 102. VASE FRAGMENT FROM MYCENAE.

the rosettes consisting of a rayed circle surrounded by an outer circle on a wall painting found in the 13th magazine at Knossos and those decorating the bottom of draughtsmen from Knossos are anything other but merely decorative. The similar motifs of the inlaid gaming board and the lid of a wooden box must be termed rosettes in the strict sense³.

¹ *Eph. arch.*, 1907, pl. VII, 92; VIII, 137; VI, 30; a gem very similar to the first-quoted was found in the IVth shaft grave of Mycenae, Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 233, fig. 314.

² Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 221.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 478, figs. 342—346, the last without doubt being fragments of a similar draught-board from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae.

FIG. 103. VASE FRAGMENTS FROM MYCENAE.



In these circumstances it seems rather rash to recognize the sun in a design repeated at least twice on a vase fragment from Mycenae (fig. 102)¹. The interior consists of a four-spoked wheel, then there is one circle and another with a zig-zag line for its circumference and finally two outer circles. There are quite a lot of so-called sun symbols on the sherds from Mycenae (fig. 103)², four-spoked wheels of various types, concentric circles with a dot in the centre, rayed orbs, and rosettes. On some curious Late Mycenaean vases found in the Kalkani necropolis near Mycenae four-spoked wheels are very prominent³. A glance at this

collection of samples will be sufficient to show that these designs have a merely decorative nature and that even the chariot-wheel is used as a decorative motif. It would be of no use to collect the instances. Some of the many gold buttons from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae show a similar four-spoked design or a cross in a circle, others a star-like design, while from the IIIrd shaft-grave comes



FIG. 104. FOUR-SPOKED WHEEL-SHAPED ORNAMENT OF GOLD FROM MYCENAE.

a small four-spoked gold wheel (fig. 104), whose broad ring is ornamented by a spiraliform meander⁴. These designs are certainly not to be taken as anything more than purely ornamental. This being so, it is hardly possible to advocate any other interpretation of the so-called sun-disc on the mould from Palaikastro⁵. It is a four-spoked wheel, of which the spokes and the ring are ornamented by a row of dots, while a row of triangular points is added to the outer side of

¹ Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 390, fig. 288.

² Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXVIII.

³ Figured in the *Illustrated London News*, Febr. 24th, 1923.

⁴ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 304, figs. 414, 417, 419; p. 234, fig. 316.

⁵ *Eph. arch.*, 1900, pl. III, 1.

the ring; in the interior there is still another circle consisting of short transversal lines. Because the other figures on these moulds are of religious significance, such as horns of consecration and double axes, it does not follow that that is true of all the figures.

There is, however, on the same mould as this wheel-shaped ornament, and separated from it by a goddess holding a flower, still another figure which must be taken seriously into account when we are discussing the cult of the sun; it consists of a small figure, the body of which is covered by a large round disc ornamented with two circles of dots, while between them a large crescent is inserted, and in the centre a small cross with dots at the ends. Above the disc two arms appear and also a head of a singular skeleton-like appearance, and below it horizontally curving broad lines which cannot be the gate of the mould but must represent the skirt of a woman. Professor Karo called this figure a palladium¹, but then we should not expect a round shield, which is not Minoan. M. Dussaud asks if the disc may not represent the sun rising above the mountains². Sir A. Evans is of opinion that the figure is that of a votary holding up the solar symbol³. In fact it seems hardly possible to interpret it otherwise than as the orb of the sun, but the strange thing is the presence of the moon sickle in addition to the solar disc. It would be easy to build up astrological speculations on this fact, but I think they would be nothing more than a *jeu d'esprit*. What the meaning is must remain uncertain; but because the sun and the moon are placed together here, as on the rings showing the firmament with the celestial bodies, it is probable that the representation refers rather to some cosmic beliefs or myths than to an actual cult of the sun.

In the Minoan world there are consequently no certain traces of a cult of the Heavenly bodies; the evidence goes to show that they are represented in religious scenes much as the anthropomorphic Sun god and Moon goddess in Greek art,

¹ In *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, p. 147.

² Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 392.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 514.

e. g. in the west pediment of the Parthenon, viz. as the cosmological frame-work of the scene. This presupposes some cosmogonic myths or at least beliefs relating to the Heavenly bodies. It has been suggested that these cosmic images are derived from Babylonia¹, and there is of course an undeniable resemblance between the disc of the sun on the great gold ring from Mycenae and that on Babylonian monuments, e. g. the *kudurru*s. Although this influence is mostly denied, it is not incredible to my way of thinking, but it cannot be given any great importance. Such cosmic ideas develop among various peoples spontaneously².

As a sequel to the discussion of the representations of the sun we must refer to the discussion of the cross symbol, for there is a wide-spread opinion that the equal-limbed cross is another symbol of the sun. It was, for example, a favourite theory of the late Professor Montelius, and has been embraced by many other archaeologists; its wide acceptance being due to an interest in finding a pre-Christian origin of the symbol of Christianity³. The disc of the sun was regarded as a wheel⁴; hence the myth that the sun-god drives in a chariot across the heavens; a transitional stage is shown by the famous

¹ H. v. Fritze, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 84, n. 1; Della Seta, *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVII, 1908, p. 440.

² Evans has pointed out the striking similarity between the cow of Hathor showing asterisks, marks, or simple crosses symbolizing the starry firmament and some bull-figures on Mycenaean vases dotted with almost identical crosses or quatrefoils (*Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 513). The vases in question are of late Cypro-Mycenaean fabric (*Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, I: 2, pp. 82 and 112, pl. III); but similar ornaments occur also on the steatite bull's head *rhyton* from the tomb of the Double Axes and on another made of clay from the Little Palace (Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, *Archaeologia*, LXV, 1914, p. 52, fig. 70 and p. 88, fig. 95), on the former quatrefoils and on the latter trefoils. Thus it is evident that their symbolic meaning was not understood, and that they were borrowed for strictly formal reasons.

³ Montelius gave a sketch of his views with copious illustrations in the periodical *Nordisk Tidskrift (Letterstedts)*, 1904, pp. 1 and pp. 149. It would be superfluous to quote other expositions of this much treated topic.

⁴ I am bound to confess that the myths, in which A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 197, sees the solar wheel in Greece, seem to me to be doubtful with regard to their solar interpretation.

bronze age group from Trundholm in Denmark of a horse drawing a large gilt disc of the sun. As the wheel, which originally may have been a full disc of wood, consisted of a ring with spokes the sun was also represented as a wheel with spokes. But if the ring of the four-spoked wheel is left out, there remains an equal-limbed cross, and thus the equal-limbed cross is taken to be a symbol of the sun. The equal-limbed cross acquired various accretions, and dots or terminal lines were added to the ends, or the limbs were curved; with the



FIG. 105. VASE FROM VASILIKI.

latter form the *triskeles* is connected. Of these secondary forms the *swastika* is the most famous and most eagerly sought for in prehistoric monuments. In Minoan civilization it appears only thrice¹. A discussion of the whole of this hypothesis would be a vast and comprehensive affair and is out of place here.

I must restrict myself to discussing the Minoan monuments, and these are in fact not very numerous.

The equal-limbed cross with dots at the ends and even with slightly curved limbs occurs as a hieroglyphic sign placed either obliquely or upright, and in the Linear script class A together with a variant in which the cross-bar is shorter than the upright stem; this latter type was generally adopted in

¹ On a seal impression with a horned sheep from the temple repositories at Knossos, *BSA*, IX, p. 88, fig. 59; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 515, fig. 372; on a sherd of a Kamares vase from Palaikastro, fragmentary and restored, *BSA, Suppl.*, I, pl. X e; and on a M. M. I vase from Vasiliki (fig. 105), Seager, *Excav. at Vasiliki in 1906, University of Pennsylv., Transact. of the Museum*, II, 2, pl. XXXI, 1. Cf. the vase fragment mentioned p. 365, n. 7.

class B¹. To the same category belongs the upright or oblique cross used as a masons' mark. Such marks occur on blocks in the earliest palace of Knossos²; at Phaestus they are the most numerous of all masons' marks³; on the blocks in the palace of Knossos in the region bordering on the Central Palace Sanctuary the ends show small transversal lines⁴.

On the geometric pottery from Phylakopi anterior to the naturalistic style an equal-limbed cross with broad bars appears; the four limbs are filled with net-work, while the centre remains empty⁵. On Minoan and Mycenaean pottery the cross is rare; I might mention a vase fragment⁶ already quoted on which a cross in a cross-shaped frame appears between rosettes taken for images of the sun, and a fragment from the IInd shaft grave at Mycenae showing a cross with spiraliform ends in between double spirals⁷. Small plain crosses are met with here and there.

More frequent are pieces of jewelry in the shape of a cross⁸. There is a seal impression from Knossos showing a cross with a stem which is longer than the cross-bar⁹. No evidence can be deduced from the circumstances of their discovery to show that these crosses were more than pieces of jewelry; and if any deeper significance is to be ascribed to them, it must be demonstrated by other evidence that the cross was a religious symbol.

Sir Arthur Evans believes in the symbolical value of the cross and is of the opinion that it symbolizes both the stars

¹ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, pp. 222.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 135, fig. 99.

³ *Mon. ant.*, XII, p. 89, fig. 24: 2, 3; XIV, p. 431.

⁴ *BSA*, IX, p. 37, fig. 18; cf. p. 90.

⁵ *Excav. at Phylakopi*, pl. XIII, 1-3.

⁶ Above, fig. 102, p. 359.

⁷ Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, pl. IV, 18.

⁸ Cross formed of two strips of gold-leaf from a tomb at Mochlos, Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 10 facing p. 32, II, 33. Cross with very broad limbs decorated with a spiraliform meander and a border line of dots from the IIIrd shaft grave at Mycenae (fig. 106), Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 225, fig. 294. Gold cross of a similar form, with a border, found in a chamber adjoining the palace of Mycenae, *Eph. arch.*, 1887, pl. XIII, 26.

⁹ *BSA*, IX, p. 90, fig. 61; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 515, fig. 374.



FIG. 106. GOLD
CROSS FROM
MYCENAE.

and the star of the day, the sun, and applies this interpretation especially to the famous marble cross found among the contents of the Temple repositories¹. This cross is made of white, and dark grey, veined marble, only 12 mm. thick; its height is 22,2 cm. A part of one limb has been broken off and has been restored with the same shape as the other. The face is finely polished, but underneath the cross is less finished and shows some incised lines parallel to the ends of the limbs at irregular distances from them. It may be supposed that the well-known photograph², which shows the snake goddess and her sacred wardrobe, with the second statuette, vessels, and other contents of the Temple repositories arranged round the cross placed upright in the centre, has generally impressed public opinion and contributed to the belief in its religious character. But this is, as Sir Arthur Evans explicitly remarks, an arrangement made for illustrative purposes, and he recognizes from its being less finished underneath that the cross was affixed to some other material. Consequently it was a piece of inlay, like another cross of faïence, purplish brown on a pale ground, found in the palace of Knossos³; and that it is to be placed upright is only a guess inspired by the wish to show that it was a cult object. It may, for instance, have formed the centre of a mosaic on an inlaid floor or the like. For this view I venture to refer to an unpublished fragment of a wall painting, found in the Area of the Miniature frescoes, which is composed of equal-limbed crosses, the limbs of which have a breadth so proportioned that they fill the interspaces between one another. The ground of the crosses is alternately blue and white; they are separated from each other by a thick black line inside which is a parallel narrower red line. In the centre is a rhombus with somewhat curved sides exactly resembling an ace of diamonds.

Still one other instance remains, an oblique cross between the horns of a bucranium on a seal impression from Knossos⁴.

¹ *BSA*, IX, pp. 90 and *loc. cit.*, pp. 513.

² *BSA*, IX, p. 92, fig. 63; Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 518, fig. 377.

³ *BSA*, IX, pp. 93, fig. 64; Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 515, fig. 375.

⁴ *BSA*, VIII, 102, fig. 60.

This is the only instance where the cross appears in what may be, but need not necessarily be, a religious connexion; being oblique, however, this cross is not good evidence for the other kind of cross which is upright.

Consequently no evidence whatever is forthcoming for the religious or symbolic significance of the cross in the Minoan age. The cross is a merely decorative scheme and occurs as such in single patterns, especially in jewelry, as well as in larger patterns, inlaid or painted. The *swastika* is so rare that it can hardly be believed to have any important significance in the Minoan world; it may perhaps be one of the occasional variants of the cross.

As I observed in beginning this exposition I am not attempting a general discussion of the value and significance of the cruciform symbols including the *swastika*, which certainly has such a value. This ought to be done on a very broad basis. But I cannot conclude without one more remark of general reference. The scholars, who have treated these signs, have always started from the presupposition that the cross is a simplified or let us say degenerate form of a fuller image, really representing an object, the sun. A knowledge of the manner in which primitive peoples draw simple geometric designs and interpret them as images or symbols of objects and living beings, i. e. giving them a sense which is by no means implied in the form, suggests another method of estimating the relation between sign and sense, — namely, that the sign itself is earlier than the interpretation, which is afterwards rather arbitrarily imposed upon it. It ought to be carefully considered whether this may not also be the case with the very simple sign of the cross. The cross may have originated independently among several peoples, and one or the other may have added a symbolic value to it. If this is true, the fact that the cross has a symbolic value in some religions cannot be adduced as evidence of any such value among other peoples, nor does its occurrence among certain peoples imply a transmission to them of certain ideas attached by another people to the cross or the *swastika*.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SARCOPHAGUS FROM H. TRIADA.

The most important document of Minoan religion as well as the most difficult to interpret in its general significance is the famous sarcophagus from H. Triada; and none has been more vigorously discussed. It was found in a chamber tomb, or rather a small building serving as a tomb, with very thick walls of small and irregular stones, a kind of tomb which is not known elsewhere in the Minoan-Mycenaean world. It cannot be dated by the external evidence of objects found in the tomb, but is for reasons of style ascribed to the transitional period between Late Minoan II and III¹.

The monument being destined for the dead due regard must be paid to its funeral purpose in judging and explaining it. That there was a cult of the dead in the Minoan age is certain enough. Graves and tombs have yielded a very large part of the monuments and objects on which our knowledge of this civilization is founded, and these show what care was taken of the dead and in what reverence they were held. We see a variety of funeral customs and note how they changed; and we can detect a difference between Crete and the mainland: the cave burials of the earliest age, the mass-tombs, *tholoi* and ossuaries in the Early Minoan age, *larnakes*, chamber tombs with several, although fewer, interments, pit

¹ Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 71; Rodenwaldt in *Tiryns*, II, pp. 198. H. Sitte, *Österreich. Jahresh.*, XII, 1910, pp. 305, thinks that the painter used linear perspective, one of the posts supporting the double axes being distinctly lower than the other. This is erroneous; see Pfuhl, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum*, XXVII, 1911, p. 528; Rodenwaldt, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 247, n. 1.

graves, shaft graves, etc. in the Late Minoan age, not to speak of the beehive tombs of the mainland, the abundance of female idols on the mainland and in the Cycladic graves compared with their extreme scarcity in Crete after Middle Minoan I. But all these things refer to the funeral customs, and what we need to know about is the constantly repeated cult of the dead. That such a cult existed can be assumed on general grounds because it exists everywhere, but from the actual evidence of the finds there are very few archaeological traces of such a cult. What little is known comes from the mainland and this will be mentioned in another connexion. From this direction we get no help in elucidating the paintings on the sarcophagus.

Details of the pictures have repeatedly been referred to above¹, and as they are so often illustrated a description can be dispensed with; but it will be necessary to relate the chief views upon their interpretation.

Dr Paribeni in his standard publication² institutes a close comparison with Egyptian funeral customs. He compares the figure placed upright before a building, called a tomb, with the mummy held erect by Anubis in the Egyptian funeral ceremony of the 'opening of the eyes', and the tree in front of him with the tree appearing beside the tomb of Osiris in Egyptian paintings. Three men approach in order to bring him funeral gifts, a boat and two bulls. The persons to the left, the lyre-player, a woman with pails, and the priestess, are turned in the other direction, attending to the libation beneath the two double axes set up on poles, which Paribeni calls palm trees, on which birds are perching. (It is now, however, recognized that they are poles wound round with leafage.) The double axes are recognized as divine symbols and the birds are said to

¹ The altars p. 100; the construction with the tree pp. 227, 233; the sacrificial animals p. 195; the double axes and their poles pp. 182; the dresses pp. 132; the birds p. 291.

² Paribeni, *Il sarcofago dipinto di H. Triada*, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 1. The previous remarks by F. v. Duhn, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII, 1904, pp. 264, and P. Lagrange, *La Crète ancienne*, pp. 64, with an inexact delineation of the monument, may be passed over.

be ravens, messengers of the gods. Finally Egyptian pictures of lyre-players are cited.

The construction to the right on the other side is said to be an altar with horns of consecration, with an olive-tree spreading its branches up above; in front of this is a pole without leafage painted pink with a double axe and a bird; further on is a podium, viz. a second smaller altar on which a priestess places a vessel with offerings; a libation jug and a basket of fruit are represented in the space above the altar. Then follows the sacrificial scene¹ with the flute-player and five women whose upper parts have vanished. One of the short sides shows two women in a chariot drawn by horses (others recognize these less probably as stags). No symbolic meaning is ascribed to this picture; though one is found in the scene on the other short side, which shows two persons in a chariot drawn by griffins, above which hovers a fantastic bird². One of these personages is a woman, the flesh being painted white. That of the other is of a pale greyish colour. In this Paribeni recognizes the colour of the deceased and finds in the bird a representation of the soul; the picture thus represents, he thinks, the voyage to the other world.

The pictures are interpreted by Paribeni as a series of episodes, deriving in part from the actual ceremonies at the funeral (the view that they refer to the continued cult of the dead after the funeral is rejected because of the comparison of the dead man's figure with a mummy), in part from religious beliefs, brought together for the purpose of reassuring the dead of the piety of the living and giving him a good omen for his voyage to the other world. Stress is laid upon the hallowing of the tomb by the addition of a sanctuary and an altar, before which the ceremonies are performed, and by the occurrence of divine symbols in the rites. He makes a most interesting suggestion that, whereas in the classical religions the gods, except the chthonic ones, do not take care of the dead, the Minoans besought their gods to give the departed spirits bliss, and he compares this with the Egyptian custom

¹ Above, p. 195.

² See above, p. 291.

of invoking all the gods to assist the dead. Thus a more spiritual conception of the fate of the dead is ascribed to the Minoans.

A clever modification of these views was given by Professor von Duhn¹. Beginning with the side on which the animal sacrifice is represented he interprets the ceremony performed by the priestess as the *ἐνάλογεσθαι τὸ κανὸν*, the preparatory rite of a Greek sacrifice. The vessel or basket placed on the altar is supposed to contain the *οὐλόχνηται* and the sacrificial knife. Then follows the sacrifice of the bull. The purpose of the rite is to evoke the dead man who appears on the other side. It is suggested that the liquid poured into the pail to the left is blood, which flows down into the earth, the vessel being bottomless. These ceremonies are performed by women, perhaps because the deities invoked are female, but men carry the heavy offerings to the dead. With regard to the short sides von Duhn agrees with the views of Paribeni. It is certainly somewhat rash to use Greek parallels to this extent for an elucidation of the pictures.

Sir Arthur Evans agrees substantially with these views without referring to Greek analogies. He says² that the divinity is charmed down into its material resting place not only by the sacrifice itself but also with the aid of music and ritual chants and that the culminating result of the whole ceremonial machinery is the calling back of the departed to the upper air for some brief communion. For this a higher sanction was required, and the divine possession of the fetish form of the divinity in the shape of the double axes had first to be secured.

I pass over the criticism of these ideas proffered by A. J. Reinach and Dussaud³ to the very original interpretation set forth by E. Petersen⁴. He rejects the opinion that the

¹ F. v. Duhn, *Sarkophag aus H. Triada*, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XII, 1909, pp. 161.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 438.

³ *Rev. archéol.*, XII, 1908, pp. 278; *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LX, 1909, pp. 237; LVIII, 1908, pp. 364; Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., pp. 402.

⁴ E. Petersen, *Der kretische Bildersarg*, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXIV, 1909, pp. 162.

figure appearing before the building is, the dead man and that the blood is poured out and flows down into the earth; he lays stress upon the observation that the two pillars on the one side are wound round with leafage and that the one on the other side is bare and thinks that the birds are cuckoos. He compares a Greek myth connected with the idea of the sacred wedding, the union of Zeus in the shape of a cuckoo with Hera, and the bridal bath of Hera which is said to be a mythical expression of the rains of spring renewing Nature. The pictures are taken as a cycle of myths and rites expressing the recurrence of the seasons in this order: I, a. a living calf is offered to the young god; b. blood is offered beneath two pillars covered with leafage (spring); III: 2, c. the goddess is carried away on a chariot with griffins; II, d. the bath and cakes are offered beneath a bare pillar (end of the old year); e. a bloody sacrifice; III: 1, f. the goddess is brought back in a chariot with horses. The god unites himself with the goddess in the shape of a cuckoo, and the two leaf-clad pillars are the symbol of this union. Then the goddess disappears and the pillar stands denuded, but the blood of the bull will bless the new year, the rebirth of which is expressed by the offering of the bath and the calves. It would really be a pity to destroy this pleasant symbolism with the brutal tools of criticism.

The view of Miss Harrison has a certain resemblance to that of Professor Petersen. "The picture speaks for itself", she says, "it is the passing of winter and the coming of spring, the passing of the Old Year, the incoming of the New, it is the Death and Resurrection of Nature, her New Birth."¹ More particularly she thinks that the ceremonies represent a rain-charm. The blood, the *μῆνος* of the bull, is brought to the two obelisks, crowned with the thunder-axe upon which a bird perches, with magical intent. Contact is to be effected between the mystical *mana* of the bull and the *mana* of the tree. How the communion was effected she explains from the bull sacrifice performed at Ilion in a later age and from the Bouphonia. The bird is said to be the bird of spring, the cuckoo. The priestess who is standing before the tree sanctuary has

¹ Jane Harrison, *Themis*, ch. VI; the passage quoted, p. 178.

poured water into the basin on the altar and lays her hands on it "perhaps in token that the water is the rain-bath (*λουτροά*) of the earth's bridal. Above are fruit-shaped cakes (*μαζαί*), for it is food that the cuckoo of spring is to bring her."

The scenes on the sarcophagus are intelligible each taken by itself and can be paralleled by numerous analogous Minoan representations, but the question is whether or not they express a coherent cycle of ideas and rites. The fundamental question is, however, still another — whether they are to be referred to the cult of the dead or to the divine cult, or to both, and if to both what the nature and the explanation of this fusion may be.

The pictures decorate a sarcophagus; hence the natural view adopted by most scholars that they refer to the man laid in it, his cult, and the after life. This is the invariable characteristic of pictures and sculptures found in tombs. It follows from this that the cult scenes depicted must have some reference to the dead man, his cult and fate. But the double axe and even the birds are symbols of the divine cult. Hence the hypothesis of Paribeni that the gods of the upper world were invoked to protect the dead as they were in Egypt, and that of von Duhn that the gods are invoked to cause the dead to appear. The difficulty is overcome by supposing that a scene of the divine cult and a scene of the cult of the dead are united. But it appears that such an explanation is strained; there is no other evidence for such a union on Minoan monuments. Of course we might assume the presence here of the Great Minoan Goddess, Goddess of Nature and at the same time Lady of the Underworld; and explain the union of the divine and the chthonic cults by the twofold nature of the all-embracing goddess, but this is nothing but guess-work lacking foundation, as I have tried to show above.

This internal contradiction has caused other scholars to deny that the scenes have any funeral character at all¹. Pointing out the fact that no other representations of a funeral cult occur in the Minoan age, Professor Rodenwaldt accepts

¹ E. Petersen, see above, pp. 371; Rodenwaldt, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 138; cf. *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 63, n. 18.

the figure standing before the building as an image of a god or the god himself, and regards the figures in the chariots on the short sides as goddesses, and the libation and the sacrifices as brought to the deity whose symbol is the double axe. The objection to this view is that the paintings are found on a sarcophagus, and it is just as difficult to believe that scenes of the divine cult, which have nothing to do with the dead, are painted on a sarcophagus destined for a dead man, as that scenes of the divine cult and the cult of dead are painted side by side on it.

The opposite method may also be considered as possible — namely, to refer all the scenes to the cult of the dead. This implies some premises which in themselves are not inconsistent with what has been said above, viz. that the double axe, being originally the sacrificial axe, may be used as a cult symbol even in the cult of the dead, and that the bird may indicate not only the epiphany of a god but also, as in the Greek age, that of a soul. That an animal sacrifice and libations may be offered to the dead is evident.

The H. Triada sarcophagus is no longer the only sarcophagus with painted representations of cult scenes, since the *larnax* from Episkopi near Hierapetra (fig. 107) was discovered and published¹. The short sides and three of the four panels on the long sides show only decorative motifs, but the fourth panel contains the painting alluded to. In the left-hand bottom corner there is a pair of horns of consecration with a double axe between them, and then to the right a bull, above its back a bird, still higher up two pairs of horns of consecration, and finally in the left-hand corner another bull placed transversely. This painting belongs to a very debased period, and no coherent sacrificial scene is depicted; the figures are coarse and placed in the space in a more than childish manner. But the picture is most valuable as a parallel to the H. Triada sarcophagus, showing that the latter is not an isolated phenomenon, but that a much later age also found parts of the same ritual cycle suited to the decoration of a sarcophagus. There is no doubt as to the correspondence, for the symbols of the Minoan cult, the horns of consecration

¹ *Delt. arch.*, VI, 1921, *App.*, p. 158, fig. 5.

and the double axe, are there and so are the bulls indicating a sacrifice¹. But that part of the pictures on the H. Triada sarcophagus, which can without any difficulty from internal evidence be referred to the cult of the dead — namely, the bringing of offerings, does not recur here. If the usual interpretation is accepted that the H. Triada sarcophagus represents on one hand scenes of the divine cult and on the other scenes of the cult of the dead, it is surprising that that part which is most essential to this latter purpose is left out.



FIG. 107. LARNAX FROM EPISKOPI.

Before going further the question of the nature of the cult should be settled. The double axes and the birds are accepted as symbols of the divine cult because they only appear on the monuments in such an association. This would be very convincing but for the objection that we have no other monuments depicting the cult of the dead and that we consequently are ignorant of its forms. Dr Paribeni published together

¹ The *larnax* from Palaikastro (see p. 144) which Karo compares, *Real-enc. d. Klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 1787, shows pairs of horns of consecration and a double axe erect between one pair. Another painted *larnax* from Mallia shows only a large double axe, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 533, fig. 9.

with the paintings on the sarcophagus some very similar fragments of wall paintings from H. Triada (figs. 108 a and b) ¹, but he does not seem to have taken the greatest possible advantage of these



FIG. 108 A. FRAGMENTS OF WALL PAINTINGS FROM H. TRIADA.

interesting fragments for the interpretation of the sarcophagus. One fragment shows a male head turned towards the right

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 69, figs. 21 and 23.

and a lyre, and another unconnected fragment part of the lower body of a person clad in a 'stole', perhaps the lyre-player. A small fragment with the right-hand upper corner of the border is joined to the first-mentioned fragment, consequently the lyre-player is the first person of a separate panel. The place of this small fragment is, however, perhaps not absolutely certain. Another fragment shows parts of one arm and of the body of a male figure clad in a 'stole' and a pail carried on a pole over the shoulder; there must have

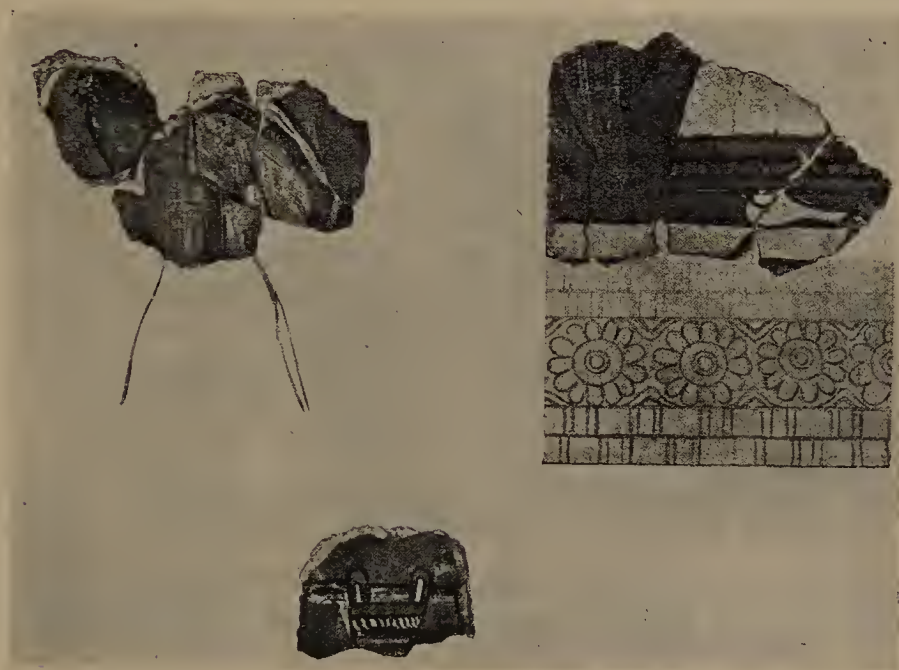


FIG. 108 B. FRAGMENTS OF WALL PAINTINGS FROM H. TRIADA.

been another pail behind his neck. Another fragment shows the upper part of a female figure carrying a pail in the same manner; a second, part of a pail with a pole, and a third, a woman's foot and a small part of the 'stole'. Although one of the figures carrying pails is here male, the representation is exactly similar to the lyre-player and the woman carrying pails on the H. Triada sarcophagus and depicts the same libation rite. But it is out of the question that a rite from the cult of the dead should be depicted on the walls of the palace; it must be a scene of the divine cult, and

consequently this applies also to the scene depicted on the sarcophagus.

This comparison establishes the fact that the libation and probably also the animal sacrifice are parts of the divine cult; on the other hand all analogies and all customs of other peoples would indicate that the paintings on the sarcophagus must refer to the deceased who was laid in it. I see only one way out of this dilemma, and that is to suppose that the dead was deified and consequently worshipped in the forms of the divine cult¹.

The impulse towards deification may have come from Egypt, where the king was worshiped as a god after his death and every man was believed to become an Osiris. For the Egyptian elements in the accessories of the cult figured on the sarcophagus are undeniable. Dr Paribeni has collected them, but the most important is that which he overlooked in his attempt to derive the hide-dress from the Semitic mourning dress. The ritual use of the hide-dress in Egypt has been mentioned above², and when it is said that this garment belongs to two classes of the priests, those officiating in the cult of the dead and those officiating in the procession of the divine barque, this corresponds strikingly with the representations on the sarcophagus. There is hardly any detail in the pictures that has caused the interpreters so much difficulty as this barque; some have tried to explain it away³. The divine barque is added to the gifts brought to the dead

¹ Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LVIII, 1908, p. 368, makes a suggestion in this direction, namely that a prince after his death was associated with the cult of the gods.

² Above, pp. 134.

³ I have not seen the paper by de Ridder, *L'ivoire en Crète et à Chypre* in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, 1909, pp. 513. He rejects the common view that the object is a boat because of its incorrect shape and thinks that it is an elephant's tooth. But this conjecture is most improbable although approved by Karo in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 1787. See Dussaud, *Les civil. préhell.*, 2nd ed., p. 403, n. 2. For the high prow Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 438, n. 3, compares the ivory boat found in a tomb at Zafer Papoura, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 27, fig. 22.

and carried by the foremost youth. Such a divinization would be consistent with the eminently sacred character which Sir Arthur Evans rightly attributes to the Knossian king and which certainly also belonged to other Minoan princes.

The Minoans, however, here as in other cases, have taken over only the external forms including some accessory features of the foreign cult and remodelled them in conformity with their own religious ideas and rites. Hence the pillars with the double axes upon which birds are perching and the sanctuary with the horns of consecration and the tree are the most prominent features in these cult scenes also. It follows that the scenes do not depict the funeral ceremonies, as Paribeni thought, but the rites by which the dead man is worshiped afterwards. That the figure before the building is a mummy is out of the question; he is the deified dead man appearing to the eye of the imagination. Hence the composed attitude, the arms being concealed by the 'stole'¹. The idea of the divinization of the dead borrowed from Egypt and developed under Egyptian influence has caused a superimposition of the divine cult upon the cult of the dead with some Egyptianizing details. It is only natural that those details were neither exactly understood nor applied in strict Egyptian fashion.

If a symbolic significance is to be attributed to the pictures on the short sides, it must be that of divinization. This conception comes very near Paribeni's interpretation, the voyage to the other world, only this other world is not the Underworld, but the world of the gods which the new god enters. A close analogy is the representation of the deification of the Roman emperors who are carried to the divine sphere on the back of an eagle. Hence the chariot drawn by griffins, the fabulous monsters so often associated with the gods, while a bird, indicating the epiphany of a god, accompanies them. The composed figure closely wrapt up in its garment represents the dead. That the greyish colour

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, p. 140, compares the seated goddess on the gem in Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 165, fig. 45, who is closely wrapt up in the same manner.

of the face indicates that he is dead, as Paribeni thought, seems questionable; it shows, however, that it is not a woman. We may perhaps venture upon the conjecture that the two women in the other chariot are goddesses accompanying the *cortège* of the new god. These figures show a feature only shortly before introduced into Minoan civilization, the chariot drawn by horses. These are preludes to the procession of gods driving in chariots so much in favour in archaic Greek art. It was a princely and stately vehicle and was therefore also adopted as the vehicle of the gods in this representation, which shows more of the ideas current at the court and among the aristocracy than of those pertaining to the religion of the Minoan common people.

If this interpretation of the pictures on the two sarcophagi hits the mark — and it seems to suit the actual circumstances represented in the paintings better than those proposed hitherto — it is a most valuable addition to our conception of Minoan religion, or to put it more correctly, of that form of it which prevailed in the Late Minoan age. Whether the idea of the deification of man was an original element in Minoan belief and developed under Egyptian influence, or whether it was borrowed from Egypt and remodelled in accordance with the forms of the Minoan religion — a borrowing, however, presupposing a congenial disposition of the Minoan religious temper, — it is contrary to Greek ideas. Even if the conjecture can be justified that this deification of princes has left a trace in the Greek myths of those princes who were brought to the Islands of the Blessed by the gods, a conception of the other life which is in striking contrast to that generally accepted by the Greeks, — the Greek mind followed another line. The Greeks also held the mighty dead to be supernatural beings, but heroes; and the hero belongs to the nether world in spite of all his power and all the worship paid to him, and in fact the hero cult originates in the general cult of the dead. We shall later recur to the cult of the heroes and see that it originated at this time, but among the Mycenaeans, who were Minoans in civilisation, not in blood. This distinction is ultimately connected with the sharp distinction between

god and man which was always a cardinal point of Greek religious belief. It seems to have been otherwise in Minoan religion. We shall see that there is some probability that the mystical desire to transgress the boundaries between man and god which lies behind the religious ideas of the mysteries ultimately derives from Minoan religion; in the mysteries religious ideas came to the fore, which were repressed in the ordinary Greek religion. This desire is fundamentally akin to the deification of man which I venture to find in the paintings on the sarcophagus from H. Triada.

PART II.

MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION
IN ITS RELATIONS TO GREEK RELIGION.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONTINUITY OF THE CULT AND THE CULT PLACES.

1. SURVIVALS OF THE MINOAN CULT.

I have noted in the introduction that it is probable, almost certain, on *a priori* grounds that the Minoan religion survived the invasion of the Greeks and was merged into the Greek religion. Although the Greek language ousted the indigenous language, a close inspection reveals many words which with greater or less probability are derived from the Minoan language, and among those which are most certainly borrowed are the names of at least two figures in the Greek cult and legend, Hyakinthos and Rhadamanthys, a fact which will be considered more closely below in connexion with Minoan traces in their myths and cult. Here it may be noted merely as one of the proofs of religious continuity from the Minoan to the Greek age.

The general assumption that the Minoan religion survived in the Greek religion will acquire much greater strength and actuality if traces of the Minoan cult can be detected in a later age and if it can be proved that in certain places a cult survived from the Minoan-Mycenaean age down to the Greek age. Such facts would establish valuable starting points for an attempt to distinguish those elements of Greek religion which may be due to a Minoan influence.

The cult objects discovered at Prinia have been mentioned above¹; they consist of a bell-shaped idol, fragmentary arms with snakes, and tube-shaped vessels, and exactly resemble those found in other places, especially at Gournia. In

¹ Above, pp. 269 and 271.

1906 the Italians undertook new excavations on the spot where these objects had been discovered and found a human head of a terracotta figure and a tube-shaped vessel¹. The objects associated with this new find were such as belong to the archaic Greek period and are foreign to the Minoan age. Of these a terracotta figure of a standing nude man with his hair hanging down his back in undulating tresses and separated by lines into quadrangles like that of the bust from Eleutherna² and two small terracotta reliefs representing a human head with the hair arranged in an Egyptianized fashion are especially mentioned. These are characteristic of the period following the geometric age³. Now Dr Pernier has noticed that the newly found idols are made of the same dark coarse reddish clay as is used for most of the other terracottas and are consequently contemporary with these, that is, they belong to the archaic period of the Greek age. As the body of the figure is missing it is impossible to know whether the head belonged to a bell-shaped idol, but the vessel closely resembles the tube-shaped vessels from the Minoan age; there is a similar vertical row of loops or handles, and there is a ridge resembling a snake. A difference is that this vessel has some oval holes or apertures. Dr Pernier is right in appreciating the importance of this find as testifying the survival of a Minoan cult and cult objects in the archaic age.

Another object probably found at Camirus and now in the Berlin Museum⁴ has a certain resemblance to the tube-shaped vessels. It is a bottomless vessel consisting of three horizontal divisions with its sides curving inwards. The middle part which is larger than either the upper or the lower has two vertical handles and on either side of each handle there is a snake modelled in clay. On the lower rim of the upper part

¹ *Bollettino d'arte*, II, 1908, pp. 455, fig. 11.

² *Ant. créét.*, I, pl. XLVI.

³ F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriech. Kunst*, pp. 148. According to him this style of hairdressing is of Phoenician origin.

⁴ E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griech. Kunst und Rel., Religionswiss. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, XIII: 2, p. 41, fig. 31; R. Zahn in Kinch, *Fouilles de Vrontia*, pp. 26, fig. 13, gives a full treatment, especially concerning the connexion with Cretan vessels.

there is a row of birds modelled in the round in clay. The vessel is painted in the geometric style and is a little earlier than the archaic objects from Prinia.

The snakes and the birds strikingly recall the Minoan cult, but the form of the vessel is somewhat different. It is assumed that it was used for the purpose of pouring libations into a tomb. Dr Zahn compares a bottomless clay cylinder found at Athens and painted with a black-figured representation of Charon and the fluttering souls¹, and Dr Küster refers to the fact that snakes are often modelled in clay on geometric vases, which may have been used for the cult of the dead. These analogies probably determine the use of the vessel; it was not that of the tube-shaped vessels in the Minoan cult. If a connexion is to be assumed, it is of the formal order. We have seen that the Minoans took over details from the Egyptian cult, refashioned them, and used them in a context other than the original one. The same may also have happened when the Greeks took over details from the Minoan cult.

Much more important is another instance, a Minoan cult vessel whose use seems to have continued in the Greek age and even down to modern times. The Minoan composite vessels, which are called by the Greek name *kernoï*, have been treated above². They consist of a number of smaller vessels, attached to a common stem or vessel; there is a kindred form in which the small vessels are attached to a ring-shaped base, and another in which the small cups are only roughly indicated by a great number of clay rings attached to the inside of a large vessel.

The name *kernos* denotes according to the Greek authors a clay vessel with a number of smaller cups attached to it, in which fruits of different kinds were placed. It was carried in the same manner as the *liknon*, and the person who carried it tasted the fruits contained in the cups. It was evidently used in some mystery cults, but we are not told which³. The car-

¹ See above, p. 273.

² Above, pp. 113.

³ This information comes from one of the best authorities in such matters, Polemon in Athenaeus, XI, p. 478 C, and is repeated by Ammonios, p. 476 F.

rying of the *kernos* is mentioned in a mystic formula¹ ascribed by Lobeck to the mysteries of the Magna Mater, and finally we have a statement that a lamp was placed on the *kernos* used in the cult of Rhea².

At several places in the holy precinct of Eleusis and on the western slope of the Acropolis at Athens where the Eleusinian was situated composite vessels were found in great numbers, several of them bearing an inscription from which we learn that they were dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses. These vessels have a high stem and a low body curving sharply outwards; the mouth is usually covered with a lid pierced by small apertures. A number of small cups are attached to the shoulder, but in many specimens these cups are not hollow. This can be explained by the fact that the vessels were votive offerings, and as the small cups had thus no practical purpose, they were only roughly indicated. Such vessels are figured on a number of coins and *tesserae* of lead or bronze. The famous tablet of Ninnion³, which represents a scene of the Eleusinian cult, shows that this vessel was carried on the head. The similarity between this vessel and the description of the *kernos* has led to an identification⁴, but the identity has been contested⁵, chiefly on the ground that in some passages from the ancient authors the *kernos* is said to belong to the mysteries of Rhea-Cybele, and the Eleusinian cult is not expressly men-

¹ *Schol. in Plat. Gorg.*, p. 497 C; cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 216, No. XIII b.

² *Schol. in Nikandr. Alexipharm.*, v. 217.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1901, pl. I, etc.

⁴ Proposed by Kourouniotis, *Eph. arch.*, 1898, pp. 21, and Rubensohn, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, pp. 271 and pl. XIII. New light was thrown on the Minoan *kernoi* and a similar vessel in the cult of the Greek church adduced by Xanthoudides in his notable paper, *Cretan Kernoi*, *BSA*, XII, pp. 9. The literature is already vast. I refer to the articles of Couve in *Dict. des antiquités*, and of Leonard in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertums-wiss.* Panofka introduced the name of *kernos* for the ring-shaped vessel surmounted by cups, *Recherches sur les vraies noms des vases grecs*, pl. V, 53, and it was applied to the Melian vases not without some reluctance by Bosanquet, *BSA*, III, p. 59, n. 1.

⁵ By H. G. Pringsheim in his able dissertation, *Arch. Beiträge zur Gesch. des eleusinischen Kults*, München, 1905, pp. 69.

tioned. The statement in the scholia to Nikandros that a lamp was placed on the *kernos* caused some difficulty, because the vessels found at Eleusis were not suitable for this purpose. Dr Rubensohn¹ supposed that an ἀμφιφῶν, a cake with candles, was placed in the interior of the large vessel and pointed to some representations of the vessel on coins in which candles seem to rise from it. Dr Pringsheim on the other hand was of opinion that the large vessel was used for the purpose of burning incense. It seems hardly possible to decide this question; in the late *kernos* from H. Nikolaos in Crete published by Xanthoudides², however, a lamp was found in the interior of the bowl.

The objections are not of a fundamental character³; whether or not the Eleusinian vessel was called *kernos* is, in fact, of little moment; the important point is the similarity between this implement of the mystic cult and the Minoan vessels. When stress is laid upon the circumstance that some passages in the authors ascribe the *kernos* to the cult of the Magna Mater, it is forgotten that these passages are late and that the mystic cults were confused and their various details freely interchanged in a later age. With regard to the passages in Polemon and Ammonios, where the mysteries are not explicitly mentioned, I am, however, in accordance with most scholars of the opinion that they refer to the Eleusinian mysteries. As for the lamp which is said to be placed on the *kernos* it is to be remembered that the torch was used in the mysteries from old days, the lamp on the other hand appearing in the cult of Demeter as a votive offering only in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.⁴, and the scholiast may refer to a later age. If this is taken into account there does not seem to be any very valid reason against the identification of the Eleusinian vessel with the *kernos*.

The chief point is, however, as already noted, the similarity of this vessel to that occurring in the Minoan age, and this is so striking that nobody denies the connexion, al-

¹ Rubensohn, *Kerchnos*, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, pp. 271.

² *BSA*, XII, pp. 12; above, p. 116, n. 4.

³ Even Pringsheim says, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, that the purpose of the *thymia-terion* was combined with that of the *kernos* in the Eleusinian vessel.

⁴ See my remarks in *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1916, p. 50.

though about a thousand years intervene between the Minoan and the Greek specimens. It is not to be believed that such a curiously shaped vessel can have been created independently a second and even a third time in the same country. But the continuity of this cult implement which was used in the Greek



FIG. 109. SHRINE AT VROULIA. PLAN AND SECTION.

mysteries is very important evidence for the Minoan affinities of the mystic cult¹.

An essentially similar implement is still used in the Greek church at some places for the blessing of the fruits. The Christian *kernos* illustrated by Xanthoudides² has seven candles and three small cylindrical cups, which hold small phials for corn, oil, and wine. It terminates below in three spikes, which are fixed into one of the loaves consecrated during the ceremony.

Other Christian *kernoi*, like the ancient ones, have an open bell-shaped foot. It is a most singular instance of the perseverance of a cult implement through the millennia.

¹ On a geometric vase found at Dipylon and figured *Athen. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X, and on sherds pp. 226, figs. 10—14, an object is seen which Pernice (p. 209) describes as a kind of support ending above on each side in what appears to be an animal's head. Wide, *Mykenska kultsymboler på geometriska vaser*, *Studier tillegnade O. Montelius*, Stockholm, 1903, pp. 13, argues that this representation shows a combination of the horns of consecration with the sacred pillar placed on a support, but the form of the object absolutely disproves such an interpretation.

² In *BSA*, XII, pp. 20, fig. 6.

Not only Minoan cult objects and implements but also the plan of the small domestic shrines, in which the Minoan cult was performed, seems to have lasted down into the archaic Greek age. At the southernmost cape of the island of Rhodes the Danish expedition unearthed in 1908 a small settlement which existed from about 700 to about 550 B. C. Near the small town a small sanctuary (fig. 109) was found, which belongs to the seventh century B. C. according to the vases found in it. Dr Kinch calls attention to its surprising resemblance to the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos¹. The shrine is quadrangular, 8,38 by 4,70 metres, and has no wall in front of it. It is divided into two parts by a threshold of regular square blocks, in the centre of which is a larger quadrangular block, the altar. The outer part of the room is larger and there is a *bothros* near the altar; the inner part is smaller and its floor has a slightly higher level. At the back wall is a narrow ledge, beyond doubt destined for the cult idols and objects. The resemblance of the disposition of this shrine to the one in the palace of Knossos shows that the traditions of the late Minoan age persisted as late as the seventh century B. C.

2. CONTINUITY OF THE CULT PLACES.

These examples prove that Minoan cult customs lingered on into the archaic age before they vanished, and what is especially significant, that one such custom persisted in the mystic and agricultural cult throughout antiquity and right down to the present day. But much more important than these rare and somewhat scattered vestiges of the old cult is the continuity of the cult places. For if it can be proved that a cult was carried on in the same place from the Minoan-Mycenaean age down into the Greek age, it is a very probable inference that the old cult itself was continued. Where the cult survived there is a great chance that the god also may have survived, and even if the god or his name was changed, it must in all probability be supposed that elements of the Minoan cult and

¹ Kinch, *Fouilles de Vroulia*, pp. 11 and pl. I.

religion were taken over. The frequency with which this can be definitely shown to have occurred will form the basis of our estimate of the influence exerted by the old religion on the religion of Greece.

The value of the evidence varies. In some cases there cannot be the slightest doubt that the old cult was carried on from the Minoan age into the later age. This is the case if the site is not a town but only a cult place and if the archaeological sequence is unbroken. It may be that the old Mycenaean god has been renamed or that a Greek god has superseded the old one, but the continuity of the cult makes the connexion sure. Where a cult place is situated in a town which was inhabited both in Mycenaean and in Greek times, the evidence is less definite. For it is obvious that a town must have had gods, cults, and temples in the Mycenaean and in the Greek age alike. It may be that the invading Greeks who settled in an old Mycenaean town destroyed the old cult places and introduced their own gods. Here evidence of some other kind is needed to clear up the matter.

I will begin with the sacred caves. Their testimony is sure enough, because they have been nothing but cult places; this, however, does not carry us far. We know almost nothing about the cults and the gods belonging to them. It is very curious that the cave of Kamares¹, Maurospilion on Mt Ida, ceased to be frequented just at the end of the Minoan age and that the famous cave of Zeus on the same mountain began to be frequented just at the same time. This latter cave is situated at a great height and may not have been discovered before the end of the Minoan age.

The cave of Psychro² is richer than any other sacred cave discovered in Crete and was frequented during the most brilliant period of Minoan civilization down to the beginning of historical times. It is no wonder that it was identified with the celebrated Dictaeon cave in which Zeus was said to have been born and that this identification was widely accepted.

¹ See above, pp. 59.

² Above, pp. 55. Concerning the celebrated caves of Crete see the compilation of facts by Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 925.

Doubts were expressed by Professors Aly and Beloch, and ultimately Dr Toutain showed that such a theory was untenable¹ for geographical reasons. For although there is a confusion of the towns Praisos and Priansos in the passage in Strabo bearing on Mt Dikte², it is evident from other sources and especially from the longitudes given by Ptolemy that the name Dikte does not apply to the whole mountain range covering Eastern Crete, including Mount Lasithi on which the cave of Psychro and the town of Lyttos are situated, but only to the mountains of the easternmost part of Crete in the district of Sitia east of the Gulf of Mirabello. Further, the temple of the Dictaeon Zeus has been discovered on the East coast of Crete at Palaikastro, and the Dictaeon Zeus is only invoked in the oaths of the inhabitants of Itanos and Hierapytna, which are both situated in the district of Sitia, not in the oath of the inhabitants of Lyttos on Mt Lasithi³. It follows that the cave of Psychro is not the Dictaeon cave; the latter must be sought for in the district of Sitia, but it has not been found yet.

The true reason for the identification of the Dictaeon cave with the cave of Psychro is the identification of the cave where Zeus was born with that into which according to Hesiod the new-born Zeus was brought by Gaia⁴. It is here related that when Rheia was about to bear her youngest child she sought the advice of her parents, Ouranos and Gaia, to save it from being swallowed up by Kronos. They sent her to Lyktos in Crete. Gaia received the child and carried it by night first to Lyktos and concealed it in a lofty cave in the *Αἰγαῖον ὄρος*. It follows that this mountain is Lasithi and that the cave of Psychro is the cave designated by Hesiod. This identity was pointed out by Dr Toutain and Sir

¹ Aly, *Der kretische Apollonkult*, p. 47; Beloch, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 433; Toutain, *L'antre de Psychro et le Δικταῖον ἄντρον*, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LXIV, 1911, pp. 277.

² Strabo, X, 4, 12.

³ *Sammlung d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, Nos. 5058, 5039, and 5041 resp.; Bosanquet, *BSA*, XV, p. 349.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.*, vv. 477—484.

Arthur Evans¹. These facts agree very well with the archaeological evidence. The cave of Psychro was frequented down to the geometric age, and the memory of its fame still lingers on in the verses of Hesiod. Subsequently it was forgotten, and later authors who did not know it are much perplexed to discover the cave where Zeus was born. The fame of the Dictaeon cult is the cause of the transference of the birth-place of Zeus to the mountain of Dicte, but so far as I am aware the Dictaeon cave is mentioned only by Suidas without any comment, by Lucian who lets Zeus bring Europe to the Dictaeon cave, and by Apollonius Rhodius². This author says in the first passage that the child Zeus lived in the Dictaeon cave, and in the other that the nymph Anchiale bore the Idaean Dactyls in the Dictaeon cave grasping the soil of Oaxos. The town of Oaxos lies west of Candia and north of Mt Ida; consequently the poet seems to place the Dictaeon cave on Mt Ida, and the same is true of Aratus³ in spite of the attempts of the scholiast to save his geographical accuracy by changing the punctuation. Evidently the Dictaeon cave was confused with the famous Idaean cave which was probably better known. This confusion seems to suggest that the Dictaeon cave was not very important or well known; nor has it been discovered. The localization of the myth in Hesiod to the cave of Lyktos, i. e. that of Psychro, must, however, be a reminiscence of the Minoan cult, since the cave was abandoned in the Greek age.

These examples show the cessation of the cult; in other caves it was continued. In the cave of Patso to the west of Mt Ida⁴ a deposit of Minoan votive terracottas was found, especially bulls and goats, and also Greek votive objects, especially an inscription dedicated to Hermes Kranaios. East of Knossos there is a cave with sherds from the oldest times down to Roman days. It is supposed to be the cave of Eileithyia

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 625, and n. 2.

² Lucian, *Dial. mar.*, 15, 4, p. 327; Apoll. Rhod., *Argon.*, I, vv. 509 and 1130.

³ Aratus, *Phaenom.*, vv. 30.

⁴ See above, p. 61.

at Amnisos, the harbour town of Knossos, mentioned in Homer, but the identification is doubtful¹.

According to a tradition which can be traced from the end of the Middle Ages, and which is taken by Sir Arthur Evans and others to be of ancient origin, the tomb of Zeus was situated on Mt Juktas south of Knossos². The place on the summit is still called *μνημα τοῦ Ζεῦ*. The tomb of Zeus in Crete was famous in antiquity and was pointed out in various places³. According to Porphyrius⁴ it was in the Idaean cave. It is not astonishing that Byzantine scholars knew the tomb of Zeus⁵. At the end of the Middle Ages the tomb was localized to Mt Juktas. Buondelmonti who visited Crete in 1415 says that the tomb of Zeus was in the innermost part of a cave on the road to Mt Juktas and proceeds to describe this mountain. On a map of Crete, dated about 1490, in the British Museum⁶ *sepulcrum Jovis* is indicated at some distance east of Candia at a place which is hardly suitable for Mt Juktas. In 1555 the traveller Belon reports that the sepulchre of Jupiter is still to be seen in the mountains of the Sphakiotes, i. e. in the Western part of the island.

It seems that it is impossible to put any confidence in the tradition that the tomb of Zeus was on Mt Juktas. In reality the modern tradition, according to which the tomb is on the summit of the mountain, does not agree with the earlier traditions, neither that referred to by Buondelmonti who says that it is in a cave on the road to this mountain, nor the map which places it further eastwards, nor the statement of Belon that it is situated in the Sphakia mountains; moreover these reports do not agree among themselves. It seems to be a typical case of the process of the learned tradition, which was never

¹ Above, p. 54.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 153; Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 158, to whom I refer for the passages quoted.

³ Meursius, *Creta*, pp. 80; Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 940.

⁴ Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae*, 17.

⁵ E. g. Psellos, *ἀναγωγή εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον τοῦ δὲ (sc. Διὸς) τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνόν*. Whether the present really refers to Psellos' own times seems at least doubtful.

⁶ *BSA*, XII, pl. I.

interrupted among the Greeks, penetrating to the illiterate and ultimately being attached to some place and at last becoming really popular. It is no wonder that it was ultimately localized to the neighbourhood of the most important town in Crete, Candia, and that the people attached the name not to a cave, where they would not expect to find a grave, but to the top of the mountain which dominates the plain of Candia.

Certainly the result of this review is meagre. The genuineness of the tomb of Zeus on Mt Juktas is open to grave doubt. In some caves the cult ended with the Minoan age, but the memory of the cave of Psychro lingered on in the myth of Hesiod, while in two or three caves the cult persisted down into the Greek age. These instances, however, are not very instructive as to the nature of the cult, which is almost unknown.

With regard to the old Minoan towns of Crete Greek temples have been found in some of them, but it is an open question, which must be decided by other arguments than those of archaeological sequence, whether the cults carried on in these were a continuation of old Minoan cults. The remains of the Greek town of Knossos, which was situated to the north of the Minoan palace, were completely destroyed in building the modern town of Candia. It was the good luck of the town of Minos that it was situated further off and its remains were thus spared to the excavator.

In front of the south side of the palace of Phaestus a Greek temple was built upon remains from the different periods of the Minoan age¹. Of the superstructure the north wall with a small part of the wall separating the cella from the pronaos, the N. E. angle of the *krepis*, and slabs of the pavement still remain. No columns or other architectural details were found. The foundations are ascribed to the archaic period because they show the same characteristics as the archaic temples at Prinia, but the blocks of the *krepis* are so accu-

¹ Pernier, *Memorie del culto di Rhea a Phaestos, Saggi di storia antica e di archaeologia offerti a Gi. Beloch*, 1910, pp. 241. Plan: *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XVI, 1907, facing p. 260, fig. A. The site in relation to the palace is best seen on the complete plan of the remains of Phaestus, *Ann. della scuola arch. di Atene*, I, 1914, facing p. 358, No. 100.

rately cut and joined that it is said to be difficult to date the superstructure to the same period. Consequently a reconstruction must be supposed. The cella has a form characteristic of the Cretan temples, e. g. the temple of Apollo Pythios at Gortyn and that of Asklepios at Lebena, but contrary to the Greek temples, the breadth being larger than the length, 7.70 by 4.95 metres. Dr Savignoni thinks that this form was derived from Minoan architecture¹. In this temple at Phaëstus remains were found of bronze cauldrons and Assyrianized bronze shields, well known from other Cretan sites, e. g. the Idaean cave and Palaikastro. The bronze shield found could not be recovered but fell into pieces. A drawing of the fragments was, however, procured. The *umbo* is formed by a panther's head; there is a very notable figure of a nude woman with her arms extended, and there are further a series of fragments of figures of lions, sphinxes, stags, and bulls. Dr Pernier recognizes in the nude woman Rhea, the mother of Zeus, the Great Goddess of Nature. It seems somewhat rash, however, to deduce evidence for the Greek cult from these representations which are so strongly influenced by Oriental art. Moreover he refers to an inscription found in the neighbouring village of H. Jannis Pyrgiotissas² in which a temple of the Magna Mater is mentioned; it dates from the third or more probably the second century B. C. No remains of a temple having been found near H. Jannis, Pernier thinks that the inscription was carried away from Phaëstus and sees in it a proof of his opinion that the temple belonged to Rhea. It appears that the inference is very slightly founded and uncertain.

In the excavations of 1903 at H. Triada some Greek terracottas were found near the edge of the Minoan terrace which it was thought must derive from a Greek sanctuary. In the following years the excavations were extended to the area east of the great staircase cutting off the East wing of the palace. Here three strata were found; the superficial one con-

¹ *Mon. ant.*, XVIII, pp. 218; cf. Pernier, *Ann. della scuola arch. di Atene*, I, 1914, p. 75.

² *Museo di antichità classica*, III, pp. 735. Cf. Maass, *Athen. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 272, and *Orpheus*, pp. 309.

tained the remains of a Roman farm-house, the lowest was Minoan, and between these two there were the remains of a small Hellenistic temple with a niche, a small altar, and part of the *peribolos*¹. In the southernmost part of this *peribolos* a rich deposit of terracottas was found, probably votive offerings, and around the altar there were remains of the sacrifices, bones of small animals, and other carbonized stuff. A block was found with an inscription in good Hellenistic letters: Ἀρκεσίλας Ὑπερβάλλοντος ἱαρωρογήσα(ς) ἐπεμελήθη; and finally a mass of bricks belonging to the constructions in the precinct. They were as usual stamped with the name of the god. It is *Φευχάρως*, the youthful Zeus, who is known from Crete and appears on the coins from Phaestus and has Minoan connexions.

The temple of the Dictaeon Zeus is mentioned in the arbitration of the Magnesians in the dispute concerning the boundaries of Itanos and Hierapytna², and by means of this inscription it is localized to Palaikastro and the Greek name of this place, Heleia, recovered. The site of the temple was discovered during the excavations of the British School³. It covers most of the area of two blocks of the Minoan town and the old disused street between them. The Minoan strata were here deeper than anywhere else in the town and ranged from Early Minoan to the end of Late Minoan, but nothing in the nature of a Minoan shrine was found. The gradation from Minoan to Hellenic had been obliterated by a process of levelling, undertaken probably when the temple was built: there was, for example, an abrupt transition from Late Minoan I to products of the sixth century B. C. The stratification had further been confused by a search for building materials. The temple itself had been completely demolished; not a stone was found standing. A few courses survive of the *temenos* wall, which was built of undressed stones laid without mortar. The layer of Greek remains, in some places as much as a metre thick, contained bronze objects and quantities of tiles and architectural terracottas belonging to one earlier and one

¹ *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, XIV, 1905, pp. 380.

² Dittenberger, *Syll. inscr. graec.*, 3rd ed., No. 685, l. 38 and 75.

³ *BSA*, XI, pp. 298; cf. p. 272; IX, p. 280; X, p. 246.

later period. The fragments containing the famous hymn to the Dictæan Zeus were found together with some other worked stones in a disturbed layer in a deep pocket at the East end. The terracottas include a *simâ* with charioteers, antefixes in the form of a Medusa-head and one of an especially noteworthy type, a Medusa-like protome with a snake in each hand and snakes issuing from the shoulders, etc. The bronze objects were four shields of the orientalized style, miniature armour, tripods, bowls, small figures of oxen, and other insignificant fragments. It is finally to be noted that torch-holders and lamps of an early Hellenistic type were found; they are probably rightly regarded as a sign of the mystical character of the cult.

On the acropolis of Prinia there was a Minoan settlement and in the same place two archaic Greek temples and slabs of a terracotta frieze were unearthed. The excavation beneath the level of the temples yielded insignificant sherds and remains of walls and two column bases¹. Both the temples were archaic and have in their interior a remarkable construction, a quadrangular enclosure formed of stones set upright in the ground. The clay within this enclosure is reddened by fire and on this clay-layer ashes and burned bones of animals were found. There are vestiges of two other enclosures and in connexion with these layers of burnt clay, ashes, coals, and bones, but as there are no traces of a still earlier temple, they may have been in the open air. These enclosures not being altars I have suggested that they were destined for the purpose of burning those bonfires which are known from the cult of Artemis, e. g. Artemis Laphria, into which animals, figurines, and offerings were thrown², but regret that I forgot

¹ Preliminary report, *Bollettino d'arte*, I, 1907, fasc. 8, pp. 28; *Annuario della scuola di arch. di Atene*, I, 1914, pp. 19. Evans writes, *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 284, "A remarkable example of the continuity of the cult forms has been brought to light by the Italian excavation of a seventh century temple at Prinia, containing clay images of the Goddess with snakes coiled round her arms, showing a direct derivation from similar images in the Late Minoan shrine of Gournia" etc. Cf. above, pp. 385.

² In my paper, *Fire-Festivals in Ancient Greece*, *JHS*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 144.

to refer to the suggestion of Professor Myres¹ that the layer of black earth, full of ashes and fragments of charcoal, and crowded with figurines², in the sanctuary of Petsofa originated in bonfires, into which the figurines had been thrown. If this explanation is correct it affords a very close parallel. The very curious sculptures found within the temple at Prinia show that it belonged to Artemis, the Mistress of Animals³; they consist of a statue of a goddess seated on a throne and wearing a *polos* and a stiff garment decorated with animals, a horse, a lion, and a sphinx. The throne rests on a sculptured beam, the end of which projects beneath the feet of the goddess. On one side is a row of lions, on the other stags; the bottom side shows an image of the same goddess standing, while the upper side is rough. Fragments of a second similar group were found. Dr Pernier's reconstruction, a lintel above the door of the cella, seems to be the only one possible. A fragment of a jar still shows twice repeated the winged Artemis holding in each hand a rearing horse by one foreleg.

Again we cannot deny that the result is meagre as far as Crete is concerned. Although the persistence of cults with Minoan connexions is proved, there is no evidence that a Greek cult was carried on on exactly the same spot as a Minoan cult. The situation changes completely on passing over to the mainland. Of the four great religious centres of Greece, Delphi, Delos, Eleusis, and Olympia, three are of Mycenaean origin; and moreover the archaeological discoveries give actual evidence that a cult was carried on in these places in the Mycenaean age and that it persisted down into the Greek age. The evidence with regard to Delos refers to the cult of the heroes and will be treated in another place⁴.

Delphi has rich remains from the Mycenaean age⁵. They

¹ *BSA*, IX, pp. 357.

² See above, p. 62.

³ The Italians call the goddess Rhea, but as the type is that of Artemis in the archaic age, this name seems most probable. The question will be discussed below, pp. 435.

⁴ See below, pp. 533.

⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pp. 1; cf. F. Poulsen, *Delphi*, ch. IV.

have been discovered in the sacred precinct and its annexe, the Marmaria; west of the precinct is the Mycenaean cemetery with a small beehive tomb. Of the highest importance is the discovery of deep layers of greasy earth mingled with ashes, carbonized bones of animals, sherds of vases, and terracottas beneath the very cella of the temple of Apollo and under the ground in front of its eastern entrance, where in historical times stood the great altar of Apollo, built and dedicated by the Chians. The most remarkable object is a fragment of a limestone *rhyton*, a lioness's head, found beneath the temple¹, very similar to one discovered at Knossos. The terracottas are the common Mycenaean female idols. There is one, found at some distance from the temple, which is peculiar, although of rude workmanship, namely a completely nude woman seated on a throne². It is taken as a goddess³, but I must confess that I am not prepared to make any decision regarding its identity. At any rate, a cult was carried on in Mycenaean times on exactly the same spot as in the Greek age, the very site of the temple and the altar of Apollo.

The excavations of 1922 have given new evidence of the continuation of the cult in the neighbouring Marmaria from the oldest age to the Greek period⁴. The area of this cult seems to be limited to the precincts of the temple of tufa to the east. On the rock two to three metres below the level of the archaic period a knife of stone, sherds of badly burnt clay, and some vessels, perhaps neolithic, were found. In the next layer were fragments of great jars with incised ornaments, pierced shells, and round terracotta idols, and numerous objects of steatite, among them some seals resembling the Cycladic ones. In the temple of tufa a *nucleus* of obsidian, a gold ring, and a small votive double axe of bronze were found on the same level. Nearer the surface the obsidian knives were more numerous. Mycenaean idols began to appear and a mass of small objects of glass, amber, and steatite. On a big stone

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 3, fig. 13 b.

² See above, p. 262 with fig. 82.

³ By Poulsen, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Summary report *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI, 1922, pp. 506.

about thirty idols of various Mycenaean types were collected; the others were found between the temple and the great altar. Geometric finds were also numerous: fibulae, needles, and a small votive bull of bronze. The French excavators conclude that a female deity appeared at Delphi some time after the neolithic period, both in the place afterwards dedicated to Athena and on the site where later the temple of Apollo was erected, and think that she was Mother Earth.

The religious importance of Delphi goes back into Mycenaean days, but the coming of Apollo and the great religious movements of the archaic age brought a great change. The persistent ancient tradition says that Apollo won the oracle from older deities. The Earth Goddess, Ge, is said to have been the original possessor; she also had a place in the later Delphic cult and legend. I cannot here inquire into the value and reliability of this tradition. I wish only to point out that it kept the memory of the pre-Apollinean origin of the cult, and this the archaeological discoveries have confirmed.

Although Eleusis was not an international centre of Greek worship like Delphi, it was of the greatest importance for the Greek religion. It was a Mycenaean town, its acropolis is strewn with Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean sherds, and it contains a Mycenaean necropolis and a small beehive tomb. The sacred precinct was situated just beneath the ridge of the acropolis, and the hall of mysteries rests against its rock. Professor Persson has recently called attention to the fact, hitherto unduly neglected, that the polygonal walls of Eleusinian limestone of the oldest hall of mysteries and of the sacred precinct date from the Mycenaean age¹ and has justly taken this as a starting point for demonstrating the Mycenaean origin of the Eleusinian mysteries. The report of the excavation

¹ Axel W. Persson, *Der Ursprung der eleusinischen Mysterien*, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XXI, 1922, p. 292. The statement is based upon the report of Philios in *Πρακτικά*, 1884, p. 85, which is supported by Fougères, *Grèce (Guide Joanne)*, plan, pp. 181 and 185. These walls are marked $\Xi-\Xi^{\text{II}}$ and $\Theta-\Theta^{\text{I}}$ on the plan in *Πρακτικά*, pl. A, and $r-r^3$ and $h-h^3$ on the plan in Philios, *Eleusis*.

is meagre, and the fact deserves to be brought to light by a new excavation. I have already pointed out that the Minoan *kernos* was used in the Eleusinian cult¹. The later reconstructions of the hall of the mysteries were always superimposed upon the old ones. The far-reaching conclusion is that the famous Eleusinian cult is of Mycenaean origin, and this is borne out by the name of the town, which is now considered by philologists to be probably pre-Greek. To the cult itself I shall return later.

These examples alone from the great and famous religious centres of Greece, which are shown to have been cult places from Mycenaean times, are sufficient to demonstrate the strength and importance of the religious continuity. But there are also many minor sites where the same can be shown, and this also is of great importance, not only as it corroborates the evidence I have given, but also as it gives an idea of how common and wide-spread is the continuity of the cult from the Mycenaean to the Greek age.

I have already mentioned Hyakinthos, the old Mycenaean god who was degraded to a hero and a servant of Apollo. The site of his cult has been discovered south of Sparta on a hill where the ruined church of H. Kyriaki stood. It is the site of the old Amyklai, where the throne of Apollo stood on a base which contained the tomb of Hyakinthos. The site has been excavated twice, by Tsoundas in 1890² and again in part by Furtwängler in 1904³. These excavations have yielded many Mycenaean remains; vase fragments, terracotta figurines, human and animal, of the usual types, and steatite whorls. This series is followed by geometric and later fragments, which show unbroken continuity⁴. The excavations were resumed in the year 1925 and a short preliminary report states that there are remains from Early Helladic to Mycenaean times, but that it is uncertain whether these are

¹ Above, pp. 387.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1892, pp. 1.

³ *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXXIII, 1918, pp. 107.

⁴ See Tod and Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, the Mycenaean objects pp. 236 and 244.

derived from a sanctuary or from habitations. But as regards the Late Mycenaean period there is definite evidence of a cult, namely female idols and animal figurines. The commencement of geometrical ware seems to be contemporary with the last off-shoots of the Mycenaean ceramics¹. The evidence of the excavations is supplemented by that of the name of the god, which is pre-Greek.

On the left bank of the Eurotas, opposite Sparta, the Menelaion is situated, the old Therapnae, where Menelaos and Helen were buried according to tradition; it is rather the sanctuary of Helen. Here matters are much the same as at Amyklai. Remains of Mycenaean sherds were unearthed and the series is followed by fragments of all the later styles of vases².

Kalaureia on the northern shore of the Argolic peninsula was in Greek times the centre of an amphictyony. The site was excavated by two Swedish archaeologists, Professors Wide and Kjellberg, several years ago. The result was somewhat disappointing, but Mycenaean remains were found, vases and sherds in the eastern part of the precinct, gold foils, and some minor objects³.

Inscriptions discovered in the last excavations have shown that the mistress of the famous temple on the island of Aegina was the old, almost forgotten goddess Aphaia, who certainly has Mycenaean connexions to which I shall revert later. Mycenaean remains are found; they are not stratified but found in a heap where the rubbish had been thrown in levelling the ground for a reconstruction of the temple. They consist of vases, sherds, numerous female idols of several types, more than 150 clay bulls, fragments of a horse and of three thrones, one boat, and some gems. Here also the series is immediately followed by geometric objects⁴.

Under the pronaos of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea some late Mycenaean sherds have been found⁵, as

¹ See the periodical *Gnomon*, II, 1926, p. 120.

² *BSA*, XV, 1909, pp. 108.

³ *Athen. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, pp. 297.

⁴ Thiersch in *Aegina*, pp. 370.

⁵ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXV, 1901, p. 256.

also a few sherds at the temple of Athena Kraniaia at Elateia in Phokis¹, and at Nemea where the Nemean games were celebrated there are traces of Mycenaean habitations².

The last examples are not in themselves of great importance, and the three last are perhaps hardly worth mentioning. It may be said that they only prove that the sites were inhabited in Mycenaean times and that later a Greek cult was introduced. But happily the first instances from great and important cult places prove the continuity of the cults on purely archaeological grounds. In other cases the archaeological evidence taken together with what is known about the origin of the cult from other sources leads us to the same conclusion. And this justifies a presumption in the doubtful cases. Where a Greek cult place or temple, which in Greek times was inhabited only by priests and temple servants and lacked a town or village, has yielded Mycenaean remains, we are certainly disposed to think that it was a cult place in the Mycenaean age also.

Where a temple is situated in a town, which was inhabited in Mycenaean times also, special consideration is necessary, for many temples have been erected to Greek gods who had no Mycenaean precursors, while on the other hand we must always bear in mind the possibility that a cult may have been handed on by the Mycenaean to the Greek inhabitants, even if no remains of a Mycenaean cult are discovered. For it must be assumed that some cult existed among the Mycenaean inhabitants. We turn here to the great Mycenaean centres on the mainland, of which it is a characteristic feature that the later chief temple of the goddess, who protected the Greek town, is built upon the ruins of the palace of the Mycenaean king.

At Mycenae the temple of Athena is built upon the ruins of the Mycenaean palace; its pronaos covers parts of the court and the vestibule of the Mycenaean *megaron*³.

The same is the case at Athens. Whatever opinion

¹ Paris, *Elatée*, p. 283.

² *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 26.

³ See the well known plan originally published in *Πρακτικά*, 1886, pl. IV.

is held on the vexed question of the so-called Old Temple of Athena discovered by Dr Dörpfeld on the Acropolis between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, it was the chief temple in early times. Beneath the foundations of this temple are the best preserved and most extensive remains of Mycenaean walls on the Acropolis. Beneath the east cella of the temple there are two square blocks, on the upper side of which a round column base is cut, about 10 cm. high and 62 cm. in diameter. These column bases exactly resemble in form those from Mycenae and Tiryns, only the stone (*poros*) casts some doubt on their age. A few metres from the S. E. corner of the Erechtheum another precisely similar column base with a diameter of 78 cm. was found, and as this base consists of the blue limestone from the Acropolis itself, it has still better claims to belong to the old Mycenaean palace. The two other bases are at all events older than the 'Old Temple' ¹.

Of special interest for our discussion is Tiryns. The old *megaron* of the king's palace seems to have been rebuilt into a Greek temple, the old walls being employed. The temple was made narrower, so that one of the column bases of the *megaron* stands on the central axis of the temple. It may have had two aisles like some other archaic temples. The east wall of the temple rests upon the side wall of the *megaron*, while the western and the back wall are new. The old altar in the court of the Mycenaean palace was used again for the temple; it was originally round, built of ashlar masonry

¹ Kavvadias, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, p. 84.

Comparing Minoan representations of bulls' heads with the double axe B. Tamaro, *Culto miceneo sull' Acropoli*, *Ann. d. scuola archeol. di Atene*, IV—V, 1921—23, pp. 1, tries to show that the ceremony of the Bouphonia, which Pausanias, I, 24, 4 (cf. 28, 10) mentions in describing the Acropolis at Athens, is of Mycenaean origin. This is possible but unwarranted, and the evidence adduced is of the slightest kind. The Bouphonia are not an especially Athenian but an Ionian festival (cf. p. 194, n. 1; most of the rich literature concerning it has been left on one side). A totemistic conception of the bull is certainly erroneously ascribed to the Minoans. Finally, the identification of the great rock altar on the Acropolis with the altar of Zeus Polieus is purely conjectural, not to mention the objection that it is wholly unknown to what age it belongs.

covered with fine stucco, but was changed into a regular square Greek altar by surrounding it with a facing of stone of late and careless workmanship¹. Consequently it is not situated on the central axis of the temple as is the common custom. Perhaps it was left in its old place, because it never ceased to be used for sacrifices. Professor Frickenhaus further supposes that the floor of the temple was probably the old floor of the *megaron* and that the cult image of the goddess stood against the eastern wall on exactly the same spot as the floor painting indicates as the position of the throne of the old Mycenaean king².

Against this view Mr Blegen directed an acute criticism³. He observes that the walls in question are thin and built of entirely unworked stones, the construction being practically identical with that of the Mycenaean palace, whereas even the oldest Greek temples are built of quarried stones and have comparatively thick and solid walls. This objection has no great weight, for it is recognized that the Greek temple is derived from the Mycenaean *megaron* and there were certainly also poor and humble temples, although their remains have vanished. I leave out of our reckoning the Doric capital which Professor Frickenhaus adduces in his argument concerning the age of the temple; there is no evidence that it really belongs to the temple. The date of the rebuilding is consequently indeterminable.

Mr Blegen's second objection is more serious. Professor Frickenhaus also recognized that the walls are too thin to act as foundations. The west wall rests directly on the pavement of the *megaron*. Consequently he supposed that the Mycenaean pavement served as the floor of the Greek temple. Mr Blegen remarks that in the excavations by Schliemann the acropolis was found to be covered to a depth of one metre or more by a layer of earth and ashes containing almost exclusively Mycenaean débris and potsherds, and puts this ques-

¹ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXX, 1905, pp. 152.

² Frickenhaus in *Tiryns*, II, pp. 2.

³ Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 130. Objections had already been made by Rodenwaldt, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, p. 137, n. 2.

tion: if a Greek temple was established at the Mycenaean level in the *megaron*, how could the same area be covered later with almost purely Mycenaean débris, while the débris and the sherds which we should expect from the seventh century and subsequently, i. e. from the period when the temple was in use, have almost completely vanished? Comparing house L at Korakou he pronounces the opinion that the so-called temple is a modest reconstruction of the *megaron* made at the end of the Mycenaean age after the destruction of the palace by fire.

To this the following may be said. The time of the reconstruction is indefinable; such poor walls may belong to the late Mycenaean or to the early archaic period. It is possible that the east wall was built upon the old wall of the *megaron* emerging above the débris, and that the other walls were carried down to the firm surface of the old pavement. For there is no justification for the opinion that every wall, however poor, must have a thicker and more solid foundation. It would have been possible to decide this question, if it had been observed during the excavation by Schliemann whether the wall was laid in a trench excavated in the débris (*Baugrube*) or not, but this opportunity is now irreparably lost. If this hypothesis is admitted, the floor after the reconstruction was another, and higher than the floor of the *megaron* and may have only consisted of earth. The further speculations of Professor Frickenhaus are unwarranted.

The time of the reconstruction being uncertain, the question whether or no the building is the temple of Hera remains unanswerable. But the thousands of votive terracottas of a standing and seated goddess and others¹ cannot be so lightly pushed aside as is done by Mr Blegen. They were found in an angle at the foot of the citadel wall together with a few bronzes and animal bones and evidently belong to a votive deposit thrown down from the acropolis². There is not the least probability that they came from another quarter. Consequently an important sanctuary must be supposed to have

¹ *Tiryns*, I, pl. I—XIII.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 14.

existed on the acropolis in the archaic age, and this is very naturally identified with the temple of Hera, the only one known at Tiryns.

This temple is, however, only indirectly known through the information that a small seated statue of Hera, made of pear wood, in the Argive Heraeum was brought thither from Tiryns when the Argives destroyed Tiryns¹. It was said to have been dedicated or made by Peirasos of Argos. The legends about Peirasos and his daughter Kallithyia, the first priestess of Hera at Argos, show that a certain amount of confusion between the temple of Tiryns and the Argive Heraeum has crept in, and this confusion is used by Professor Frickenhaus to transfer most of the myth to Tiryns, and by Professor Robert to deny the existence of a temple of Hera at Tiryns². His criticism of the hypotheses of Frickenhaus is in many respects sound and justifiable, but he goes too far in denying the existence of a temple of Hera at Tiryns. For such a famous image as this *xoanon* presupposes a temple, and Professor Robert himself does not dare to cast doubt upon the statement that it was originally at Tiryns. He recognizes as a temple the building in the *megaron* at Tiryns and its votive deposit in the above-mentioned terracottas. Among these there are figures of Hera, but it is known, he says, that statuettes of other gods could be dedicated to any given deity. He lays further stress upon the fact that more than a hundred terracottas of girls carrying a pig were found, and thinks that these are more applicable to Demeter. But if it is true, as Professor Robert admits to get rid of the Hera statuettes, that the poor votaries could not always find a votive offering related to the cult, but often bought one which was really more appropriate to another cult, this argument also is rather weak. There are also a few figures with birds and others with their hands pierced for a staff or a flower stalk or some similar object. Professor Robert ends by admitting that it cannot be made

¹ Paus., II, 17, 5 and VIII, 46, 3; a certain Demetrios in Clemens Alex., *Protrept.*, IV, 47, 5; cf. Plutarch in Eusebius, *Praepar. evang.*, III, 8, 1.

² Robert, *Die Hera von Tiryns, Hermes*, LV, 1920, pp. 373.

out who was worshiped in the temple of Tiryns. It must also be added that we know nothing about the character of the cult.

The following facts, however, deserve consideration. We know from the votive deposit that there was a temple on the acropolis of Tiryns, if the building itself is not accepted as satisfactory evidence. We know of a famous *xoanon* of Hera from Tiryns which presupposes a temple. No other temple at Tiryns is mentioned, and even if there were more, they must have been insignificant. Under these circumstances the doubt concerning the identity seems hardly reasonable. Even if it cannot be demonstrated with certainty that the reconstructed *megaron* served as a Greek temple, we are bound to suppose that a temple of Hera existed somewhere in the ruins of the Mycenaean palace. If it is not this building, it must have vanished completely, no other remains of foundations being mentioned which can possibly belong to a Greek temple. And the reconstruction of the altar seems to lend some colour to the probability of the old view.

The most famous temple in Argolis is the Heraeum. It is situated on a hill at the foot of which there is a beehive tomb; other Mycenaean tombs were also discovered near by. From a survey of the Mycenaean beehive tombs Professor Frickenhaus deduced that these are situated in the hill on which a Mycenaean palace was erected or quite near to it, and in applying this to the imposingly built beehive tomb at the Heraeum concludes that a Mycenaean palace must have once crowned this hill¹. This is corroborated by archaeological evidence². An old terrace wall was discovered and within this were remains of habitations older than the oldest temple, which was erected in the eighth or seventh century B. C. About fifty human idols and ten animal terracottas were found; where, is unfortunately not indicated³. The latest

¹ Frickenhaus, *Die Frühgeschichte des argiv. Heraions, Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, pp. 69.

² Frickenhaus in *Tiryns*, II, pp. 114.

³ *The Argive Heraeum*, II, pp. 23; matt painted and Mycenaean sherds, pp. 71.

American excavations on the site above the temple have yielded house foundations from Early Helladic and masses of pottery from all periods of the Helladic age including the Mycenaean. Some remains of this settlement were discovered in the precinct of the temple as far back as in the excavations of 1890. In the neighbourhood neolithic remains and a number of Mycenaean tombs were found¹. The old name of the settlement seems to have been Prosymna which the Argives destroyed². It is more probable that the cult is that of the old town, surviving after the town's destruction through the reverence felt for the goddess, rather than a new cult freshly instituted. Consequently it is probable that the Heraeum also was erected on an old Mycenaean site, and it is to be supposed that it was built upon the Mycenaean palace like the temples of Tiryns, Mycenae, and Athens.

It is very tempting to search for the same relation between the Mycenaean palace and the chief Greek temple in the other centres of Mycenaean civilization on the mainland. The next in importance after Argolis is Boeotia, but here the search is impossible. The modern town of Thebes is built upon the same spot as the Mycenaean and the Greek towns, and this has almost completely destroyed the old remains. The Mycenaean palace has been found in the centre of the modern town, but there are no known remains of Greek temples. What the Greeks built there has been removed.

At Orchomenos neither a Mycenaean palace nor a Greek temple has been found. All that we know is that there was a Mycenaean palace, for fragments of its wall paintings have been recovered³.

We must be content to state that at Mycenae itself and at two other important Mycenaean towns the temple of the city-goddess is built upon the ruins of the palace of the Mycenaean king.

¹ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 413; *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 444; *JHS*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 226.

² Strab., VIII, p. 373; Statius, *Theb.*, I, 383; cf. Paus., II, 17, 2, etc.

³ Bulle, *Orchomenos*, I, *Abh. Akad. München*, I Kl., XXIV: 2, pp. 71 and pl. XXVIII—XXX.

Although the continuity of the pre-Greek and the Greek cult is, in some important cases, a fact demonstrable by archaeological and linguistic evidence, it is doubted by some scholars on general grounds. They think that continuity between the Mycenaean and the Greek age was interrupted and refer in the first place to the great gap between the Mycenaean and the geometric period; but this gap is more apparent, owing to the poverty of the intervening age, than real, and it is beginning to be filled. We see e. g. how the decoration of the Mycenaean vases degenerated into merely geometric motifs, and we can detect in tombs used for interments during a long period, e. g. in the Mycenaean necropolis of Asine, how geometric elements gradually came in. Whatever the origin of the geometric style may be, there is a transitional form between this and the Mycenaean style. The age was one of decadence, and a strong influx of new elements took place, but the continuity was not wholly interrupted.

Here we have tried to prove the continuity of the cult places by the fact that Greek temples were erected on the ruins of the Mycenaean palaces, which contained the sanctuaries of the kings, and it is here supposed that the continuity of the cult place implies the continuity of the cult or at least the survival of some elements of the old cult. Against this view it is objected that the Greek temples, e. g. at Mycenae, were erected some four or five centuries after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, and from this fact the conclusion is drawn that the continuity of the cult was interrupted. With regard to the possibility that the Mycenaean *megaron* of Tiryns was rebuilt into a Greek temple it is even said that the continuity of the cult room does not imply the continuity of the cult¹. This view implies that the Mycenaean settlement completely vanished, that the old inhabitants were driven away with their gods and cults, and that new gods and new cults were introduced when a new settlement was founded on the same site. It is, however, certain that some places, e. g. the acropolises of Athens and Mycenae, were inhabited un-

¹ By Rodenwaldt, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, p. 137, n. 2.

interruptedly, alike in the transitional and in the following period, although the habitations were certainly poor and built of perishable material so that they have left no traces or very scanty ones. The abodes of the gods may have been just as poor and may have vanished just as completely, but there must have existed gods and cults. Consequently it is possible that the gods and the cults were to a certain extent inherited from the old inhabitants.

The assertion that it is only a chance circumstance without any significance, as far as the cult is concerned, when a Greek temple was built on the same spot as an earlier shrine, or even that the continuity of the cult room does not imply the continuity of the cult, shows a certain lack of insight into a fundamental principle of ancient religion. In our times a church is built in a certain place for purely practical reasons and the place is hallowed by the building. In antiquity, on the contrary, the reason for erecting a temple in a certain place was that this place was previously holy. The sacredness was inherent in the place, and the sacredness was especially dependent on the cult. Consequently the holiness of a certain spot on the acropolis, handed down from time immemorial, was the reason why a Greek temple was built on this spot, and this implies that there will be room for a survival of the old cult or elements of it.

From the second great invasion of foreign peoples and change of religion, that intervening between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, we know that the sacredness and the cult attached to a certain place were extremely tenacious, and the same is equally true for the period of transition with which we are occupied here. In spite of decay and poverty, in spite of the invasion of new settlers and new elements of religion and civilization, fragments of the old tradition survived, just as the old inhabitants survived and mixed gradually with the newcomers. The surviving elements of Mycenaean culture became important and active when the tide of civilization began to rise anew. In art it is recognized that the survivals of the Mycenaean age, however scanty, were of great importance as starting points, when Greek art began its first

development in the early archaic age. In religion the same tendency is still more likely to have prevailed.

The religious continuity between the Minoan-Mycenaean and the Greek age is a fact and must be appreciated in its consequences as regards the development and the history of the Greek religion.

We may summarize the archaeological evidence thus: Occasionally, if rarely, Minoan cult customs and cult implements survived down to the Greek age. In three of the great cult places of Greece a cult was already carried on in the Mycenaean age. Several Greek sanctuaries and temples are erected in places which were inhabited in the Mycenaean age, and at least in two cases (Hyakinthos and Aphaia) there is linguistic or literary evidence that the deities venerated in these places were of Mycenaean origin. The temple of the Greek city goddess was erected on the ruins of the palace of the Mycenaean king in three centres of Mycenaean civilization, Mycenae itself, Tiryns, and Athens. In a later chapter evidence will be given that the hero cults on Delos, at Menidi, and perhaps at Mycenae, originated in Mycenaean times. The evidence is of different value for different places, which is what one would expect, but there are so many instances that we may confidently assert that there is very strong cumulative evidence for the continuity of Mycenaean cults in the Greek age.

CHAPTER XV.

GREEK GODDESSES OF MINOAN ORIGIN.

In the previous chapter I called attention to the fact that at Mycenae itself and in two other important Mycenaean towns, Athens and perhaps Tiryns, the temple of the divine protectress of the Greek city-state, Athena or Hera, is built upon the ruins of the palace of the Mycenaean king. As this connexion is found constantly where remains of both the palace and the temple are left, it is difficult to believe that it was merely accidental; on the contrary a real connexion seems very natural. The old king was also high priest. With regard to the Greek king it is well known that certain sacral functions were so firmly bound up with him and his title that the latter was not abolished when the kingship was. There are republican functionaries in Athens and many other towns who bear the name of king¹. Religious scruples forbade its discontinuance.

¹ Aristotle, *Polit.*, VII (VI), 8, p. 1322 B, makes the general statement that functionaries with sacral offices were called βασιλεις or προτάνεις. The second archon of Athens was called βασιλεύς. He was charged with the care of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the Lenaea, and, in a word, all sacrifices inherited from old times. He presided at all law-suits concerning sacrilege and impiety, priestships, and murder, Aristotle, *Αθ. πολ.*, 57. It appears that the sacral offices of the king devolved upon him. Each of the four old Attic *phylae* had its *φυλοβασιλεύς*; these were taken from the old nobility, were charged with sacral functions, and sat in the *βασιλειον* near the Boukoleion, Pollux, VIII, 111. At Olympia the *βασιλαι* performed a sacrifice to Kronos on the hill named after him, Paus., VI, 20, 1. A list of Greek towns where kings are mentioned is given in K. Fr. Hermann, *Lehrbuch d. griech. Staatsaltertümer*, I: 3, 6th ed. by H. Swoboda, pp. 44. I mention only those instances where it appears that the king or the kings were sacral functionaries or the king is mentioned in inscriptions which preclude the possibility of his being a real king or ruler. The name was especially common in Ionian towns; cf. Paus., VII, 3, 10. Miletos, law of the *μολποί*, Dittenberger,

Sir Arthur Evans has called the king of Knossos a priest-king and in the light of our knowledge of the Minoan religion this seems evidently correct. His palace was a sacred house in which the cults of the gods were practised. In the Mycenaean palaces of the mainland no room which was evidently a sanctuary has been found, but it cannot be doubted that some cult took place here also. On the other hand many monuments of a religious nature have been found on the mainland and these are precisely similar to those found in Crete. Special attention is due to some cult implements recently discovered at Mycenae. A stepped base destined to support a double axe is a chance find, discovered among house foundations N. N. E. of the great ramp¹. Round three-legged tables of offering just like those from Crete were found in one of the rooms of the palace of Mycenae which in part is covered by the terrace of the temple, in a Late Helladic III layer above its cement plastering. The room is therefore called 'the Shrine'. Small fragments of similar tables were likewise found at Tiryns². On the evidence of the archaeological discoveries we must suppose that the cult and religion of the

Syll. inscr. graec., 3rd ed., No. 57, l. 22; No. 1037, l. 6. The Milesian colony Olbia, Latyschew, *Inscr. Ponti Eux.*, I, No. 53, l. 7. In Samothrake he was an eponymous functionary, *Inscr. gr.*, XII: 8, 164 etc. Chios, Dittenberger, *loc. cit.*, No. 986. Myconos, *loc. cit.*, No. 1024, l. 41 (?). Ios, *Inscr. graec.*, XII: 5, 1008 (sacral law). Naxos, *loc. cit.*, 54, l. 3. Siphnos, Isocrates, XIX, 36, where it appears that the office belonged to the noblest families. At Ephesus Heraclitus yielded the office to his brother, Diog. La., IX, 6. Cos, which was strongly influenced by the Ionians, in the sacral fasti, Dittenberger, *loc. cit.*, No. 1025, l. 21, *γερεαφόρος βασιλέων*. In the Roman age a *βασιλεὺς Ἰώνων* is mentioned, Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. inscr.*, No. 489, l. 15. It may not be accidental that the name of king for the highest sacral functionaries is so frequently found among the Ionians, the tribe which came first and most permanently into contact with Minoan culture. The word *βασιλεὺς* itself is certainly not Greek, see Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Untersuchungen zu Homer*, pp. 209. For this reason Glotz, *La civil. égéenne*, p. 441, and J. Huber, *De lingua antiquissimorum Graeciae incolarum*, Diss., Innsbruck, 1921, p. 35, count it among the words borrowed from the Minoan language. Unfortunately there is no direct proof of this, but cf. Cuny, *Rev. des études anc.*, XII, 1910, p. 164.

¹ See above, p. 184 and fig. 61.

² Cf. above, pp. 103; *BSA*, XXV, pp. 223; *Tiryns*, II, p. 63.

Mycenaeans on the mainland were almost identical with those of the Minoans in Crete. This is also the judgement of other scholars and is explicitly asserted e. g. by Sir Arthur Evans and Professor Rodenwaldt¹.

Consequently we must suppose that the Mycenaean king carried on the cult of the gods in his palace sanctuary. The gods and the cults of the king were the gods and the cults of the state. When the power of the king weakened with the nobility taking the ascendancy over public affairs, the cults attached to him and his palace could not be treated as his private cults; they belonged to a certain extent to the state and continued to do so. Religious reverence and conservatism caused the old state of things to remain longer where the sacral functions of the king were concerned; they even preserved the name of king and left the public sacral functions to a functionary called king in many towns. But it was inevitable that the cults of the king should gradually become public, and consequently, if they were attached to his house, this invested it with the character of a public sanctuary. This was certainly a slow process, as the kingship weakened step by step until it was only an empty name. The final result was that when in later times the kingship was abolished, the republic enjoyed the cults which had been under the king's care. His palace had been converted into the temple of the gods, who were formerly the protectors of the king, and now the protectors of the republic. The reason why the temples are built upon the ruins of the Mycenaean palaces is the sacred character of the king's palace, which remained always attached to the place through the tenacity of religious tradition. The king was dethroned but the cult persisted in the old place. The shrine in the palace of the Mycenaean king is the precursor of the public temple of the Greek city-state.

There are two well-known passages in Homer which support this supposition. In the very latest part of the *Iliad*, the Catalogue of the Ships, it is said that Athena set the great-hearted Erechtheus down in her rich temple at Athens, where

¹ Cf. above, pp. 6.

the young Athenians placate him yearly by sacrifices of bulls and sheep¹. This is the current Greek opinion, according to which Erechtheus is a hero subordinated to the goddess Athena and provided with a place in her temple and her cult. On the contrary a passage in the seventh book of the *Odyssey*² says that Athena went to Athens and entered the strong house of Erechtheus. Certainly this passage also belongs to the latest parts of Homer³, but however late it may be, it shows quite another view of the partnership between the hero and the goddess. The house belongs to Erechtheus and Athena the goddess has her abode in his house. The Athenians considered Erechtheus as a king of olden times, i. e. what we should call the Mycenaean age, which had become mythical. If we take him as the representative of the Mycenaean king, the relation between him and the goddess is precisely that which we have found in the Minoan age: the goddess has her abode and her sanctuary in the king's palace. This is the old conception which survives, although the passage itself may be rather late.

The change of the king's palace into a temple of a goddess attests the continuity of the cult, and this raises the further question of the continuity of the deity. We are compelled to ask whether Athena, whose temple stands upon the ruins of the Mycenaean palaces of Mycenae and of Athens, and Hera, into whose temple the Tirynthian *megaron* was perhaps converted, and who at all events had a temple on the acropolis of Tiryns, were originally Mycenaean goddesses.

The first point may perhaps be that which concerns the etymology of the names. *Ἥρη* is obscure, no recognized explanation or derivation has been proposed⁴. Attempts to de-

¹ *Iliad*, II, vv. 547, δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ξειδώρος ἄρουρα
καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἶσεν ἐφ' ἐν πίονι νηϊ.
ἔνθα δὲ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἰλάονται
κούροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

² *Odyssey*, VII, vv. 80, ἦκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην.
δῶνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πριανὸν δόμον.

³ It was already in antiquity denoted as an Attic interpolation. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Homer. Untersuchungen*, pp. 247.

⁴ Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, p. 329, says: the original

rive the name Ἀθήνη from the Indo-European languages have failed¹ and are not worth mentioning. Ἀθήνη belongs to a group of words, chiefly place names, characterized by their ending -ήνη, Doric -άνα², which leading philologists are inclined to consider as pre-Greek like those with the elements -νθ- and -σσ- (Attic -ττ-)³. Professor Kretschmer says⁴ that the termination -ήνη recurs in many place names which may be suspected of having an un-Greek origin, e. g. Ἀθηναί, Μυκῆναι, Παλλήνη, Τροιζήν, Μιτυλήνη. I am indebted to Professor Wackernagel for further valuable information. He writes in

sense of ἦρωσ is 'protector', cf. Ἥρα from Ἥρα attested by Ἡραῖοι, the inhabitants of the town Heraia, latin *servo*. The affinity of ἦρωσ and Ἥρα which is maintained by other philologists also is used by Wide, *Chthonische und himmlische Götter, Archiv. f. Religionswiss.*, X, 1907, pp. 262, to assert a chthonic origin of Hera, but it seems very unlikely that Hera is originally a goddess of the Underworld. As to ἦρωσ the oldest, i. e. the Homeric significance is 'lord', 'nobleman', 'gentleman', and this is obviously the original one from which that of 'heros' is derived. For the reverse contention, that a word which originally meant 'hero', i. e. a dead man who is an object of worship, should be applied to living men as a title of honour is hardly thinkable. This etymology will also give a perfectly satisfactory meaning to the name of Hera, if its affinity to ἦρωσ is admitted, viz. Mistress. But the etymological question is not settled. Blinkenberg, *Le temple de Paphos, Det K. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd.*, IX: 2, 1924, p. 29, is inclined to think that Ἥρα is the Greek translation of a Mycenaean word signifying 'Queen' or 'Lady' (ἄνασσα), by which the Greek people called this goddess.

¹ For the whole section on Athena cf. my paper, *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athena, Det K. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd.*, IV: 7, 1921.

² Collected by Lenz, *Herodian*, I, pp. 330, although mixed up with appellations and foreign place names. (Referred to by Professor Wackernagel).

³ There is of course also a Greek termination -ήνη, and this complicates the question. The ending -ηνός, Doric -ανός (e. g. Σηλυμβριανός), which occurs very frequently in geographical names of N. W. Asia Minor and the neighbouring districts of Thrace, cannot be identical, because of the accentuation. I am indebted to Professor Wackernagel for the following references: F. de Saussure in Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, 1898, pp. 185; Wackernagel, *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie*, XIV, 1906, pp. 1; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XI, 1921, p. 277, n. 1. Materials in Lobeck, *Pathologia, Proll.*, pp. 194. Cf. Malten, *Kyrene*, pp. 69.

⁴ Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 277. The comparison with Etruscan words and his notion of demonstrating by an Etruscan word that Athena was the goddess of the Athenian potters had better be left out of account.

a letter to me: "The origin e. g. of *Πρωγήνη* is evident non-Greek, only there is the difficulty that this name can hardly be separated from *Πρωϊανσος* in Crete. It may consequently seem as if *ν* here corresponds to *νσ*, but this is perhaps only a chance resemblance¹. As to the Greek place names in *-ήνη* there are few for which an explanation from Greek stems is permissible or even plausible. To these *Μεσσήνη* probably belongs. But such words do not prove the Greek origin of the termination. As to *Μυκῆναι* the non-Greek origin is evident because of its affinity to *Μυκάλη* and *Μυκαλησός*". The latter name contains the pre-Greek element *-σσ-*.

The town *Ἀθῆναι* is named after the goddess *Ἀθήνη*², not vice versa the goddess after the town. It is of course impossible to decide whether this name originally belonged exclusively to Athens or was commoner and more wide-spread. In the historical age it is, however, evident that Athena ousted many other city-goddesses and appropriated their names as secondary names, e. g. Alea and Itonia, and gradually developed into a common protectress of the towns³.

In passing it may be asked whether the goddess of *Μυκῆναι*, who is called Athena in the historical age, was not once called *Μυκῆνη* and consequently whether the same relation existed between the name of the goddess *Μυκῆνη* and that of the town *Μυκῆναι* as that between the goddess *Ἀθήνη* and the town *Ἀθῆναι*. Mykene is once mentioned by Homer among the most prominent heroines⁴, but afterwards she is almost forgotten. Athena may have ousted her as she ousted many other city-goddesses.

The name of Athena itself then is probably of pre-Greek origin, and therefore the goddess too. The crucial point is whether Minoan survivals can be found in her cult and character, and this must be scrutinized thoroughly. I refer to the exposi-

¹ Cf. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, pp. V.

² Kretschmer, *Eiul. in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, pp. 418. Later the adjectival formation *Ἀθηναία*, *Ἀθηνα* took the ascendancy at Athens.

³ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, p. 86; *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, XXII, 1924, p. 372.

⁴ *Odyssey*, II, v. 120, *Τυρώ τ' Ἀλκιμήνη τε ἐνστέφανός τε Μυκῆνη*.

tion of the Minoan palace cult given above ¹. This cult was a house cult, whose priest was the father of the house, in the palace the king. The deity venerated was a goddess whose sacred animal was the snake and she developed from the cult of the snake as the guardian of the house. The bird was another form of her epiphany. So much was it possible to say of her.

Now Athena has a very striking similarity to the Minoan house and palace goddess in all these features. In Homer the gods sometimes change themselves into birds, but never into other animals. The passages in which the gods appear as real birds are the following. In the third book of the *Odyssey* ² Athena appears in human shape but disappears in the semblance of a sea-eagle. The old Nestor is surprised, but it is precisely by this that he recognizes the goddess and he grasps the hand of Telemachos and praises his good fortune because the gods follow him. In the first book ³ Athena flies away as an *ἀνόπαια*, the species of this bird being unknown. At the slaughter of the suitors Athena exhorts Odysseus; disappearing she hurries upwards through the hall and alights in the form of a swallow ⁴. In a passage in the *Iliad* Athena and Apollo alight in a tall oak in the form of vultures and look on at the battle ⁵. In all these passages it is recognized that the gods appear in the shape of birds; in others they and their appearance are compared to birds ⁶. But a passage in the fifth book of the *Iliad* ⁷, where Hera and Athena set out for the battle to help the Greeks "resembling shy doves", cannot be a comparison, for this would be extremely unsuitable for the situation; it must be assumed that the goddesses here also appear in the shape of birds.

It is always Athena who appears as a bird, alone or accompanied by another god, Apollo or Hera. The species of bird varies, so that we find a sea-eagle, a swallow, a vulture,

¹ Above, pp. 72; cf. pp. 266.

² *Odyssey*, III, vv. 371.

³ *Odyssey*, I, v. 320.

⁴ *Odyssey*, XXII, vv. 239.

⁵ *Iliad*, VII, vv. 58.

⁶ See G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, p. 34.

⁷ *Iliad*, V, v. 778.

a dove; any of these birds may apparently be the epiphany of a god. Later also Athena is *par excellence* connected with birds and appears as such, though not always in earlier times as an owl. On a black-figured *kylia* in the British Museum a sacrifice to Athena is represented¹. The goddess is standing behind the altar, on the altar a bird is seated, and the bird is certainly not an owl. On the shore of Megara there was a rock where Pandion was said to be buried, called the rock of Athena *aĩθua*, the gull². Dr M. Mayer has very acutely connected this information with some vase paintings in which a bird with a human head appears associated with Athena³. A Corinthian *aryballos* in the Schaubert collection at Breslau⁴ shows the contest of Herakles with the Lernaean hydra. Athena descends from her chariot to help him and has leaned her goad against the breast-rail of the chariot. On this a human-headed bird perches, at the side of which is the inscription *Φουγ*; an owl perches on the reins. Dr Mayer refers to a gloss according to which the *πῶυξ* is the *aĩθua*⁶. There are some other vase paintings in which Athena is accompanied by a human-headed bird formerly called a Siren. This bird is the attribute and even the epiphany of Athena, e. g. on a black-figured Attic amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris which shows Herakles capturing the Marathonian bull⁷; above its back a human-headed bird is flying.

¹ *B. M. Cat. of Vases*, B 80; *JHS*, I, 1880, pl. VII; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, pl. XV b (a part); Pfuhl, *Zeichnung und Malerei der Griechen*, fig. 169, cf. I, p. 207. The varying interpretations of the procession approaching the altar are of no interest here and are vitiated by the neglect of the fact that the vase is Boeotian and not Attic.

² Paus., I, 5, 3 and 41, 6.

³ *Hermes*, XXVII, 1892, pp. 481.

⁴ O. Rossbach, *Griech. Antiken des arch. Museums von Breslau*, 1889, pp. 5.

⁵ Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 304, fig. 83.

⁶ *Etymol. magnum*, p. 699, 10 *πῶυγες: αἱ αἰθυαί, αἱ κληθεῖσαι βοῦγες*; concerning the form of the word see A. Kjöck, *Athene Aithyia*, *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, XVIII, 1915, p. 128; *Φῶυξ* is a Dorian form for *πῶυξ*.

⁷ Unpublished; see De Witte, *Catalogue des vases peints provenant de l'Etrurie*, No. 139; *Description des vases peints etc. de la collection de M. Magnoncourt*, No. 108. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, p. 34, accepts the

Later the owl became the bird of Athena¹. It was a popular belief as early as the time of Aristophanes² that Athena appeared as an owl in the battle against the Persians. He says: We conquered toward evening, for an owl flew



FIG. 110. *KANTHAROS* IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF COPENHAGEN.

human-headed bird as an epiphany of Athena only in this painting and on some gems from the Roman age. A. Kiock, *loc. cit.*, tries to find it on still other monuments. Cf. also E. M. Douglas, *The Owl of Athena*, *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 174, and C. Anti, *Athena marina e alata*, *Mon. ant.*, XXVI, pp. 281.

¹ The monuments and passages in the authors are collected by D. Le Lasseur, *Les Déeses armées dans l'art classique grec et leurs origines orientales*, pp. 34. I add an unpublished non-Attic *kantharos* in Copenhagen (fig. 110). The right-hand part is lost but probably the birth of Erichthonios was represented. The undulating line on the ground may perhaps be a snake.

² Aristophanes, *Vespæ*, vv. 1085.

through the ranks before the battle began¹. A small late red-figured jug in the Louvre shows the owl armed with helmet and spear². On a black-figured vase at Uppsala a big owl perches on the altar towards which a ram is led to be sacrificed³; the goddess herself being absent, the owl must be taken as her representative or embodiment. A series of terracotta plaques show an owl with human arms spinning wool which is taken from a *kalathos*⁴. It may be questionable whether a truly theriomorphic conception existed in the minds of people in the classical age; these representations, however, are at least a survival of the epiphany of Athena in the shape of an owl. It is superfluous to refer to such instances as where the owl is a mere attribute, held in the hand of the goddess or accompanying her.

Dr Pottier tries to show that it was only in later times that the owl became the characteristic bird of Athena⁵. He remarks that the owl often appears on vases at the beginning of the sixth century without being associated with Athena and that, on the other hand, in these early vase paintings Athena is seldom accompanied by the owl; he refers to the above-mentioned vases and passages. He observes that the owl appears alone on the earliest coins of Athens at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century and that the head of Athena was not added before the time of Pisistratus. Thus the owl became the bird of Athena, but originally it was chosen for a coin type by the Athenians because of its prophylactic significance which, he thinks, was inherited from the pre-Greek age.

Dr Pottier's criticism of the attempts made by other scholars to explain the association of Athena and the owl is sound and justified. But as far as I am aware, the owl does

¹ Hence the saying, *γλαῦξ διέπτατο*, in Hesychius and Suidas referring to the battle of Salamis.

² Le Lasseur, *loc. cit.*, p. 354, fig. 131.

³ *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 174, fig. 1.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 541 and pl. VII, 3; Le Lasseur, *loc. cit.*, p. 360, fig. 132.

⁵ Pottier, *La chonette d'Athéna*, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 529.

not occur in Minoan and Mycenaean monuments, and we know nothing about its prophylactic value in this early age¹; and it deserves to be noted that the vase paintings where another bird or a human-headed bird is associated with Athena are mostly not Attic, e. g. the Boeotian cup in the British Museum and the *aryballos* at Breslau. If the owl was chosen for the coin type of Athens as early as at the end of the seventh century B. C., it seems most natural to think that this was because it was already the bird most often associated with the city-goddess.

How it happened that the owl became the bird of Athena, I learnt to understand when several years ago, as a member of the Danish archaeological expedition to Rhodes, I lived at the foot of another acropolis of Athena, at Lindos, and in the warm evenings of the spring heard the clear sounds of the small owls which nested in the crevices of the acropolis. The bird which was always heard and found on the acropolis became quite naturally the bird of the goddess enthroned on the acropolis who according to the old belief appeared in the shape of a bird. So the owl became the bird of Athena in a town, to which it was superfluous to carry owls. This explanation is very simple, perhaps too simple for modern scholars who are always prone to seek, if not ancient wisdom, at least relics of half-forgotten lore or even totemism in such divine associations. But the simple explanation is sometimes the sound one. If Athena appeared originally in the shape of several birds, it is thus possible to understand why the owl became exclusively associated with her at Athens.

In any case this comes second; originally Athena appeared in the shape of various birds, as the gods did in the Minoan-Mycenaean age. There is a series of representations of Athena in human shape but provided with wings². It may

¹ I leave on one side the suggestion of Pottier, *loc. cit.*, p. 450, that the owl was associated with Athena Ergane at an earlier date than with Athena Polias or Promachos, for the terracotta plaques mentioned with the spinning owl do not seem to be old enough to warrant such a conclusion.

² E. g. a black-figured vase in the National Library in Paris (Athena carrying a warrior over the sea), and a Clazomenian sarcophagus, *Ant. Denk-*

perhaps be conjectured that the wings are not only due to the Orientalized fashion of the time, but are a reminiscence of the old bird epiphany¹. The bird epiphany is the first close resemblance between Athena and the Minoan palace goddess upon whose head a bird perches.

The second striking similarity is her association with the snake. On the Boeotian^o cup already mentioned² there is a huge snake behind Athena in addition to the bird which perches on the altar. It is very noteworthy that this vase painting is Boeotian and not Athenian, for it shows that not only at Athens was the snake the sacred animal of Athena. There the snake of Athena is well known, especially because of the chryselephantine statue of Phidias in the Parthenon which showed a huge snake concealed under the shield of the goddess³. On a well-known relief vase from Kertsch, representing the contest of Athena and Poseidon and believed to be a copy of the central part of the western pediment of the Parthenon⁴, a snake coils round the olive tree in the centre. The snake is also sometimes associated with Athena in vase paintings. A late red-figured lid of a *pyxis* in the National Museum of Copenhagen shows her chariot drawn by two huge snakes⁵. A late red-figured lekythos at Athens shows Paris and Athena and at her side a snake as large as the goddess herself⁶, and a black-figured lekythos depicts Cassandra flying from Ajax and taking refuge by the statue of Athena,

mäler, II, pl. 57. Cf. *Anti*, *loc. cit.* I cannot see that there is a special connexion between the winged Athena and the sea.

¹ Cf. what is said in regard to the winged Artemis p. 437.

² Above, p. 422 and n. 1.

³ It appears on the small copies of this statue, the Lenormant and Varvakeion statuettes. It is mentioned by Pausanias, I, 24, 7, who identifies it with Erechtheus.

⁴ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, pl. X a; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, VII, pl. IX; cf. also several coins.

⁵ Dumont et Chaplain, *Céramique de la Grèce propre*, III, pl. X; Roseher, *Lex. d. Mythol.*, III, p. 1618, fig. 7.

⁶ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1896, p. 36 with a discussion of the difficult interpretation of the scene. Collignon et Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints à Athènes*, No. 1942; Jane Harrison, *Prol. to the Study of the Greek Religion*, p. 307, fig. 85.

from in front of which a snake issues forth against the sacrilegious hero¹. A black-figured hydria in Berlin represents a sacrifice to Athena; the goddess is seated with a phial in her right hand and her helmet in her left; at her feet the forepart of her snake appears².

The myth of the Agraulides, the daughters of Kekrops, shows that her association with the snake is old and intimate. Athena committed to their keeping a chest in which the child Erichthonios was hidden. They disobeyed her and opened the chest; two huge snakes issued from the chest and frightened them to death. A red-figured *pelike* in the British Museum shows the chest with the child and the two snakes³, and a *kylix* by Brygos two maidens flying from a huge snake⁴ which pursues them. There is no valid reason for regarding this snake as an embodiment of Erichthonios, who is a rather late mythological creation, as Pausanias does, or of Erechtheus, as Professor Frickenhaus suggests⁵; for Athena is associated with the snake in Boeotia also, which was not the home of Erechtheus.

A well-known tale of Herodotus⁶ puts us on the right track. The Athenians believed that a huge snake lived in the temple as a guardian of the Acropolis and sacrificed cakes to it once every month. When on the approach of the Persians these cakes remained untouched, the Athenians became more inclined to evacuate their town, the goddess herself having left the Acropolis. This snake was called by a name corresponding to that of the house snake mentioned above, viz. *οικουρός ὄφις*. One of the women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* who have occupied the Acropolis says that she cannot sleep

¹ Benndorff, *Sizil. u. griech. Vasenbilder*, pl. LI, 1; Harrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 306, fig. 84.

² Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 242, 1; Harrison, *Themis*, p. 145, fig. 25; Farnell, *loc. cit.*, I, pl. XIV b.

³ *B. M. Cat. of Vases*, E 372; Jane Harrison, *Prol. to the Study of the Greek Rel.*, p. 133, fig. 13, and *Themis*, p. 264, fig. 64.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 265, fig. 65; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, VIII, pl. II.

⁵ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 171.

⁶ Herodotus, VIII, 41.

since she saw the snake guarding the house¹; another cannot sleep because of the hooting owls. This snake is, as its name implies, the guardian of the house, as elsewhere in Greece and many other countries, and from which the domestic snake goddess of the Minoan age originates.

The Minoan house goddess appeared as a snake and as a bird; so does Athena. This seems to give very strong support for the view that Athena is a direct descendant of the Minoan palace goddess. It may also be noted that she has a holy tree, the olive tree in the Pandroseion near her temple; it was burnt by the Persians but the following day put forth a long shoot². This agrees very well with the Minoan tree cult, but on the other hand the tree cult is so common that too much stress must not be laid on this coincidence.

It may be objected that Athena is a warlike goddess, while the Minoan house-goddess was not. How can she have become a goddess of war? Then it may be asked: why is the chief war-deity of the Greeks female? Since Ares represents only bloodshed and murder, the real war-god to whom the Greek states and soldiers prayed and sacrificed is Athena. Other peoples have usually assigned this function to a god, and this seems most natural. Even if a war-goddess may be found among other peoples — she exists but rarely — we need an explanation of the fact that the Greeks chose a goddess as their leader in war.

It is to be remembered that the needs of man created the gods. The Mycenaean kings of the mainland were warlike princes — witness the mighty walls of their strongholds — and they required the protection of their house-goddess in all the needs of life, and accordingly in what they were most engaged in, — namely, war. Consequently their house-goddess became a warlike goddess. She, it may be, is depicted on the limestone tablet from Mycenae already mentioned³. The body is covered with the large Mycenaean shield and the

¹ Aristophanes, *Lysistr.*, vv. 758; cf. Hesychius and Photius *s. v.* οἰκουρὸς ὄφης quoting the historian Phylarchos (frg. 74).

² Herodotus, VIII, 55.

³ Above, p. 298.

stiffness of the figure reminds us of an idol. Professor Rodenwaldt is right in calling this figure Athena¹, at least to a certain extent; it is a forerunner of Athena. When Professor Blinkenberg thinks that the Mycenaeans provided the shield with a head, arms, and legs in the Egyptian manner to make a god of it, he is not right, for there are no traces of a cult of weapons in the Minoan age², and it may be asked: why, in that case, did they make the figure female and not male? I think the most satisfactory explanation is that the house-goddess of the king has taken over the warlike cult and become a war-goddess.

Two essential features of the Greek Athena are better understood, if she is by origin the house-goddess of the Mycenaean king. Many scholars have compared the small shield-bearing figures of Mycenaean art with the palladia, and indeed have called them palladia³. I have given my reasons why I cannot believe this name justified except in the case of the shield-bearing goddess, just mentioned, on the limestone tablet from Mycenae. But there is an essential feature in the myths of the palladium, for which no explanation from Greek belief is given, but which may be understood if Athena is by origin the house-goddess of the Mycenaean king. The palladium is especially famous in the Trojan myth, but several other Greek towns, e. g. Alalkomenai in Boeotia, Athens, Argos, disputed the possession of a palladium which was said to be the famous one carried away from Troy. The palladium is always an image of the warlike Athena. It is hidden in a secret place in the interior of the citadel or palace and is the pledge of the welfare and existence of the town, which cannot be conquered, so long as the palladium is not carried away. This is not the way with Greek gods; some are not accessible to

¹ *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1912, p. 137.

² Above, pp. 349. Wilamowitz takes the same fetishism as a starting point for his explanation of the origin of Athena in his paper, *Athena*, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin*, 1921, pp. 950. It is an apparently simple and logical line of evolution, but disproved by recent investigations into the history of the development of religions and deities.

³ See e. g. the section 'Mykenische Palladien' in the article by Sieveking, *Palladion* in Roscher, *Lex. d. Mythol.*, III, pp. 1326; cf. above, p. 352.

the public, but they are not hidden in an unknown place. But it agrees with the cult of the Minoan house-goddess; she had a small sanctuary in the interior of the palace and the king was her priest.

The second point is that Athena stands in a peculiar relation to some men and all their kin. She is the protector of some heroes and assists them personally; she is the ever present helper of Herakles and she aids Jason in the building of the ship Argo. This personal relation is passed on from father to son; she assists Telemachos as well as his father Odysseus and Diomedes has inherited her assistance from his father Tydeus. The peculiar nature of this relation appears from a comparison with Zeus. Zeus is the protector of the king, e. g. Agamemnon in Homer, because he gives the kingship and protects its rights. To put it correctly, he is the protector of the kingship, the relation is a moral and legal one. The relation between Athena and her *protégés* is purely personal and hereditary. This will be easier to understand if she was originally the goddess who protected the palace of the Mycenaean king and whose cult belonged and whose protection was afforded to the king personally. Cult as well as protection were inherited by the son from his father. Certainly this personal relation between the king and the goddess depends on a conception of kingship different from the Greek. The Greeks thought that the king not only had rights but was also subject to rights which Zeus guarded. Here on the contrary the king is the personal *protégé* of the deity and his might and right originate in religion. That is an assumption concerning the Mycenaean king which is justified by circumstances, and the myth preserves a reflection of this old conception.

The kingship was abolished and Athena became the goddess and protectress of the republican town. She had protected the Mycenaean king in all his needs; in the same manner she protected the town and satisfied all its needs. Her most characteristic feature is that she is the goddess and divine protectress of the town in general. All her special functions can easily be deduced from this general function.

But this is not the place to set forth the later history of Athena¹; our object is to discover her origin, and this is found in the Minoan house goddess, the forms of whose epiphany were the snake and the bird, which were always sacred to Athena also.

The temple of Hera was built upon the ruins of the palace of Tiryns and the great Heraeum was superimposed upon a Mycenaean stronghold. Consequently Hera also ought to be of Mycenaean origin, but this question is very obscure. It would be decided, if there really were Mycenaean idols representing a goddess with a cow's head, as Schliemann maintained and many believe. The real sense of the Homeric epithet of Hera *βοῶπις*, which is translated 'the cow-faced' or 'the cow-figured', may be uncertain, but Hera was undoubtedly connected with the cow. The cow plays an important part in her mythology, as in the myths of Io and of the daughters of Proetus; cows were regularly sacrificed to her and they drew the chariot of the priestess from Argos to the Heraeum, and probably holy herds of cows grazed on the Prosymna, the plain below the Heraeum; the hill, moreover, on which the temple was situated was named *Εὔβοια*, i. e. rich in cows².

But the belief in a Mycenaean cow-faced Hera is unfounded and cannot be held by any one who has cared to read the words of Schliemann himself³. In reality not a single idol with a human body and a cow's head has been found either by Schliemann or by any later explorer. Schliemann says himself that a cow's head never occurs together with a human body, but only with a small part of it above the breasts, and that all such examples were broken off from vases. They are therefore simply *attaches* of vases without any significance with regard to the question of the goddess, and it may be doubted whether there was any intention to put a cow's head on a small stump of a human body. Schliemann draws his arguments from that form of female idols, of which the arms are similar in form to the points of the moon's crescent⁴. This is certain-

¹ Cf. my *History of the Greek Religion*, pp. 128.

² See my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 42.

³ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pp. 118.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 11, 22, 80; cf. above, p. 261.

ly due to the roughness of the workmanship, but Schliemann equates these pointed stumps of arms with the cow's and the moon's horns, for the cow is sacred to Hera in her function of a moon-goddess, he says. I need not discuss this fantastic argument, but on it rests the opinion that there existed a Mycenaean cow-faced goddess, the prototype of Hera.

On the other hand Hera¹ is the chief goddess of Argolis and her temples are superimposed upon two Mycenaean palaces. Outside Argolis her cult is surprisingly rare. It occurs in Euboea and Samos, and at Olympia. There the temple of Hera is the oldest one, but Olympia is not Mycenaean in origin; nothing Mycenaean has been found there. That Hera is a special Argive goddess sheds light upon her eager partisanship of the Greeks and her hatred of the Trojans in Homer. Such a character may become the warring king's personal divine protectress. In the myth of the Argonauts she is the personal protectress of Jason just as Athena is of Odysseus. Surely something points to Mycenaean connexions, something in the contrary direction. It may be that a Greek goddess has been superimposed upon a Mycenaean one.

The continuity of the cult places is the firm ground on which the Mycenaean origin of Athena and perhaps of Hera may be asserted, but this assertion is borne out by other circumstances showing that the Greek goddess is akin to the Mycenaean house and palace goddess. She is the only Minoan goddess whose sanctuaries have been discovered; we do not know to which deity the Minoan cult places other than these house-chapels belonged. If we would go further we must therefore use evidence other than that of localities, and must turn to similarity of form in artistic representations and to internal similarity in divine nature and function.

Both agree in showing that Artemis is of Minoan origin; but this Artemis is not the goddess of classical mythology, the sister of Apollo, but a ruder and more primitive type of deity which was wide-spread especially in the Peloponnesos and among the Dorian peoples; she is, in fact, the most po-

¹ For the etymology of her name see p. 418, n. 4.

pular goddess of Greece, at least in the cult of the simple rustic people ¹.

This Artemis is the goddess of wild nature, which has not been touched or altered by the hand of man. Hence her epithet *ἀγροτέρα*. She roams about in the mountains and forests, in the shadowy groves and the wet meadows, she hunts and dances together with her nymphs of whom she is but the foremost and the leader. She is the noisy (*κελαδεινή*) goddess ², as Homer calls her, she and her companions have justly been compared with the wild huntsman and his followers ³. "Where has not Artemis danced?" asks a Greek saying ⁴. Dances are very common in her cult. The Laconian virgins danced in her honour at Caryae and in the festival of the Tithenidia at Sparta; dances are mentioned as taking place at the temple of Artemis Limnatis at the foot of Taygetos, and at that in Elis, and in the colonies in South Italy and Sicily. These dances were of an orgiastic and at times indecent character; sometimes the dancers wore masks; they seem ill suited to the virgin goddess.

This goddess was a goddess of fertility, not of agrarian fertility but of the fertility of man and the animals. She helps the females to bring forth their young and assists women in the pangs of childbirth, she fosters the young of the animals and the small children of man. Therefore she is called Eileithyia and Kourotrophos and venerated as such. She is intimately connected with one form of the tree cult; the sacred bough which conveys life and fertility has a conspicuous place in her cult. The sacred bough, named *κορυθάλη*, was set up in the Spartan festival of the Tithenidia, which was celebrated on behalf of the small children; beyond doubt the flagellation at the altar of Artemis Orthia at Sparta was once a rite in which the boys were struck with the sacred bough which conferred strength

¹ For the following exposition cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 179.

² Except Artemis only the wind-god Zephyros has this epithet in Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII, 208,

³ Dilthey, *Rhein. Museum*, XXV, 1870, pp. 321.

⁴ *Proverbia Aesopi*, No. 9, *Corpus paroemiogr. graec.*, II, p. 229.

and good luck ¹, although the rite was later conceived as a trial of endurance. The epithets Caryatis, Lygodesma, Lyaia, Phakelitis are due to her connexion with the tree cult. It is well known that the animal kingdom is the realm of Artemis. It has been supposed that she herself appeared in animal form. The nymph Callisto, the ancestress of the Arcadians, who was changed into a bear, is perhaps only another form of Artemis. The small Athenian maidens who served her are called 'bears'.

This Artemis is akin to an especially Arcadian type of goddess, or rather, pair of goddesses, who are for this reason also identified with Demeter and Kore ². The Arcadians themselves called these goddesses 'the Great Goddesses' or the Mistress (Despoina) or the Saviour (Soteira) etc. These were very strange beings. Demeter Melaina of Phigalia was represented with a horse's head, Demeter of Thelpousa had changed herself into a horse. We possess fragments of the cult statues of these goddesses from Lykosoura. The garment of Despoina is decorated with dancing figures with animals' heads in human garments. The Artemis of this group held a torch in one hand and two serpents in the other ³. Here

¹ A. Thomsen, *Orthia*, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, IX, 1906, pp. 397.

² Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 342.

³ The temple group of Lykosoura is reconstructed by Dickins, *BSA*, XIII, pp. 356 and pl. XII—XIV. — S. Reinach has briefly pointed to the similarity of this Artemis with snakes to the Minoan snake-goddess in his paper, *L'Artémis arcadienne et la déesse aux serpents de Cnossos*, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXX, 1906, pp. 150, reprinted in *Cultes, Mythes and Religions*, III, pp. 210, especially pp. 158, pp. 219 resp., but it would be wise not to lay too much stress upon this single point, the goddesses apparently being different in other characteristics. Several Greek deities are accompanied by a snake, but they are not all of Minoan origin and the significance of the snake varies. There is above all the difference that the Minoan snake-goddess is a domestic goddess; the Arcadian goddess seems on the other hand to be more akin to the Mistress of Animals, and this deity does not appear with a snake in the Minoan age. She is united with Demeter and Despoina and this association must have its reasons, but we know too little of them to judge why these goddesses, who are apparently so dissimilar to Demeter and Kore, were identified with them. A very superficial similarity, that they were two in number, may have been of some importance.

I must content myself with pointing out that these goddesses are akin to the Mistress of Nature and the Animals.

In myth and in art Artemis is always accompanied by a stag, but the small and simple votive terracottas, which reproduce the prevailing popular idea and are therefore very important for our knowledge of the real goddess, show her accompanied by various animals. I will choose as the best example a large hoard of votive terracottas which was discovered in Coreyra many years ago¹. Some statuettes have no attribute; but most have one, and not only animals but also a flower or a fruit. The animals are very various: birds, a hare, a lion, a panther, a boar, a stag, and a hind. The goddess stands in some cases on a chariot drawn by stags or panthers. She carries a bow but only once a quiver. There are groups of women dancing round her. Some specimens show her holding a lion by its hindleg; it turns its head with opened jaws towards her. This is the old scheme which has been ousted by a more naturalistic one. The animal, commonly a hind, stands on its hindlegs leaning against the goddess, or else she carries the animal on her arm pressing it to her bosom.

These representations show the connexion with an archaic art type, which is well known by the old name of 'the Persian Artemis'. For this name, which is certainly wrong, Professor Studniczka substituted the Homeric name *πόρνια θηρῶν*², the Mistress of Animals, and this is now commonly used. This familiar type shows the heraldic scheme; very seldom is there only one animal standing at the side of the goddess, e. g. on a Melian vase from Thera, where the goddess grasps the lion by the neck and by the tail³. The heraldic scheme occurs on a great quantity of vases, gems, and pieces of gold-foil, bronzes, and other objects of archaic art. The goddess is standing and her dominion over the animals is expressed by her holding them by their hindlegs or by their

¹ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XV, 1891, pp. 1 and pl. I—VII; Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, pp. 96—101.

² *Iliad*, XXI, 470; Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 153.

³ Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 162, fig. 33; Radet, *Cybébé*, p. 12, fig. 12.

neck. The animals are placed symmetrically one on each side of her. The animals vary, most frequently lions and swans or other birds occur, but fantastic animals, e. g. griffins, also appear. Sometimes one animal is a lion, the other a stag, e. g. on one handle of the François vase. Sometimes the goddess has the awe-inspiring head of Gorgo, which cannot imply anything except her terrific might¹.

The similarity between this archaic type and the Minoan, which shows a female, and sometimes also a male, figure, occasionally with one animal, but more often grasping two heraldically grouped animals, is clear at first sight and was noted long ago. I have spoken of the Minoan type above² and need only refer to that exposition. It cannot reasonably be doubted that this type of the Mistress of Animals has been handed on from Minoan and Mycenaean art to Greek art. Thus it is a fair inference that the actual goddess represented, the Mistress of Animals, has survived from Minoan times.

There is one difference. The Mistress of Animals in archaic art is often, but by no means always, winged; whereas the Minoan goddess has no wings. But this difference cannot invalidate the connexion. Wings are very popular in archaic art; not only the Mistress of Animals but other deities also, e. g. Athena and Nike, wear them. It is an art form which became popular at a certain epoch and was applied to the Mistress of Animals among other deities³. The wings do not imply any substantial difference. Professor Radet, who treated the archaic type at length, supposes that the wings are due to Oriental influence coming from Ionia, and adduces a special argument which seems to corroborate this. The type is very wide-spread, but in Asia Minor and in the region north of the Black Sea, which was dependent on Ionian art, only the winged type appears; the Mistress of Animals without wings is missing here, though this type on the contrary was found

¹ The instances are collected and the origin of the type discussed by G. Radet, *Cybèbé, Bibl. des universités du Midi*, XIII, 1909.

² Above, pp. 308.

³ This is the reasoning of Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 155.

in Greece¹; this means that the Minoan prototype was preserved in Greece.

Perhaps the old conception of the gods appearing as birds may have helped to make the winged type acceptable. By a kind of artistic contamination wings were added to the figure of a deity to indicate the form of his epiphany. Later Greek art provided with wings only such deities as were thought to fly through the air, the wind-gods, and messengers such as Hermes and Iris; the wings are thus no mere ornament but have a real purpose. If the above suggestion is right the wings of the archaic type are not merely ornamental and deprived of all meaning. But as the bird epiphany of the gods vanished from popular belief, the use of wings in the art types was also restricted to such cases where there was some obvious reason for them.

There is a very curious archaic amphora from Thebes² which must be particularly noted. The goddess, who is not winged, is surrounded by two lions and two birds, while on her garment is a fish³; she is indeed the Mistress of Animals. But to these are added a detached animal's head and a leg. This reminds us curiously of Minoan gems on which detached heads and limbs of animals are represented⁴. There is a quaint similarity between these representations and the old Boeotian amphora. It may not be irrelevant to recall with

¹ Radet, *Cybébé*, pp. 38. I cannot see any reason for excluding from the list the Boeotian relief *pithos*, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, pl. IX; Tod and Wace, *Catal. of the Sparta Museum*, p. 117, fig. 15, showing a woman with her arms lifted wearing a *polos*, from which branches with fruits and leaves project on each side. She is surrounded by two lions, and two small human figures appear to embrace her. Wolters, *Eph. arch.*, 1892, pp. 225, interpreted her as a goddess of childbirth, but this is rightly mistrusted. The comparison with the terracotta from Corcyra, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XV, 1891, pl. VII, 2, shows that the human figures are dancing. See Wide, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 253.

² *Eph. arch.*, 1892, pl. X, 1, with the valuable remarks of Wolters pp. 221; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, pl. XXIX, a; Radet, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, fig. 50.

³ The fish occurs also, although rarely, on Minoan monuments, e. g. on the bronze tablet from the cave of Psychro and on the *larnax* from Milato, above, pp. 226 and 298 resp.

⁴ Above, pp. 198.

Professor Wolters¹ the fact that the only possible etymology of Ἄρτεμις, in the Dorian dialect Ἄρταμις, which has been proposed², connects her name with the words ἀρταμέω, to slaughter, ἄρταμος, butcher, but the origin of these words is obscure. The attempted connexion of the name with Greek roots is not very evident.

Consequently I think that the art type proves the connexion between the Minoan and the Greek Mistress of Animals, and this connexion is corroborated by the character of the popular Artemis which has been analysed above. She is associated with the orgiastic dance and the sacred bough, both prominent features of the Minoan cult. She is the Mistress of wild Nature and of the animals, and this corresponds to the Minoan conception of the Goddess of Nature and the animals as shown by Minoan monuments. From this starting point we may understand the two lines of development, which lead on the one hand to the Great Mountain Mother of Asia Minor who roams the mountains accompanied by her lions, and on the other to the virgin huntress of classical Greece. One was associated as a Nature goddess with a representative of the dying and reviving Nature and consequently the ecstatic and orgiastic elements of her cult were emphasized. The other remained the Mistress of Animals, and because she was a sovereign goddess she did not tolerate any male partner; she became the severe virgin and hunters' goddess. The popular conception of Artemis, which is much nearer to the origin, explains why the Greeks identified the Ephesian Artemis with their own Artemis. For the latter originates in the Minoan Mistress of Nature and Animals and has kept much of her old character in the popular and rustic cult.

It is further to be noted that old Minoan goddesses have dwindled down into by-forms and epithets of Artemis. This is certain in the case of Britomartis, who should be called Britamartis, as the Delian inscriptions show. The name is not Greek. A gloss in Hesychius says that βριτὸν is a Cretan word signifying 'sweet', and Solinus interprets the name 'sweet

¹ In *Eph. arch.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

² By Robert in Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*, 4th ed., I, p. 296, n. 2.

virgin' ¹. It can be supposed with certainty that we have here one of the very scanty remains of the Minoan language. Hesychius says also that Britomartis is the name of Artemis in Crete ², and Diodorus refers to the same identification ³. The myth ⁴ only says that Britomartis hunted with Artemis and was exceedingly loved by her; but these words strikingly show the identity of her character with that of Artemis. She is mentioned in the oath of the Knossians and Drierians ⁵, and in the treaty between Lato and Olus ⁶, and had a festival and a *xoanon* wrought by Daedalus in the latter town ⁷, and a temple at Cherronesos, the harbour town of Lyttos ⁸. Consequently her cult is especially Cretan ⁹ and is found on the northern coast from Knossos to the Gulf of Mirabello.

A myth, which is first told by Callimachus, relates that Britomartis was pursued by Minos, who had fallen in love with her, and to save herself leapt into the sea, but was rescued by falling into some fishermen's nets and hence was called Diktyнна ¹⁰. The myth is late and only shows that there was a close affinity between Britomartis and Diktyнна, and that the etymological school of mythology in antiquity tried to explain the name of the goddess Diktyнна from the

¹ Hesych, βριτόν γλυκὴ Κρήτες. *Etymol. magnum*, p. 214, l. 29, βριτόν τουτέστιν ἀγαθόν. Solinus, XI, 8, *Britomartem quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem*.

² Hesychius, Βριτόμαρτις ἐν Κρήτῃ ἢ Ἀρτεμις.

³ Diodorus, V, 76.

⁴ Cf. below.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Syll. inscr. graec.*, 3rd ed., No. 527; *Samml. d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 4952, l. 29.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, No. 5075, l. 76.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, l. 43. Paus., IX, 40, 3.

⁸ Strabo, X, p. 479. Callimachus, *Hymns*, III, v. 189, calls her the Gortynian virgin but it is uncertain whether this epithet implies a cult at Gortyn.

⁹ The cult and festival at Delos (see my *Griech. Feste*, p. 209), mentioned in inscriptions from the Hellenistic age, were probably introduced from Crete.

¹⁰ Callimachus, *Hymns*, III, vv. 189; cf. Paus., II, 30, 3, etc. *Schol. Aristoph. Ran.*, v. 1356, says that she was saved by Artemis when she had fallen into some hunters' nets. Diodorus V, 76, prefers the heurematographic version that she invented the hunters' nets. I can keep my exposition short owing to the good article by Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, V, pp. 584.

net, *δίκτηρον*, used in hunting and fishing. Dictynna was chiefly venerated in western Crete. Her principal temple was situated on the cape or mountain Diktynnaion between Kydonia and Phalasarna in the district of Polyrrhenium¹. Her image is found on coins of these three towns. At Aptara on the bay of Suda a month was named after her which presupposes a festival². Her cult was, however, wide-spread. She had temples at Sparta, at Las on the Laconian gulf, and in Phokis. Euripides refers to her as abounding in wild animals and equates her with Artemis³, and Aristophanes mentions her as the hunters' goddess and her connexion with Artemis and the net⁴. It appears that she was a Cretan goddess very much resembling Artemis and parallel to Britomartis, but venerated in western Crete, whilst Britomartis was worshipped in eastern Crete.

The most perplexing question is that arising from the statement of Callimachus that the Kydonians called her Diktynna and the mountain from which she leapt *Δικταῖον ὄρος*, because she leapt into the nets (*δίκτηρα*). Callimachus is vehemently censured by Strabo and others⁵, because Mt Dikte is not situated near Kydonia but in eastern Crete, and not near the sea. The difficulty is solved by modern scholars by attributing the myth of the leap to Britomartis and Mt Dikte; against this it may be urged that the myth cannot be separated from the etymology, viz. the name Diktynna. Others think that *Δικταῖον ὄρος* is a shorter form of *Δικτόνναιον ὄρος*⁶. Although Callimachus was a very learned man and a great scholar, perhaps he has mixed up Mt Dikte and Diktynnaion. On the other hand it is very tempting to connect the name of the Cretan goddess resembling Artemis with the name of Mt Dikte. For the derivation from *δίκτηρον*, net, is without doubt

¹ *ὄρος* or *ἀκρωτήριον Δικτόνναιον*, Herodotus, III, 59; Strabo, X, pp. 479 and 484.

² *Sammlung d. griech. Dialektinschriften*, No. 5173, l. 13.

³ Eurip., *Hippol.*, v. 145, ἀμφὶ τὰν πολὺθήρων Δικτυννᾶν, cf. vv. 1130; *Iphig. Taur.*, v. 127, ὧ παῖ τᾶς Δατοῦς, Δικτυνν' οὐρεῖα.

⁴ Aristoph., *Ranae*, v. 1359, Δικτυννα παῖς Ἄρτεμις κατὰ τὰς κονίσσιας ἔχουσ' ἐλθέτω; *Vespae*, v. 368, ἡ δὲ νοῖ Δικτυννα σιγγνώμην ἔχει τοῦ δικτύου.

⁵ Strabo, X, p. 479; their source is the mythographer Apollodorus.

⁶ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 225.

a late etymological invention. The great difficulty is, however, that Mt Dikte is situated in eastern Crete, whereas Dictynna is found in western Crete though the parallel figure of Britomartis appears east of Knossos. It is perilous to advance a supplementary hypothesis that the goddess of Mt Dikte was worshipped under the local name outside the district of Mt Dikte (cf. e. g. Apollo Pythios and Delios), and under her own name, Britomartis, in her own country. In spite of this the affinity between Mt Dikte and the goddess Dictynna is so striking that it is hard to get rid of it¹, and perhaps the learned librarian of Alexandria is not wholly mistaken. In any case the close affinity of this Cretan goddess to Artemis and to Britomartis is evident.

Late authors relate that Britomartis came to Aegina, went to a grove where later a temple was erected, vanished there, and was called Aphaia². This is again an etymological myth deduced from the similarity of the name Ἀφαία to the word ἀφανής³. Aphaia is further mentioned by Hesychius⁴. This almost forgotten goddess has become famous in modern times since it was demonstrated by inscriptions⁵ that the stately temple on Aegina belongs to her. This much may be said for the myth, namely that it shows that she is related to the Cretan goddesses and to Artemis, and colour is lent to this association by the fact that numerous Mycenaean remains were discovered on the site of her temple⁶.

These examples corroborate the Minoan origin of Artemis; they prove at least that the Minoan Mistress of Animals

¹ Cf. Mingazzini, *Culti e miti preellenici in Creta*, in the periodical *Religio*, I, 1919, p. 276, who makes the pertinent remark that it is not surprising if after many historical catastrophes the goddess should receive more veneration elsewhere than in her original district.

² Antoninus Lib., 40; cf. Paus., II, 30, 3.

³ The original name of the goddess is Ἄφα according to the inscription, *Inscr. graec.*, IV, 1582, ἀ]νέθηκε τᾶφαι οχ — — — —. Ἀφαία is an adjectival formation from Ἄφα like Ἀθηναία from Ἀθήνη. See Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin*, 1921, p. 952, n. 1.

⁴ Hesychius: Ἀφαία ἡ Δικτυννα καὶ Ἄρτεμις.

⁵ *Inscr. graec.*, IV, 1580 et seqq.

⁶ See above, p. 404.

was fused with Artemis. But this does not imply that the Greek Artemis had a purely Minoan origin. It must be supposed that the Greeks also had deities who presided over Nature and the animals, although who they were we do not know. Greek religion is the product of a fusion of Greek and Minoan elements, as Artemis is also ¹.

In the Minoan age there was both a Mistress of Animals and a Master of Animals, though the latter appeared less frequently. This duplication of the deities is to be understood, because they were still in a transitional stage of emerging from the host of Nature daemons ². In the Greek age there is only the goddess, the Mistress of Animals; the Master of Animals has vanished. There is, as far as my knowledge goes, only one representation of him, — in any case a somewhat dubious one, — and that is on the best preserved of the bronze shields or cymbals from the Idaean cave ³. The central figure

¹ Studniczka tried in his learned and ingenious book *Kyrene* and in his article *Kyrene* in Roscher's *Lex. d. Mythol.* to prove that the eponym of the Libyan town Kyrene was an old Thessalian goddess of the *πότνια θηρών* type. The attempt has failed, there are no traces of a cult of Kyrene. For an exhaustive criticism see Malten, *Kyrene*. Studniczka supposed, *loc. cit.*, pp. 151, that the name *Κυρήνη* had the same significance as *κύριος*, 'Master'. The objection raised by Bechtel, *Gött. gel. Nachrichten*, 1890, p. 37, that the quantity of the vowel is different (*κύριος*. *Κυρήνη*), is not overcome by the reference of Studniczka in Roscher, II, p. 1737, to the fact that some later poets use the form *Κυρήνη* with long *v*, for while it is not explained why the *v* in *Κυρήνη* was shortened, it is on the contrary quite intelligible that it should be lengthened through the influence of the long *v* in *κύριος*. Moreover the latter word has not the sense required. Professor Wackernagel, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing philological remarks, adds that *κύριος* signified originally "one who has the right of disposal" and only later acquired the character of a title, 'Master'. He continues: the fact that *v* is used both long and short by the comedians (see Meineke, *Fragm. com. graec.*, III, p. 493), and perhaps also the by-form *Κυράνη*, may be adduced for a pre-Greek provenance of the word. The name has the ending *-ήνη* which in some instances is pre-Greek. But a pre-Greek place name by no means implies a pre-Greek deity.

² Cf. above, pp. 327.

³ *Museo di antichità class.*, II, 1888, pl. I; F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriech. Kunst*, p. 79, fig. 77. That the objects are cymbals is suggested by Thiersch, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, pp. 47.

is an Assyrianized male figure standing with one leg on a bull and swinging above his head a lion which he holds with one hand by a foreleg and with the other by a hindleg; on each side of him is an Assyrian genius. The figures are quite Assyrian in appearance, although the reliefs are thought to be Greek work. Even if this is true, they follow foreign prototypes so closely that it is very doubtful if the central figure can be regarded as representative of a Greek deity, although it is not altogether impossible that the Master of Animals assumed this Assyrian guise in an epoch when Oriental art was a dominating influence. The problem of the disappearance of the Master of Animals remains, even if he may have survived in the very beginning of the Greek age.

I take it as an established fact that Apollo came from Asia Minor¹. He was the sender of illness, because sudden illness is thought of as caused by some mysterious shot, as is

¹ Apollo's origin in Asia Minor was postulated by Wilamowitz in a famous article in *Hermes*, XXXVIII, 1903, pp. 575, and in his Oxford lecture printed in *Greek Historical Writing and Apollo*, pp. 27. This thesis is, however, contested by many scholars e. g. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, p. 99, and has recently been sharply attacked by Professor Bethe, *Apollon, der Hellene, Ἀπόλλων, Festschrift f. Wackernagel*, pp. 14. In my *Griech. Feste*, p. 102, I remarked that festivals of Apollo are comparatively rare on the mainland and that Apollo has everywhere usurped older festivals which originally did not belong to him. I agree with Bethe that this only proves that Apollo is an invader in Greece, not where he came from, but I added that festivals of Apollo are more numerous on the islands and in Asia Minor, and this points to an eastern origin for the god. This repartition of the festivals contradicts the assumption of Bethe that the cult of Apollo was transferred from Greece to Asia Minor. The most striking argument is, however, drawn from Apollo's association with the calendar. Contrary to all the other Greek gods, who preferred the time of the full moon, Apollo occupied the seventh day of the month, on which all his festivals are celebrated. The agreement with the Babylonian *shabattu* is complete and cannot be accidental (I have repeatedly treated this topic, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XIV, 1911, pp. 423; *Die Entstehung und sakrale Bedeutung des griech. Kalenders*, pp. 43; *Primitive Time-reckoning*, p. 368). In referring to the fact that the number seven is sacred among many peoples Bethe overlooks the fact that the coincidence is of a far more special nature and consists not in the sacredness of the number seven in general but in that of the seventh day of the lunar month as a day of expiations and purifications. Of such a coincidence he has not adduced any other instance, nor will he be able to do so.

shown by the beginning of the Iliad, and also the averter of illness as a god of purifications and expiations. In this function he is the most prominent figure in the religious movement of the archaic age, but he developed his character and his functions only gradually¹.

The mother of Apollo, Leto, originates in S. W. Asia Minor, for personal names compounded with Leto occur only here², a fact which constitutes an argument of the most convincing kind³. Her name is connected by philologists with the Carian word *lada*, woman. The cult of Leto is associated with that of her children, and it would not be surprising if she were also worshipped alone, seeing that she was the mother of two of the greatest gods of Greece. But her cults in Greece are very few and their age is uncertain; only in Crete is a

¹ For a characterization of the original nature of Apollo see my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 97.

² Wilamowitz says in Lycia, but instead of Lycia Caria must be substituted; see E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris*, Dissertation, Halle, 1911, p. 35.

³ Bethe contests this also, *loc. cit.*, p. 20, and quotes Fröhner, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XV, 1912, p. 381, for a *Ἀητόδωρος* in Phocis. Fröhner gives no references, and I cannot find this name either in the index of Phocian names in *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften*, or among the Phocian inscriptions in *Inscriptiones graecae*, or in Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. I should like to know where Fröhner got his quotation; at all events I must warn the student that caution is necessary in dealing with later times when people moved freely from one country to another. It is arbitrary to consider the cult of Leto at Argos as old simply because Praxiteles made the statue, Paus. II, 21, 8. Nor can the cult at Plataeae be trusted. Plutarch relates in an extract in Eusebius, *Praepar. evang.*, III, 1, 3 (*Moralia*, V, p. 18, ed. Dübner), from his tract on the festival of the Daedala at Plataeae that Leto had the same altar and temple as Hera and that a preliminary sacrifice was offered to *Ἀητώ Μυρία* or *Νυρία*, probably at the Daedala. Pausanias, IX, 3, describing the Daedala at some length calls the goddess *Ἥρα νυμφευομένη* without mentioning Leto. Plutarch's tract is a *theologoumenon* in accordance with the taste of his age, and it is highly doubtful whether the cult of Leto at Plataeae was of ancient origin. She may have been introduced as the best known rival of Hera because the jealousy of Hera is a motif in the *aition* of the festival. A third temple of Leto is mentioned by Strabo, VIII, p. 349, at Amphigeneia in Triphylia, and one of *Ἀητώ Φωρία* by Antoninus Liberalis, 17, in connexion with the curious old festival of the *Ἐκδύσια* at Phaestus; see my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 370.

festival attributed to her, the Ekdysia at Phaestus, where she was surnamed Phytia¹. The name of the Cretan town Lato (*Λατώ*) is also quoted as a proof that she originally belonged to Crete. Consequently we find here once again a connexion between Crete and S. W. Asia Minor.

Apollo came with his mother Leto from Asia Minor to Greece, but there is perhaps no goddess who is more Greek in the geographical sense of the word, comprising Greek and pre-Greek, than his twin sister Artemis. How they were united is in fact a puzzle, but it is only lightly touched upon by those scholars who maintain the Asiatic origin of Apollo, although this is precisely the crux of the problem. The Asiatic Nature goddess whom the Greeks equated with their Artemis was never the sister of Apollo and cannot give any aid in solving the problem.

Here we ought perhaps to recall the vanished Master of Animals, who stood at the side of the Mistress of Animals. There was no place for two deities with identical functions, and as the gods took a more definite shape and were more sharply characterized, one of them had to disappear. But the Master of Animals did not perhaps vanish without leaving a trace. He was a hunting god and as such he also carried the bow; it appears in the hand of the descending god on the ring in the Ashmolean Museum². We know from the manner in which the Greeks later identified their own gods with Egyptian and other gods and the Romans their gods with Greek gods and gods of the Celtic and German peoples, how accidental and superficial the starting point of an identification may be. We have no right to suppose that it was otherwise in an earlier age. The Minoan hunters' god, who was armed, may have been identified with Apollo by reason of the superficial similarity that both were armed with the bow. Then his fate was sealed. He had to vanish because he was parallel

¹ It is less important that she is mentioned between Apollo Pythios and Artemis in the oath of the Drierians, Dittenberger, *Syll. inscr. graec.*, 3rd ed., No. 527; *Sammlung d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 4952, l. 25, and in that of the inhabitants of Lato, *loc. cit.*, No. 5075, l. 75 (cf. below, p. 446, n. 6).

² Above, p. 296, fig. 85.

to Artemis, who preserved his functions. The realm of Apollo was different; and the only result was that Apollo and Artemis were associated. We do not know if the Master of Animals and the Mistress of Animals were thought of as twins mythologically, but logically they were because of the identity of their functions. In this way Artemis may have become the twin sister of Apollo. I am fully aware of the very problematic and hypothetical character of this view, but being the only explanation, which does account for a very important problem, it may be worth setting forth for consideration.

The function of Artemis as a goddess of childbirth is well known¹. It is easy to understand if we think of her not as the virgin huntress of classical mythology but as a Nature goddess and Mistress of Animals. She brings forth the young both of beasts and men into the light of day and she fosters them. Therefore she is *Λοχία* and *Κουροτρόφος*. In her function of *Λοχία* she is parallel to Eileithyia and is often surnamed thus, Artemis Eileithyia, especially in Boeotia. Eileithyia appears, however, also as a goddess in her own right, and so far as her cults and her functions are known, she is always the goddess of childbirth, except at Paros where she was a healing goddess and had a sacred well², but this is an extension of her power which is easily understood. Her cult is very wide-spread and occurs at Athens, Megara, Corinth, in Achaia, Arcadia, and Messenia, at Sparta, on Delos, Tenos³, Paros, Naxos, Thera, and Astypalaia⁴. But it was much more prominent in Crete than in other districts. At the harbour of Knossos, Amnisos, the cave of Eileithyia was situated, which is already mentioned in Homer⁵. She seems to have been the chief goddess at Lato because public inscriptions were set up in her temple⁶; she recurs among the gods by whom the inhabitants

¹ See e. g. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, p. 444.

² *Inscr. graec.*, XII: 5, 185 et seqq.

³ Month *Ἐλευθριαίων*, *Inscr. graec.*, XII: 5, 872, l. 75.

⁴ See the article by Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, V, pp. 2101. The list given by P. V. C. Baur, *Eileithyia, The Univ. of Missouri Studies*, I: 4, 1902, is incomplete.

⁵ *Odyssey*, XIX, v. 188; cf. Strabo, X, p. 476.

⁶ The treaty between Lato and Olus, *Sammlung d. griech. Dialekt-*

of Lato swear¹. She had a cult in the town of Einatos which was probably situated in the district of Priansos². A dedication to her was found at Aptara³. Finally the town of Eleutherna is called after her. In Laconia also Eileithyia was much venerated. Pausanias mentions two temples at Sparta⁴ and here dedications and bricks with her name have been found⁵.

The name of the goddess varies much in form⁶. The form *Ἐλεῦθνια* is the common one in Crete; in Laconia and Messenia the name has the form *Ἐλεῦθία* or even *Ἐλευσία*. The abbreviated form *Ἐλεῦθώ* appears in literary passages⁷. These varying forms present a difficult philological problem. Professor W. Schulze collected them long ago⁸, determined their

inschr., No. 5075, l. 48 (a better text of this inscription is given by P. Deiters, *De Cretensium titulis publicis*, Dissertation, Bonn, 1904, pp. 27, from the copy by Maittaire; the text of Chishull printed in the *Corpus* is vitiated by conjectures); the decree concerning the asylum of Dionysos at Teos, *loc. cit.*, No. 5171, l. 31, and No. 5180; the joint decrees of Lato and Olus, *loc. cit.*, No. 5149, l. 13, and *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 205, No. 67, l. 18.

¹ *Sammlung d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 5075, l. 76.

² Stephanus Byz. s. v. *Εἰνατος*; *Etymol. magnum*, p. 302, 12 = Callimachus, fragm. 168 Schneider. *Ἰλιθῶνιαν Βιβατίαν* is restored with certainty in an inscription from a marble in the Doges' Palace at Venice published by R. Bergmann, *De inscr. Cret. inedita qua continetur foedus a Gortyniis et Hierapytniis cum Priansis factum*, Programm, Brandenburg, 1861; *Sammlung d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 5024, l. 64.

³ *Bull. corr. hell.*, III, 1879, p. 436.

⁴ Paus., III, 14, 6 and 17, 1.

⁵ See note below.

⁶ I give a list of the varying forms. Paros: *Ἐλεῖθῶνι* but *Ἐλεῦθῶνι* in an inscription of the third century B. C., *Inscr. graec.*, XII: 5, 187; *Ἐιλιθῶνι* in the Roman age, *loc. cit.*, No. 192. Aptara: *Ἐλεῦθνια*, *loc. cit.*, above, n. 3. Lato: *Ἐλεῦθνια* in the above-quoted inscriptions where her temple is mentioned; in the oath of the inhabitants of Lato, l. 76, *τὰν Ἐλευσίαν* is read, this passage being preserved only in the text of Chishull, but the form is not reliable and is rejected by Deiters, *loc. cit.*, p. 49, who introduces *Ἐλεῦθνια*. In Laconia the name is written *Ἐλεῦθία* (*Inscr. graec.*, V, 1276, from Hippola; 1345 a), or *Ἐλευσία* with the more recent Laconian transition of *θ* in *σ* (the dedication of the tyrant Machanidas, *loc. cit.*, 236, tiles from Sparta No. 868, an inscription from Geronthrae, No. 1118), or even *Ἐλευσία* on stamped tiles from Sparta (No. 867); in Messenia *Ἐλεῦθία*, No. 1445. On vases *Ἰλ(ε)ίθνια*, *Ἐλεῖθνια* see Kretschmer, *Die griech. Vasenschr.*, pp. 156.

⁷ E. g. *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 604, IX, 268; Cornutus, 34; Hesychius, s. v.

⁸ Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae*, pp. 260.

interconnexion, and referred them to the Greek stem ἐλευθ- (ἡλθον etc.), omitting the form Ἐλευσίαν in the treaty between Lato and Olus¹. On account of this form, however, Dr van der Loeff connected the Laconian Demeter Eleusinia, the Laconian festival Ἐλευθώνια, and finally the place name Eleusis². He thinks that two different goddesses, Eleuthia, a goddess of fertility in southern Greece, and the divine midwife Eileithyia, were fused into one on account of the similarity of their names, but it appears that the forms cannot be separated. Their identity is recognized in the most recent treatment of the question by Professor Malten³, who stresses the connexion of Eileithyia and Eleusis and adds Elysium and takes this whole group of words to be of pre-Greek origin.

Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia, called Eleusinion, near Taygetos and says that the xoanon of Kore was brought thither from Helos on certain days⁴. Votive inscriptions dedicated to Demeter and Kore and stamped tiles with the name of Demeter found at the village of Kalyvia Sochas, an hour and a half south of Sparta, admit the localization of this sanctuary⁵. To this cult belong probably the games called Ἐλευθώνια in the inscription of Damonon⁶. With the name of this festival the month name Ἐλευσίνιος or even Ἐλευσόνιος, occurring on Thera and in Crete, is obviously connected⁷.

¹ See above, p. 447, n. 6.

² R. van der Loeff, *De Iudis Eleusiniis*, Dissertation, Leiden, 1903, pp. 19.

³ Malten, *Elysion und Rhadamanthys*, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1915, pp. 39.

⁴ Paus., III, 20, 5.

⁵ von Prott, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 8; *BSA*, XVI, pp. 12; cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 334. One tile is very interesting, for its inscription can only be restored as Δαμάτρωων; the Δαμάτρες recur in an unpublished inscription from Lindos together with Ζεὺς Δαμάτριος; cf. the Δέσποινα in Laconian inscriptions. The goddesses are called Ἐλευσίνια in an inscription of the Roman age, *Inscr. graec.*, V, 607, l. 28, ἱερθεῖ[ας ἀ]πὸ γένους τ[ᾶν] Ἐλευσινιᾶν.

⁶ *Inscr. graec.*, V, 213, ll. 11 and 31; cf. Hesychius, Ἐλευθώνια ἀγῶν θυμελικῶς ἀγόμενος Διμήτροι παρὰ Λάκωσιν.

⁷ The forms of the name of the month are: Thera, Ἐλευσίνιος, *Inscr. graec.*, XII: 3, 330, ll. 32 and 70. Olus, Ἐλουσ[ί]ος, *Sammlung d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 5075, l. 3; Ἐλευσόνιος, *loc. cit.*, No. 5149, l. 8; and probably

In this very difficult philological question I have asked the advice of Professor Wackernagel and am glad to be able to quote the verdict of one of the most eminent philologists of today. He thinks that Professor Schulze on the whole determined the original form of the name of the goddess correctly. All the forms can be explained from *Ἐλεύθυια*. *Ἐλευθῶ* is a normal abbreviated form, *Ἐλευθία* is a second old by-form or may be explained through dissimilation of *εὔ—υ* into *εὔ—ι*. *Ἐλλυθία* in the Parian inscription of Roman date is without importance. There are phonetic parallels to the form *Ἰλυθία* from *Ἐλεῖθυια* of the vase inscriptions. On the other hand Professor Schulze did not succeed in establishing the probability of the connexion of the name Eileithyia with the verbal stem *ἐλευθ-* and Professor Wackernagel prefers to consider the name as pre-Greek. This is supported by the name of the town *Ἐλευθέρινα* which is obviously connected with *Ἐλεύθυια*. *-ρινα* occurs as a termination in other pre-Greek place names¹. I may add that Professor Wilamowitz is of the same opinion; for in calling Eileithyia a Carian he only uses the name Carian to denote the pre-Greek population of Crete and the islands according to a well-known hypothesis founded on a passage in Thucydides².

The important conclusion is that philology agrees with our other evidence in postulating a pre-Greek origin of Eileithyia. She was especially venerated in Crete, on the neighbouring islands, and in Laconia, and this adds to the probability of her Minoan origin. It is a pity that her cave at Amnisos has not been identified with certainty and that the finds from the cave, which was thought to have been hers, are so badly recorded³. For if we knew her cave and its con-

at Bienna, a town to the south of Mt Lassithi, *loc. cit.*, No. 5183, l. 40, *μηρός ΕΑΓ*; *Ἐλε[υσίου]*, Bischoff in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, X, p. 1581; less probably *Ἐλγ[αίου]*, viz. *φελγάνιος*, Mingazzini, *Culti e miti preellenici in Creta, Religio*, I, 1920, p. 293.

¹ Kretschmer, *Einl. in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, pp. 405; A. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, p. 87.

² Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber. der Akad. der Wiss., Berlin*, 1908, p. 331; *Reden und Vorträge*, 3rd ed., p. 293.

³ See above, p. 54.

tents, this would have thrown light on not only her own cult but perhaps also the Minoan cave cults in general.

The second important point advanced by Dr van der Loeff and Professor Malten is the connexion between Eileithyia-Eleuthia and Eleusis, to which Professor Malten adds Elysium. With regard to this Professor Wackernagel remarks that there is no reason at all why Elysium should be connected with the name of the goddess; and as to Eleusis, that we have no satisfactory means of rebutting the following objections of a formal order. The form *Ἐλεσίνα* is not trustworthy¹. The Laconian form *Ἐλεσσία* originates from *Ἐλεσθία* through the specifically Laconian transition of *θ* to *σ*². This law does not apply to other dialects and consequently, correspondence of *σ* and *θ* cannot be explained by Greek phonetic laws. Perhaps it may be admitted in words of pre-Greek origin³.

Finally Professor Wackernagel says that he is not able to understand why the names of the festival *Ἐλεσθώνια* and of the month *Ἐλεσίνιος* or *Ἐλεσώνιος* should be derived from *Ἐλεθύνια*. The form of the derivations in *-iv-* and *-iv-* respectively would be abnormal. In this case, however, the following points ought perhaps to be taken into account. The month name which occurs on Thera and in Crete presupposes a festival named Eleusynia, and a festival with this name is found in Laconia. Here the festival belongs to Demeter Eleusinia and perhaps she is the same as the goddess of Eleusis. But on the other hand it is evident from the above-quoted testimonies of Pausanias that the goddess originally was alone in the sanctuary: for Kore was brought from Helos to the festival. It may be supposed that Demeter Eleusinia superseded Eleuthyia and appropriated her cult as Apollo did with

¹ See above, p. 447, n. 6.

² See F. Bechtel, *Griech. Dialekte*, II, p. 303.

³ Wackernagel adds that Jacobsohn, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1914, p. 981, once supposed that the abnormal correspondence of *σ* to *θ* in some names of peoples, e. g. *Προβαλισίος*, *Ὀλύσιος* to the place names *Προβάλινθος*, *Ὀλυνθος*, may be explained through the fact that these place names are pre-Greek. Even if this is correct, as Wackernagel is inclined to believe, it does not follow that the same correspondence can be assumed in cases of another nature.

Hyakinthos. But with regard to Laconia there are no apparent proofs for this suggestion. The facts are somewhat different in Crete, where the same festival must be presupposed because of the month name. For it is probable that the festival Eleusynia is named after a deity, although certain names of festivals and especially those of very old ones, e. g. Thargelia, Thesmophoria, etc., have no such derivation. But once this is admitted there is no deity in Crete with which this name can be connected except Eleuthyia. It must be granted that this reasoning is uncertain, but it must also be allowed that notwithstanding the philological objections, there is, from the point of view of the history of religion, some justification for assuming the possibility of a connexion between Eleusinia, Eleusis, and Eileithyia.

In the Greek cult and myth Eileithyia is the divine midwife. She fulfils one of the functions of Artemis. But to put it correctly, we know only the canonical mythology, not what this goddess may have been in Laconia and Crete, where she was perhaps identified with Demeter. It seems to be a well founded supposition that she once had a fuller significance, and that Eileithyia is another name of the Minoan Goddess of Nature and Mistress of Animals, who survives in Artemis, but who in the case of Eileithyia was restricted to a single one of her functions, that of protecting women in childbed and bringing forth their offspring. But this function seems to have a more profound significance and a deeper foundation in Minoan belief. We shall return to this in a later chapter.

Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, is one of the best known figures of Greek mythology. The myth relates how she saved Theseus from the Labyrinth and followed him, but was treacherously abandoned on the island of Naxos. There Dionysos saw her and made her his wife. Ariadne is more than a heroine of mythology, the common opinion now is that she was an old goddess of Nature venerated on the islands of the Aegean¹. It deserves to be noticed that the memory of her

¹ Her name also occurs in various forms. *Ἀριάγνη* may be due to a confusion with the word *ἀγρός*. Hesychius, s. v. *Ἀριδιήλαιν τὴν Ἀριάδνην, Κρηῆτες*; on the other hand the same author says: *ἀδρόν ἀγρόν Κρηῆτες*

cult is not recorded by inscriptions, only by the mythographers, but their accounts show that she had very remarkable festivals. The character of her cult, her association with Crete and king Minos, and the appearance of her cult on the islands make it probable that she is of Minoan origin.

Ariadne is first mentioned by Homer in the description of the shield of Achilles¹. It is there said that Daedalus made a good dancing-place for Ariadne in Crete. When we recall what an important rôle the dance has in the Minoan cult, Ariadne may here be understood as the goddess in whose honour a dance was performed and not as the mythical princess. On the older works of art, e. g. the chest of Cypselus of which Pausanias gives a detailed description, and on the François vase, Ariadne stands at the side of Theseus or her nurse and looks on at the dance, which is taken for the famous *γέρονος* performed by Theseus on Delos, when returning from Crete².

There are other tales of Ariadne which are very unlike the common myth. In these her death is the salient feature. In the so-called Nekyia in the Odyssey it is said that Theseus brought her away from Crete but gained nothing by doing so. For Artemis killed her on the island of Dia owing to the information given by Dionysos³.

For an explanation of the forms from the point of view of Indo-European linguistics see K. Brugmann, *Indogerm. Forschungen*, V, 1895, p. 379.

¹ *Iliad*, XVIII, vv. 590.

² It is supposed that Ariadne was superseded by Aphrodite on Delos, for it is related by Plutarch, *Theseus*, 21, and Callimachus, *Hymns*, IV, vv. 307, that Theseus erected there an image of Aphrodite which Ariadne had given him, and Ariadne was present at the dances performed there. Delian inscriptions mentioning *Ἀγνή Ἀφροδίτη* (*Bull. corr. hell.*, VI, 1882, p. 489, No. 1; VII, 1883, pp. 367, No. 17) are thought to recall *Ἀριάδνη* — *Ἀριάγνη*. See Wagner in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, II, p. 808; Pallat, *De fabula Ariadnea*, Dissertation, Berlin, 1891, pp. 1; Neustadt, *De Jove Cretico*, Dissertation, Berlin, 1906, p. 31. But the inscriptions, which date from the Hellenistic age, may refer to the Dea Syria; see Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, IV, p. 2240, and the fable may be an invention attached to the myth of Theseus for the purpose of exalting the Delian image and cult.

³ *Odyssey*, XI, 321, *Φαίδρην τε Πηρόκριν τε ἴδον καλήν τ' Ἀριάδνην, κούρην Μίνωος ὀλοόφρονος, ἣν ποτε Θησεύς*

At Argos Ariadne had her tomb in the temple of the Cretan Dionysos¹. This short statement raises three important points: her association with Crete, and also with Dionysos, and her death.

The chief place of the cult and myth of Ariadne was Naxos. In the manner of the Euhemeristic writers, who split up the gods into two or more figures to suit their hypotheses, two Ariadnes were postulated: an older Ariadne, the wife of Dionysos, and a younger Ariadne, whom Theseus had won and abandoned, and who had died on Naxos. The tomb of her nurse Korkyne was shown there. Two festivals were celebrated, one in honour of the older Ariadne with joy and merry-making, the other in honour of the younger Ariadne, comprising sacrifices mingled with sorrow and gloom². It is obvious that the two festivals belong to the same goddess and are perhaps simply parts of the same festival.

A trace of the same festival seems to have been incorporated into the legend of the death of Hesiod. It is localized to a place called Oinoe in the Opuntian Locris. The corpse of the murdered poet was brought to the shore by dolphins when the inhabitants were celebrating a festival of Ariadne.

ἐκ Κρήτης ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηνάων ἱεράων
ἦγε μὲν, οὐ δ' ἀπόνητο· πάρος δέ μιν Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα
Διὴ ἐν ἀμφιρρότῃ Διονύσου μαρτυρήσιν.

The passage is thought to be an Attic interpolation and the last line is rejected by some critics; cf. Pallat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15, but this curious myth, which is unlike all the other versions, cannot be so lightly disposed of. It is not sufficiently explained by saying that it is an arbitrary Athenian alteration to save the fame of Theseus, for we shall see that all the myths of Ariadne except the common one make a point of her death. In my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 382, I tried to interpret the varying myths as a reminiscence of a conflict of cults; such a conflict is often, and especially in the case of Dionysos, related in mythical form. The Nature god Dionysos encountered on the islands of the Aegean the old Nature goddess Ariadne. Their relations were partly hostile and the cult of Ariadne succumbed. This is expressed through the Homeric myth that Dionysos caused the death of Ariadne, for Artemis is only the instrument because she sends sudden death to women. On the other hand their cults were partly associated, and this is expressed in the legend that Dionysos made Ariadne his wife.

¹ Paus., II, 23, 7.

² Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20.

It was buried with lamentations, the murderer fled to Crete, and the maiden, whom Hesiod was falsely accused of having violated, hanged herself like Ariadne ¹.

A third myth is localized in Amathus to Cyprus. Theseus landed there with Ariadne who was sick and suffering from the pangs of childbirth. He committed her to the care of the inhabitants and went away. Ariadne grieved and died without having brought forth her child and was buried. When Theseus came back he gave orders for a sacrifice to her, and the grove in which the tomb was shown was called that of Ariadne Aphrodite. At the sacrifice on the second day of the month Gorpaios a youth imitated the cries and the movements of a woman in childbed ².

This is obviously a cult custom and a myth invented to explain it. The all-important question is to know how much is Greek and how much Oriental, for though Cyprus was penetrated by Mycenaean and Greek influence, Amathus was a Phoenician town. Is the cult really a cult of Ariadne or is it a Semitic cult to which an aetiological legend drawn from the myth of Ariadne was applied? We see the well-known items of the death of Ariadne and her tomb, but in addition to these there is a special feature, that she died in childbed, which is obviously modelled on the actual cult custom of a

¹ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 383; and O. Friedel, *Die Sage vom Tode Hesiods*, *Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.*, Suppl. X, 1878—79, pp. 233. The story is related in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, 14, in two versions, one derived from Alcidas, the other from Eratosthenes. The feature that the girl hanged herself occurs in the latter version, while the former mentions the festival of Ariadne. The death of Hesiod is, however, localized to the *Ozolian* Locris by Thucydides, III, '96, and by Plutarch, *Conviv. septem sap.*, p. 162 C, who relates that the corpse was carried ashore during the festival of the Rhia celebrated at the promontory of Rhium near Molykreia. This difference has caused some dispute; cf. Pallat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10, but it is not of interest with regard to the festival of Ariadne which is mentioned only by Alcidas and localized to the *Opuntian* Locris. It is probably one of the frequent cases of a myth being localized to two different places. Consequently the festivals must also be different. The curious festival of Ariadne seems, however, to give the impression of being original.

² Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20, quoting the local author Paion.

youth imitating a woman in childbed¹. For a connexion of this rite with some goddess with the functions of Eileithyia the statement of the legend that Ariadne died without having brought forth her child is very embarrassing. Consequently it will be wiser not to draw any further conclusions from this myth; it may be the result of a rather late adaptation of a Greek myth to an Oriental cult.

It appears, however, from this and the other legends that her death is the salient feature in the myths of Ariadne. She hanged herself when she was abandoned by Theseus²; she died on Naxos, but the tomb shown there was not hers but that of her nurse Korkyne; she was buried in the temple of the Cretan Dionysos at Argos; she was killed at Dia at the instigation of Dionysos; and she died in childbed at Amathus and her tomb was shown there. No other heroine suffered death in so many ways as Ariadne, and these different versions can only be explained as originating in a cult in which her death was celebrated.

The Naxian rite gives us the clue. It closely resembles a type of vegetation-festival, well known from the Oriental religions but foreign to the true Greek religion. The death of the god of vegetation is celebrated with sorrow and lamentations; his resurrection with joy and exultation. In these cults it is a god who is worshipped; here it is a goddess, and this seems to make the originality of the cult certain. As far as I know, the death of such a goddess is unique, although it may seem that the idea of the death of vegetation may be applied not only to the god but also to the goddess of fertility. With her the same idea appears in a weaker form. Kore is carried away by Pluton, Demeter hides herself in wrath and sorrow and the crops cease to grow in the fields. Ishtar goes down to the Underworld, and the procreation of all living things ceases as long as she is kept in the realm of death, but revives when she comes back. The idea that the goddess of

¹ The interpretation of this custom is very difficult. I do not consider my treatment of it in my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 369, very successful. Neither the androgynism nor the *couvade* affords a sufficient explanation.

² Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20.

fertility also dies may be understood. Her death was celebrated annually, for she dies every year. But this idea is un-Greek; moreover, it does not occur in Asia in this form, and must therefore be considered as an original product of Minoan religious genius ¹.

A certain resemblance between Ariadne and Helen is undeniable. Their myths tell of their being carried away by their lovers, and both were hanged. Ariadne hanged herself; Pausanias relates that Helen fled to Rhodes after the death of Menelaos and that Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemos, had her put to death by ordering her servants to hang her from a tree ². Hence there is a temple of Helena *δενδροίτις* at Rhodes. This is evidently an aetiological myth; we shall recur to it below. Helen was an old goddess connected with the tree cult, as the already quoted epithet *δενδροίτις* shows. Spartan reliefs show an interesting representation of her standing between the Dioscuri, her brothers, obviously copied from a cult image ³. It stands on a low base on one of the reliefs; its appearance is stiff and rigid, its arms hang straight down along its sides, and from its hands hang fillets closely resembling the fillets which hang from the wrists of the image of Hera on Samian coins ⁴.

Helen had two temples at Sparta; one not far from the Platanistas, where the Spartan ephebes fought with each

¹ E. Neustadt, *De Jove Cretico*, Dissertation, Berlin, 1906, pp. 29, compares the dance and the wreath of Ariadne with modern May customs and the myth that Theseus dived into the sea and received a wreath from Amphitrite with the custom of drenching a representative of the vegetation-spirit in modern rustic customs. Accordingly he regards Ariadne as a goddess of fertility. The comparisons are interesting, but it is very doubtful whether they permit any further conclusions.

² Paus., III, 19, 10.

³ Tod and Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, p. 158, Nos. 201—3, figs. 38 and 39. The similar figure with a *polos* of the reliefs Nos. 318 and 362 also probably represents Helen. This is uncertain but possible with regard to the two heads with a *polos*, Nos. 62 and 571, and the terracotta seated figures and heads with a *polos* from the Menelaion, No. 553.

⁴ *Numismatic Chronicle*, II, 1882, pl. XI, 18; XII, 1—4, 7—9; *Catal. of the Coins in the British Museum, Ionia*, pl. XXXVI, 15; XXXVII, 1, 2, 6; XXXVIII, 1 and 2.

other¹; the other at Therapnae on a hill on the opposite shore of the Eurotas is called Menelaëion by Pausanias and others². Both Menelaos and Helen were said to be buried here and both had a cult here, and Isocrates expressly states that the Spartans sacrificed to them not as heroes but as gods³. Herodotus narrates, however, a story of how a nurse brought an ugly girl daily to the temple of Helen at Therapnae and prayed the goddess to help her, and the child became the most beautiful woman of Sparta, the mother of king Damaratus⁴. The temple is here called the temple of Helen and Helen was no doubt the old possessor of it. The British School has excavated the site and found a large platform with a small building, the character of which cannot definitely be determined. The finds go back to the Mycenaean age⁵, those from the archaic age being especially rich; the votive offerings, terracottas, and leaden figures closely resemble those from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia⁶.

A festival, the Heleneia, was celebrated in her honour but no details are known⁷. More interesting is the information given by Theocritus in his charming epithalamium to Helen; the young maidens, her former playmates, sing that they will next day suspend a lotus wreath on her plane-tree, pour out oil beneath it, and write in the bark: "venerate me, I am the tree of Helen!" Dr Mannhardt recognized long ago that this tale is founded on an actual rite which he ascribed to the temple at Therapnae⁸. Professor Kaibel showed, however, in his acute interpretation of the epithalamium⁹ that the temple was the one in the town near the *dromos* and the *Platanistas*, but the different locality does not affect the

¹ Paus., III, 15, 3.

² Paus., III, 19, 9.

³ Isocrates, X, 63; all the relevant passages are quoted in full by Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 340.

⁴ Herodotus, VI, 61.

⁵ See above, p. 404.

⁶ *BSA*, XV, pp. 108.

⁷ See my *Griech. Feste*, p. 426.

⁸ Mannhardt, *Ant. Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 22.

⁹ In *Hermes*, XXVII, 1892, pp. 255.

association of the goddess with the tree cult. This connexion is corroborated by the fact that there was a plant called *ἐλένειον*, just as the word *ὑάκινθος* denotes both a flower and a god. The word *ἐλένη* signified a basket, and there is a festival, the *ἐλενηφόρεια*, basket-carrying, in which secret objects were carried about¹. It is not said where this festival was celebrated, but there is no doubt that it must be connected with Helen in some manner.

Helen's husband, Menelaos, who was associated in her cult at Sparta, had a well and a plane-tree near Caphyae in Arcadia; both were called Menelaïs². It is a very remarkable coincidence that there was a grove and a sanctuary of Artemis *ἀπαγχομένη* (the hanged one) in the very same neighbourhood at the village of Kondylea at a distance of only a stadium from Caphyae³. It is very tempting to guess that the same cult and rite were at the back of this Artemis as of Helena *δενδροίτις*. I have discussed elsewhere⁴ these and other similar rites and myths which tell of someone who hanged herself. As for Erigone it is evident that the myth that she hanged herself is an aetiological explanation of the custom of swinging, the *αἰώρα*, in the Attic festival which is usually called by this name. This custom is a vegetation rite, but there is no trace of a swinging ceremony in the cases mentioned here. I have collected examples of the custom of suspending the sacrifice or victim offered to the gods, and thought that the name of 'the hanged one' could be transferred through this custom to the goddess herself⁵, but it is only fair to concede that such a transference is not without its difficulties. Especially since

¹ Pollux, X, 191, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐλένη πλεκτὸν ἄγγειον σπάργανον, τὰ χεῖλη οἰσύνον, ἐν ᾧ φέρουσιν ἱερὰ ἄρορητα τοῖς Ἐλενηφορείοις. It is tempting to see in this *ἄγγειον* the *polos*, or perhaps it is a basket, on the head of the above-mentioned figures of Helen, but the identity of the object cannot be made out.

² Paus., VIII, 23, 4.

³ Paus., VIII, 23, 6.

⁴ See my paper, *Die Anthesterien und die Aiora*, in the Swedish periodical *Eranos*, XV, 1915, p. 197. Cf. Deubner, *Attischer Frühlingszauber* in *Festschr. f. P. Clemen*, 1926, pp. 115.

In my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 232.

the goddesses in question are connected with the tree cult, it is perhaps more probable that their images were suspended among the branches of their holy tree; this would very well suit the Helena *δενδοῖτις* at Rhodes, as was remarked long ago. There are also traces of the custom of suspending an image of Attis among the branches of his pine¹. It would be superfluous to quote analogies from modern customs; they are too far-fetched to prove anything in this case.

At all events it is clear that Helen is an old goddess closely associated with the tree cult. Although the tree cult is very prominent in the Minoan-Mycenaean age, this is no decisive proof that she was of Minoan origin, for the tree cult occurs almost everywhere. But if in addition to this peculiarity we recall that some features connect her with Ariadne and that her temple at Therapnae was built upon a Mycenaean site, there seems to be some probability that the Minoan tree cult survives in the cult of Helen.

In the above pages we have seen reason to assume that the pedigrees of several Greek goddesses comprise Minoan and Mycenaean ancestresses. The evidence brought forward is of course of a varying nature. With regard to Athena, Artemis, and Eileithyia it is very strong, while for Ariadne and Helen it is only fair to acknowledge that it does not carry the same conviction; the discussion of other cases is hardly worth while because they are so doubtful that a decision cannot be reached².

¹ Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, p. 120, cited by Neustadt, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

² Vürtheim in a very learned paper, *Europa, Mededeelingen d. K. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, LVII: 6, 1924, connects *Ἐυρώπη* and *φελγανός* with Greek words denoting the willow (*ῥόψ*, *ἑλίκη*) and recognizes a willow in the tree on the Gortynian coins with Europa and the Phaestian coins with Zeus Velchanos (see below, p. 479). He points out that the willow was sacred to the Samian Hera and thinks that Europa was originally an indigenous chthonic goddess of Central Greece, who was transferred to Crete and venerated there as a goddess of vegetation. I cannot find Vürtheim's comparisons very convincing and I consider especially dangerous the practice of manipulating Greek words and etymologies in order to discover and determine pre-Greek deities.

The deities, which we have had reason to discuss, are all female and I think that this is an additional proof that we are on the right track, because the monuments show that goddesses were prominent in the Minoan-Mycenaean age. In the next chapter we will see what particular part the male deities played in the Minoan religion.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DIVINE CHILD.

In the preceding chapters I have tried to trace the Minoan-Mycenaean survivals in Greek religion starting from the external evidence, such as the local continuity of cults from the Mycenaean age down to the Greek age, the probable derivation of names of deities from the pre-Greek language, and the formal similarity in artistic representations of Minoan and Greek deities. I have pointed out that these external relations do not give more than a starting point; a new god may have ousted the old possessor of the cult as Apollo did at Delphi, and an art type may have been transferred to another deity. Proof by external continuity must be corroborated by some internal affinity between the Minoan and the Greek deities, and I have throughout tried to give this internal affinity as the conclusive proof.

There is another method resting on purely internal evidence which may be used in detecting Minoan elements in the Greek religion. Where elements of strikingly un-Greek appearance are found in the historical Greek religion, and where this is in districts which were thoroughly permeated by Minoan influence and where no other external influence can reasonably be suspected, we are justified in supposing that the un-Greek elements are due to Minoan influence. The principle is clear enough, but the utmost caution is needed in handling it. For in the first place our judgments of what is Greek or un-Greek are highly subjective, and different scholars may doubtless judge very differently on this question. It depends on the opinion held of what is truly Greek and what un-Greek. Therefore it is necessary to use as a founda-

tion in this kind of research only such elements as appear most evidently to be of un-Greek origin. The results may be tested by their agreement with our other knowledge of the Minoan religion, but this again is fragmentary and scanty.

Research on these lines is difficult and leads us perhaps too far into the vast fields of hypothesis, but it cannot be avoided, as it is necessary in order to complete our picture of the Minoan religion and its influence upon the Greek religion; for other sources give only a meagre and in some respects defective description. I think it may be permitted if only we always remember the hypothetical nature of the conclusions and do not forget to use the necessary caution.

Such elements are pre-eminently conspicuous in the Cretan mythology of Zeus¹. The common Greek Zeus is the sky-god, the collector of the clouds, the thunderer, the protector of the state and of righteousness, the lord of men and the world. In the myth which is localized to Crete he is a new-born babe; he dies and his tomb is shown in Crete. A birth-story is told of every Greek god, but the birth-story does not play so important a part in the mythology of any god as in that of Zeus, nor is it so peculiar and curious. We must not let ourselves be seduced by the fame of this myth, but must remember that it is a special Cretan myth, localized to Crete, where several places claim to be the birthplace of Zeus².

¹ Because of this character Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, II, pp. 218, pointed out, over sixty years ago, that the Cretan Zeus was wholly different from the Greek Zeus and was a god of the pre-Greek Eteocretans, and identified his mother Rhea with the Phrygian Great Mother, a striking anticipation of modern views.

² The birth-place of Zeus is variously indicated: the Dictæan cave, Apollod., I, 1, 6; Mt Dicte, Diod., V, 70, and Agathokles of Babylon in Athenæus, IX, p. 375 F; Mt Ida, Callimachus, *Hymn. in Jovem*, I, v. 6. The oldest testimony in Hesiod, *Theog.*, v. 477 et seqq., says that the parents of Rhea sent her to Lyktos in Crete when she was about to bear her last child and that Gaia took the child and concealed it in a lofty cave in the *Δίψατον ὄρος*. That the Dictæan cave cannot be identified with this cave we have already remarked above, p. 393. The Dictæan cave being the less known, the birth-story was transferred to the cave of Zeus which was most famous in historical times, the Idæan Cave. As this, however, was contradicted by the account of Hesiod, which was thought to support the claims

It appears, however, that there is no old tradition pointing out any definite place where Zeus was born; it only said that Zeus was born in Crete, and this fact, that the legend is not attached to a certain spot, is in the best accordance with the nature of this myth, in which, as we shall see, the new-born Zeus-child is the representative of the vegetation which is born everywhere. Later a place was selected among the famous cult-places of Zeus in Crete in accordance with the tendency to localize the myths. This myth earned for Zeus the epithet *Κρηταγενής* which reflects the taste of an age that took pride in the old myths and felt the necessity of asserting its claims¹. The localization of the birth-story outside Crete is later and originates in an intention to vie with the famous Cretan myth².

of the Dictaeon cave, the conciliatory tendency of the mythographers solved the dilemma in supposing that Zeus was born in the Dictaeon and educated in the Idaean cave. See Diodorus, V, 70; Apoll. Rhod., II, v. 1237 and III, v. 134; Callimachus, *Hymn. in Jovem*, v. 34. Cf. Mingazzini, *Culti e miti pre-ellenici in Creta*, in the periodical *Religio*, I, 1919, pp. 251.

¹ The epithet occurs on Cretan inscriptions and coins and also at Mylasa in S. W. Asia Minor; for quotations I refer to P. Deiters, *De Cretensium titulis publicis*, Diss., Jena 1904, p. 49. I cannot agree with Bethe that Zeus Cretagenes at Gaza in Philistia is an old heritage, although the town was also called Minoa, *Hermes*, LXV, 1910, p. 204.

² According to Paus., IV, 33, 1, it is difficult to enumerate all the places where it was claimed that Zeus had been born and educated. The best known rival myth is that Zeus was born in Arcadia, because it is narrated by Callimachus in his hymn to Zeus. It may be due to the well-known claims of the Arcadians to be the oldest of mankind and to the fame of the Lycaean cult. Paus., VIII, 36, 3 (cf. 38, 2), says that Zeus was born on Mt Lykaion; this is situated in the Parrhasia which is indicated as the birth-place by Callimachus, v. 10. The late date of these inventions appears nicely in the assertion that a place named Kretea on Mt Lykaion near the temple of Apollo Parrhasios was the real Crete where Zeus had been educated. As for the Arcadian legends cf. E. Neustadt, *De Jove cretico*, Diss., Berlin 1906, pp. 22. The Messenian myth, related by Pausanias, IV, 33, seems to have been created to vie with the Arcadian one; the nurses of Zeus are said to have been called Neda and Ithome. In Callimachus the babe is entrusted to the nymph Neda who carries it to the (Idaeon, cf. v. 6) cave in Crete. Neda is a river which coming from Mt Lykaion flows between Messenia to the south and Arcadia and Triphylia to the north and consequently could be claimed as both Messenian and Arcadian. According to Tzetzes, *Schol. in Lycophr.*, v. 1194,

Zeus was the son of the Titans Kronos and Rhea. The opinion has been put forward that the Titans are old pre-Greek gods, who were ousted by the Greek gods, Zeus and his companions, and that the myth of the strife between the Titans and the Olympians has arisen from the conflict between the gods of the old religion and the new gods of the invading Greeks. But for this view no substantial proofs can be adduced, only a certain probability of a general order. The Titans are empty names like Iapetos and Koios or abstract figures like Hyperion and Mnemosyne etc. except Kronos and Rhea, and the problem centres round these two, the parents of Zeus. It is commonly assumed that Rhea is connected with the Great Mother of Asia Minor, and this may be true in so far as she, being the mother of the Zeus-child, whose Minoan origin we shall try to demonstrate, is also very probably herself of Minoan origin. It is not safe to assert more, viz. the real identity of both which is implied in the common double-name, Rhea-Cybele. For a distinction is to be made not only between Rhea and the Great Mother of Asia Minor but also between Rhea and the Greek *μήτηρ θεῶν*¹. The great difference is that Rhea is the wife of Kronos and the mother of his children, especially of Zeus, but is never associated with a *paredros*, as the Great Mother always is. Kronos seems to be an old god and probably a god of the harvest, but the scanty remains of his cult show nothing which can with certainty be called pre-Greek. However, the view that he

Zeus was said to have been born at Thebes in Boeotia, where the Islands of the Blest were also said to be; there was a place called *Διὸς γοναί* to which the relics of Hector were transferred, Aristodemos in *Schol. II.*, XIII, 1. In the legend of the institution of the Olympian games, related by Pausanias, V, 7, 6, it seems that Zeus was born at Olympia and the Idaean Dactyls are transferred thither. This is an invention to enhance the glory of Olympia. The claims of the Trojan Mt Ida are due to the identity of its name with that of the Cretan mountain; Demetrios from Skepsis in *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.*, III, 134. Other places claiming to be the birth-place of Zeus are enumerated by Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, II, pp. 234; Rapp in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythol.*, IV, p. 91; and Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 148.

¹ This is shown on good grounds by Rapp in his article *Kybele* in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythol.*, II, pp. 1659; cf. IV, pp. 91.

is an old pre-Greek god is plausible, but cannot be given a higher degree of probability¹.

We must turn to the myth itself of the birth of Zeus. The well-known fable relates that when Rhea had born her child she concealed it and gave to Kronos a stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes which he swallowed. Afterwards Kronos was compelled to disgorge both the stone, which was set up at Delphi, and the brothers and sisters of Zeus. This tale is remarkable, containing as it does a frequent motif in folk-lore which has been incorporated into Greek mythology which generally rejects such crude tales; at least they are not common or have been transformed. In the mythology of Zeus this motif recurs once more in the myth that he swallowed his wife Metis. But this is an apparently late myth modelled in imitation of the other. And the Orphicians let Zeus swallow Erikapaios. These myths are justly compared to the folk-story of Red Riding-Hood whose grandmother was swallowed by a wolf and delivered up again safe and sound. This motif, that someone is swallowed and disgorged again, has a distinct flavour of savagery and is very common among primitive peoples².

The child is born and then the mother disappears from the story; Hesiod says that Mother Gaia took the child and carried it to the cave in the Goat-mountain. It is a salient feature

¹ It is not possible to enter upon a detailed discussion of the vast and vexed theme of Kronos and the Titans which would require a book of its own without any hope of attaining decisive results. There is an exhaustive but now somewhat old monograph, M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen* (1887). Besides this I quote only the recent articles of the encyclopaedias; *Titanen* by Bapp and Mayer in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythol.*, and *Kronos* by Pohlenz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, in which the literature is collected and discussed. With regard to the festivals of Kronos I may remark that the sacrifice offered to him by the Basilai on the hill of Kronos at Olympia at the spring equinox, of which Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., IX, p. 352, has made much, must be of late date, at least with regard to the time of year; for all old rites are without exception regulated by the lunisolar calendar; solar dates were observed in religion only very late with the spreading of astronomical knowledge and especially astrological belief.

² See e. g. Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2nd ed., I, pp. 295.

of the myth that the child is abandoned by its mother and reared by others.

Here another motif of folk-lore is firmly bound up with the mythology of Zeus, that of the exposed child which is nourished by animals; besides animals also Nature daemons, the Nymphs, appear as nurses of Zeus. The common tale is that Zeus was fed with the milk of the goat Amalthea, but Amalthea is more often said to be a nymph who nursed Zeus¹, and she is especially associated with the wonderful horn of Amalthea. The question whether Amalthea was originally a mythical nymph or Nature daemon, whose name was transferred to the goat, is of minor importance; many other nymphs are mentioned as nursing Zeus² and animals as suckling him. Nymphs nursing the Zeus-child and animals suckling it are a standing feature of the myth. It is an obvious invention in accordance with later ideas when it is said that the eagle of Zeus brought him nectar and doves ambrosia in the holy cave³.

A quaint and at the same time more genuine story is told by Hellenistic authors⁴. Zeus was born on Mt Dikte where a secret sacrifice is performed. A sow offered him

¹ The goat is named Amalthea only by Hellenistic and later authors, whereas the nymph Amalthea is already mentioned by Pherecydes and Pindar. See e. g. Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*, 4th ed. by Robert, I, p. 35, n. 4.

² E. g. Callimachus, I, v. 47, mentions the Meliai; Apollodorus, I, 1, 6,Adrastea and Ida; Didymos in Lactantius, *Iust. div.*, I, 22, Amalthea and Melissa; they are all said to be daughters of Melisseus; Hyginus, *Astron.*, II, 13, gives other names. Pausanias, VIII, 38, 3, gives the Arcadian names Theisoa, Neda, and Hagno; see further Frazer on Apollodorus, I, 1, 6. A Cretan coin of Trajan's time, *Catal. of coins in British Museum, Crete*, pl. I, 9; Svoronos, *Eph. arch.*, 1893, pl. I, 7, shows the child in the lap of a nymph and Couretes on both sides and the inscription Δικτύοννα Κρητῶν. Svoronos is wrong in supposing (p. 5) that Diktynna is a town; she can only be the goddess who here appears as the nurse of Zeus; see I. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus*, Diss., Halle, 1913, p. 267, and compare Artemis Τακυνθοτρόφος below, p. 486.

³ Moiro in Athenaeus XI, p. 491 B; the last item is transferred from *Od.*, XII, 63.

⁴ Athenaeus, IX, pp. 375 F, quotes Agathokles of Babylon in his first book on Cyzicus and adds that a similar story is found in Nearchos of Cyzicus in his second book *περὶ τελετῆς*.

her teats and by her grunting prevented passers-by from noticing the cries of the babe. Because of this all people regard this animal as very sacred and refrain from eating its flesh. The people of the town of Praisos even offer sacrifices to the sow and this sacrifice is preparatory to initiation. The story is undoubtedly an old local myth, for it is borne out by some coins, although some confusion seems to have taken place as to the town. For the towns of Lyttos and Hierapytna stamp their coins with the protome of a sow, but coins from Praisos show the protome of a goat¹, and other coins a babe being suckled by a cow². The animal is different but the myth the same. The tale about the sow may once have been more widely spread, but later this somewhat despised animal was ousted by others, which the myth also honoured as the nurses of Zeus. With Svoronos it may be concluded from the coins quoted that the cow also was reckoned among the animals which suckled Zeus, although she is never mentioned in literature. It seems further that the bitch was also among these animals; several coins from Kydonia of Attic type show a bitch suckling a babe³. This babe, like the youth with a bow accompanied by a dog on other coins from Kydonia⁴, is interpreted by most numismatists as Kydon, the eponymous hero of the town, who was the son of the nymph Akakallis, daughter of Minos, and Hermes⁵ or Apollo⁶. The authors do not

¹ The protome of a sow (or boar) occurs on the oldest coins of Hierapytna in the first half of the fourth century B. C. and is the main type on the coins of Lyttos; see Head, *Hist. Num.*, 2nd ed., pp. 468 and 471; *Catal. of coins in British Mus., Crete*, pl. XIV, 1—5, 8, 9; Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète anc.*, pl. XVII, 6; XIX. The protome of a goat on the coins of Praisos, *loc. cit.*, p. 475; pl. XVII, 9, 10 and pl. XXVII, 25—28, respectively.

² Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 660, figs. 507 and 508; Svoronos, *Eph. arch.*, 1893, pp. 8 and pl. I, 16. I cannot approve of the further conclusion of the learned author that the calf of the coin type showing a cow suckling a calf is the zoomorphic representative of the Zeus-child.

³ Head, *loc. cit.*, p. 463. *Catal. Br. Mus., Crete*, pl. VII, 4, 7; Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète anc.*, pl. IX, 22—26.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 463; pl. VII, 1, 3, and IX, 2, 4, 7, 8, resp.

⁵ Paus., VIII, 53, 4; *Schol. Theocr.*, VII, 11.

⁶ *Schol. Odys.*, XIX, 176; Steph. Byz., s. v. *Κυδωνία*; according to the Cretica of Alexandros, quoted by *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.*, IV, 1492, Akakallis

state that the babe was exposed and nourished by animals; this is the case in another version of the Akakallis-myth¹, but in this her son by Apollo is called Miletos², the eponymous hero of the town of Milatos on the north coast of Crete not far from the gulf of Mirabello. The mother exposed the child through fear of her father Minos; but it was nourished by wolves with their milk, and finally discovered by shepherds who brought it up. Here also there is some confusion, but it is not safe to deny, as Svoronos³, the possibility that such a story was also told of Kydon. He seems, however, to be right in asserting that the babe suckled by the bitch on Kydonian coins is, in some cases at least, Zeus; for some of the coins⁴ show a thunderbolt above the back of the bitch suckling the babe; the thunderbolt, which also appears in some reliefs representing the dancing Couretes by the side of the child, plainly indicates that the child is Zeus. Further, Svoronos pertinently remarks that the place of the bitch with the child is taken on other coins by a Zeus of the type of Zeus Kretagenes⁵. Another version of the myth comes from the town of Elyros in south-west Crete⁶. The Elyrians sent to Delphi a goat of bronze suckling the twins Phylakides and Philandros, sons of Akakallis and Apollo, who had made love to her in the town of Tarrha and the house of the seer Karmanor⁶.

The tradition is very rich and various, and it is hopeless to try to reduce it to one myth or to one town, although the mythographers of a later age seem to have added to the confusion. Possibly the tale of the babe suckled by an animal goes back into the Minoan age, for a seal impression from Knossos shows an infant beneath a horned sheep, although it is not

was loved by both gods and bore Kydon to Hermes and Naxos to Apollo. Cf. Roszbach, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Alt.*, VII, 1901, pp. 394.

¹ Nicander, *Metamorph.* in Antonius Liberalis, 30.

² According to Apollodorus, III, 1, 2, Miletos is son to Apollo and Areia, daughter of Kleochos.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1893, pp. 3.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pl. 1, 4.

⁵ See *loc. cit.*, pl. I, 2 and 3.

⁶ Paus., X, 16, 5.

being suckled¹; this, however, is no certain proof. Still it appears that this myth was very popular in Crete; it was told of the eponymous heroes of various towns and of the father of the gods and of man, Zeus.

The motif of the exposed child suckled by an animal is one of the most wide-spread and best known in myth, legend, and folk-lore. It is especially told of the founders of mighty empires; we need hardly mention Romulus and Remus and their wolf and Cyrus and his bitch. In Greek mythology also it is very common and is told e. g. of Telephos, the hero of the Pergamene kingdom, Hippothoos, Aigisthos, Antilochos, Paris, Atalante, the twins Pelias and Neleus, and Aiolos and Boiotos². It is a standing feature in the story of the childhood of a famous hero or founder of an empire. But the motif is especially common in Crete, and it is peculiar to Crete that this old folk-lore motif is applied to a god and the supreme god, Zeus.

The remarkable point is that the Divine Child of Crete should be called by the name of the King of the Heavens, the thunder god Zeus. It cannot be doubted that the child-god is the original starting point around which motifs from folk-lore have clustered, the swallowing of the child, its being delivered up again, and its being nourished by wild animals. Why the Divine Child of Crete was called Zeus, for whom the figure of a child seems most inappropriate, is a very difficult question, and I cannot avoid trying to find an answer, although it is of a highly hypothetical nature. There are child-gods in Greece. At Amphissa the *Ἐνακτες παῖδες*, the Children Lords, were venerated. Pausanias mentions images of gods with children's figures at Brasiai and Pephnous in Laconia. Some terracottas represent these gods in swaddling-clothes; at Pephnous they were called *Ἰὸς κοῦροι*, the sons of Zeus³.

¹ *BSA*, IX, p. 88, fig. 60; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 515, fig. 373.

² Hyginus, *Fab.*, 252, enumerates *qui lacte ferino nutriti sunt*; cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, XII, 42.

³ The material for this and for the cult of the Dioscuri in general is to be found in my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 417, and in my paper, *Zeus Ktesios*, *Athen. Mitteil.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 282. A recent addition is the new relief from Sparta published in *BSA*, XIII, p. 214. Cf. above, p. 274.

We are accustomed to think of the Dioscuri as horsemen, but this is a later development; the Dioscuri came to be represented as youths because they were the patrons of the Spartan youths. The Dioscuri of Pephnous were small children. The cult of the Dioscuri is composed of different elements; a very important and perhaps the original one is the house-cult. They are the house-gods of the Spartan kings¹. The form of their cult is *theoxenia*, i. e. a meal set before them. Their symbol, the *δόκανα*, is nothing but the schematic representation of the timber-frame of a house built of sundried bricks. Their holy animal is the snake, while another symbol consists of two amphoras, each surrounded by a snake; this is nothing but a representation of the Dioscuri in the shape of snakes coming to partake of the meal or *panspermia*, served to them in the amphoras. This very much resembles the tube-shaped vessels surrounded by a snake in the Minoan house-cult. The Dioscuri are further related to the pre-Greek religion; Helen is their sister and cult-companion, and Zeus begot them in the shape of a bird, a swan.

The Dioscuri, however, are sons of Zeus, not Zeus himself, though Zeus appears in the same function and with the same cult-form, and likewise represented by a snake as Zeus Ktesios, who is installed in the store-chamber with a jar containing a *panspermia*. He is a typical house-god.

The Greeks who invaded Greece worshipped Zeus as the protector of the house (*ἐσπερίος*) and its stores (*κρήσιος*). The snake, which also guarded the house and its stores, was consequently identified with Zeus who was made to appear in the shape of a snake. The Greeks had or found on settling in Greece daemons in the figures of children who guarded the house. These were called not Zeus but the sons of Zeus, *Διὸς κοῦροι*. When finally the Greeks went to Crete and found there the Divine Child it also was called Zeus, although it was not a house-god, but performed Zeus' function of protecting vegetation. This had great consequences, for thus the myth of the childhood of Zeus was created, with the help of old motifs from the folk-lore.

¹ Noted by Frazer, *Early History of Kingship*, pp. 32.

However it came about that the Cretan Divine Child was called Zeus, we are justified in drawing one conclusion: it was inherent in the Cretans to think of Zeus as an infant child abandoned by its mother; for this is the reason why these motifs could be transferred to him. The growth of the child in the wilderness, suckled by animals and nursed by Nymphs, is another important feature. Both are especially and exclusively Cretan, although they found their way into the common mythology of Greece.

Among the animals which brought nourishment to the infant Zeus the bees are also often mentioned¹, or else it is said that the Nymphs fed him with milk and honey². This motif is quite consistent with other tales about the nourishment of exposed children, and here there is no reason to inquire into the religious significance of the bee³. One of the myths about the bees contains very peculiar and remarkable features⁴. Zeus was born in a cave in Crete which was inhabited by bees. Both gods and men were forbidden to enter it. At a certain time each year a mighty fire was seen flashing forth from the cave, when the blood from the birth of Zeus streamed forth⁵. The next part which relates that some

¹ Virgil, *Georg.*, IV, 152, with the commentary of Servius to v. 150 and to *Aen.*, III, v. 104; τροφοὶ τοῦ Διός, Anton. Lib., 19.

² Diodorus, V, 70; Callimachus, *Hymn. in Jovem*, v. 49; cf. Columella, IX, 2, 3. The name of the father of the Nymphs, Melisseus (cf. above, p. 466, n. 2) is an attempt to rationalize the story; see Frazer on Apollodorus, I, 1, 7 (vol. I, p. 7, n. 3). The same story is told of Dionysos by Apollonius Rhodius, IV, v. 1134. A son of Zeus and a nymph was exposed, but nourished by bees, and brought up by a shepherd; hence he was called Meliteus and founded the town of Melite in Phthia, Nicander in Antoninus Liberalis, 13. This is obviously an aetiological-etymological tale.

³ E. Neustadt, *De Jove Cretico*, Diss., Berlin, 1906, pp. 44, tries to show that there was a goddess Melissa and makes some ingenious remarks on the part played by the bee in religion. Cf. Mingazzini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 270.

⁴ Anton. Lib., 19, from the second book of the *Ornithogonia* by Boios. The name of this author seems originally to have been female, Boio, and that of an old Delphic priestess. Her name was used in the Hellenistic age by a writer who told recondite local legends of men who were turned into birds; see the article by Knaack in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, III, pp. 633.

⁵ Anton. Lib., 19, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ ὁράται καθ' ἑκάστον ἔτος

thieves entered the cave to steal honey is less interesting. Zeus intended to kill them with his lightning, but was prevented by the Moirai because it was unlawful for anybody to die in this cave. Consequently they were turned into birds. The name Boios or Boio is a pseudonym; the author is apparently one of those Hellenistic writers who loved to pick up obscure local myths, and the strangely primitive quality of this tale of the birth of Zeus shows that it is a relic of bygone days, surviving in a remote corner of the island. The salient feature of this curious story is that the Zeus-child is born every year, for the fire is seen annually when the blood from the birth of Zeus streams forth.

Around the babe the Couretes perform their dances, clashing shields and swords in order that the wailing of the child may not be heard. The Couretes belong to Crete; in all other districts and places they are either introduced later, or else their name denotes a people¹. This is already the opinion of antiquity and comes out in the Euhemeristic tradition, according to which they were the first inhabitants of Crete and have given their names to several Cretan towns². More significant is the fact that the Couretes are mentioned among the gods by whom the inhabitants of the Cretan towns swear³. For us the important question is the nature of these intimate companions of the Zeus-child.

Generally, and rightly so, it is considered unsafe to rely on Euhemeristic writers, but on the other hand these authors too

πλείστον ἐκλάμπων ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου πῦρ. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὅταν ἐκξέῃ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως αἷμα.

¹ See I. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus*, Diss., Halle, 1913, and the articles of the encyclopaedias.

² Enumerated by Poerner, *loc. cit.*, p. 256.

³ The treaty between Lato and Olous, *Samml. d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 5075, l. 76; here also a temple of the Couretes is mentioned, l. 60 (see Bosanquet, *BSA*, XV, p. 352); the treaty between Lyttos and Hierapytna, No. 5041, l. 14 and 22; between Hierapytna and a colony, No. 5039, l. 14, here the Corybants are added owing to a common confusion. In the treaty between Gortyn, Hierapytna, and Priansos, No. 5024, l. 63 et seq. and l. 80, the names of the Couretes and the Corybants are lost in gaps in the inscription except two letters of the *Κύ[ο]βαντες*, l. 63.

are bound to take their starting points from common belief, and therefore the account of Diodorus¹ is of symptomatic value. Here he is addicted to that variety of Euhemerism which is associated with heurematography and presents the gods as inventors of such improvements of civilization as are commonly considered as belonging to their realm. According to him the Couretes inhabited forests and chasms in the mountains, the art of building houses being still unknown. They invented, however, many useful arts; they first collected the flocks and tamed the herd-animals, invented the art of rearing bees, of hunting, and of shooting with the bow, and they first introduced social intercourse and a peaceable mode of life. Finally they invented swords and helmets and the armed dance. The last item is taken from the well-known myth; besides the Couretes appear as protectors of the plain and simple life of the hunters and herdsmen, which is in accordance with the scanty traces of their cult surviving scarcely anywhere but in Crete. Two inscriptions have come to light at the foot of Mt Ida which show that the Couretes were still worshipped by the countryfolk in the Roman age. The one which is published² is a dedication by a certain Ertaios "to the Couretes, the guardians of kine". A second very similar dedication is unpublished³. The importance of these inscriptions is that they show that even at a late period the Couretes were still worshipped as protectors of the flocks.

Only one festival of the Couretes is recorded in Greece. At Messene there was a *megaron* of the Couretes, in which

¹ Diodorus, V, 65. On the sources of the part which deals with Crete see Bethe, *Untersuchungen zu Diodors Inselbuch*, *Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, pp. 402; he compares Strabo's account of the Couretes, X, pp. 465—473, and suggests that both are derived from Apollodorus' work on the Homeric Catalogue of the Ships. The items quoted here are not found in Strabo. Cf. Leo, *Hesiodea*, Programm, Göttingen, 1894, pp. 21.

² By De Sanctis, *Mon. ant.*, XVIII, p. 178, Ἐρταῖος Ἀμνάτων Κώρησι τοῖς πρό κροταιπόδων (ἀ)ρῶν καὶ (χα)ρυστήριον. It was found in the village of H. Barbara in the pass through which the road from Knossos to Gortyn runs.

³ Discovered on a foot-hill of Mt Ida, N. W. of Gortyn in the village of Plouti, mentioned by Bosanquet, *BSA*, XV, p. 353; it is somewhat earlier than the other, perhaps from the second century A. D.

animals of all kinds, beginning with oxen and goats and ending with birds, were sacrificed by being thrown into the flames of a pyre¹. This rite of throwing animals into the flames is found elsewhere in Greece, especially in the cult of Artemis, and perhaps also in Crete²; it is kindred to the bonfires of modern peasant-customs, and is very probably a fertility charm³. Its association with the Couretes is probably due to their being protectors of flocks and game; because of the latter function Artemis was associated with the bonfires.

This aspect of the Couretes as gods or daemons of shepherds and hunters, prominent in their cult, is somewhat obliterated in the myths, where the Couretes are above all famous as armed dancers, because in this function they were associated with the myths of the childhood of Zeus. The explanation of the dance given by the myth, that the noise of the clashing weapons was to prevent the cries of the babe from being heard, is evidently an aetiological invention and can be dismissed at once. The only facts are the dance itself and the said associations; there are no other indications by which we can discover any certain purpose in the dance. Because it is an armed dance it is natural to think of it as a war-dance, but this is very improbable. For the Couretes have nothing to do with war so far as the ancient tradition goes. Weapons, however, are used not only against human but also against ghostly enemies, to terrify and expel daemons. Dances are very often performed to promote fertility⁴. So now the opinion prevails that the dance of the Couretes is a fertility charm⁵;

¹ Paus., IV, 31, 9; cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 433.

² Cf. above, pp. 399, and my paper *Fire-Festivals in Ancient Greece*, *JHS*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 144. This rite may explain the statement quoted by Porphyrius, *De abstin.*, II, 56, from a tract by Istros on the Cretan sacrifices that the Couretes sacrificed children to Kronos in olden times. In itself the statement is certainly untrustworthy and influenced by the identification of Kronos with Moloch; see Pohlenz, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Altert.*, XXXVII, 1916, p. 572.

³ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, p. 54, and Latte, *De saltat. Graec., Rel.-gesch. Versuche u. Vorarb.*, XIII: 3, p. 43.

⁴ Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., IX, pp. 234.

⁵ See e. g. Latte, *loc. cit.*, p. 51.

an opinion due to the context in which this dance appears, i. e. its association with the Zeus-child.

As we know in reality very little about the nature of the Couretes and especially of their dance, the discovery of the famous hymn of Palaikastro was a piece of especially good luck. The fragments of the inscription were found in the ruins of the temple of the Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro on the east coast of Crete¹. The inscription is rather late in date, probably belonging to the beginning of the third century A. D.; but the hymn is older, having been composed in the Hellenistic age to judge from the polished metre. It is reasonably supposed that its engraving on stone is due to a revival of the old cult in an age conspicuous for a general tendency towards such revivals of old cults. The hymn has given rise to many learned and sagacious comments and must be closely studied². It is a *ῥυμος κλητικός*, to use the Greek term, invoking the *κοῦρος* Zeus to come annually, accompanied by his followers, to give fertility and good fortune of every kind. Although the hymn was composed at a fairly late date, it goes back to ideas belonging to much older times³.

The crucial point is whether the hymn is connected with the Couretes and their dance. The singers do not present themselves as the Couretes; they are an ordinary sacred chorus which sings the hymn standing around the altar to the accompaniment of the lyre and the flute⁴. The words in which this is said cannot be misunderstood, and it is even doubt-

¹ See above, p. 399.

² It was edited by Bosanquet and Murray, *BSA*, XV, pp. 339. Miss Harrison added, pp. 308, a remarkable paper on *The Kouretes and Zeus Kouros*, the ideas of which she later developed at length in her book *Themis*. Besides these chief works the most important treatment is that of Latte, *loc. cit.*, pp. 43; cf. W. Aly in *Philologus*, LXXI, 1912, pp. 469; Poerner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 264; Mingazzini in the Italian periodical *Religio*, I, 1919, pp. 256.

³ I cannot find any traces of Orphism which Aly, *loc. cit.*, p. 472, makes responsible for the hymn.

⁴ Latte, *loc. cit.*, p. 47. It begins thus: Ἰὼ, μέγιστε Κούρω, χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκριατῆς γάνους, βέβαιες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκτην ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρχε καὶ γέγαδι μολπᾶ(ι) τὰν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἄμ' ἀλλοῖσιν καὶ στάντες ἀεῖδομεν τεὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν (ε)ὑερῆ.

ful if Professor Murray is right in saying that they marched along like the Salii and then stopped and sang the hymn at the altar¹, for this assumes a little more than can be read into the wording. At all events this song, accompanied by the lyre and flute-players, is not the text of an armed dance like that of the Couretes. But even if it is impossible to find in this chorus the cult-dancers of whom the Couretes are the mythical reflex, other details in the hymn make the association recognizable. Zeus himself is called μέγιστος κοῦρος and is invoked to appear at the head of his daemons. The word κοῦρος is equivocal; it may signify 'child' or 'youth', at least in the classical age and later, though in an older age the signification 'youth' prevailed, where the implication was not a male child in contradistinction to a female one; this older sense was longer preserved in the Dorian dialects². It is consequently probable that the word κοῦρος denotes Zeus not as a child but as a youth, and this is the opinion of most scholars; I think that this is proved to be correct by the fact that the image of the Dictaeon Zeus, in whose honour the hymn was sung, was beardless³. This Zeus was the youthful Zeus who was worshipped in other places in Crete also; we must recur to him below⁴.

Who are the daemons at whose head Zeus appears? Almost all scholars unanimously agree that they are the Couretes, for no other *thiasos* of Zeus is known. But the Couretes here appear in an unusual function; they do not appear as the armed dancers of mythology but as the daemons of fertility, venerated in the Cretan rustic cult as accompanying the Greatest κοῦρος. Κούρος is originally nothing but 'young man', 'youth'. The Dictaeon Zeus is nothing but the foremost of these youthful daemons, worshipped as givers of fertility especially by herdsmen and hunters. This is another instance of the way in which a god emerges from a collective crowd of daemons, for the cult must select one of the group to re-

¹ *BSA*, XV, p. 359.

² See the valuable remarks by Latte, *loc. cit.*, pp. 44.

³ *Etym. magn.*, s. v. Δίκη· ἐνταῦθα δὲ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἀγένειον ἴστατο.

⁴ Below, p. 479.

ceive offerings and prayers, and the others survive as the followers and the *thiasos* of the god¹. Out of the collective group of daemons of fertility, the Couretes, the god of fertility, the *μέγιστος κοῦρος*, has arisen.

Miss Harrison, who has written a learned and inspiring treatise on the hymn, tries to trace the origin of the Couretes and the Greatest of them further back than to the belief in Nature daemons. According to her a well-known primitive institution is at the bottom of this cult and myth, the initiation of the young men into the tribal mysteries, which are performed by the full-grown men of the tribe. Inspired by the group-religion which Dr Durkheim put forward, she thinks that the god himself, Zeus, is a projection of the group, of the young men performing the annual initiation ceremony. The ideas by which Miss Harrison explains the hymn are peculiar to one period of the development of humanity, that of savagery and primitive democracy in which collective emotion and the group-mind governed men completely. But this savage stage had long been passed even in Minoan Crete where a highly developed culture is found from the beginning of the second millenium B. C., and priest-kings governed a people which must certainly have already been divided into several classes of higher and lower standing. The Minoan civilization must have completely altered their mode of living and swept away the old collective ideas and the group-mind. And on top of that followed the immigration of a new people and of Greek culture, in the language of which the hymn is composed². I think that the learned authoress telescopes the millenia in going back to the savage group-mind to explain the hymn, and I think that the belief in Nature daemons conferring bliss and fertility fully accounts for the ideas expressed in this remarkable composition.

The second point on which Miss Harrison lays stress is the annual appearance of the *μέγιστος κοῦρος*, which is testified

¹ See my *Hist. of Greek Religion*, pp. 111; cf. above, pp. 327. Cf. also Wilamowitz, *Nachr. d. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1895, p. 244.

² My criticism coincides with that developed at greater length by Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, pp. 53.

by the invocation of Zeus to come to Dikte for the year, i. e. annually¹, and she is certainly right in ascribing a fuller implication to this invocation than that of simply referring it to an annually celebrated festival. Zeus is the real *ἐνιαυτὸς δαίμων*, as Miss Harrison terms him, who must appear annually, probably in the spring², to confer his blessings, which the hymn enumerates. But I must express my doubts whether a god or daemon of the kind so graphically described in the Greek phrase coined by Miss Harrison belongs to the same cultural stage as the tribal initiation of the young men; he seems much more consistent with the life of herdsmen and agriculturalists than with that of savages; for only the former are able to attain to a notion of the year in the primary sense here required, namely the products being brought by the year in a certain established order.

The gist of the hymn is to invoke Zeus to come and confer these blessings and this is expressed in the two last strophes, which Professor Murray translates thus: "To us also leap for full jars, and leap for fleecy flocks, and leap for fields of fruit, and for hives to bring increase. Leap for our Cities, and leap for our sea-borne ships, and leap for young citizens and for goodly Law". The crucial point is the words *θόρε ἐς*, which are translated "leap for" and taken to signify the leaps of the dancers. Miss Harrison explains it thus: "The god it would seem performs the same ritual as his worshippers, and it is by performing that ritual that he is able to confer his blessings"³. But as already remarked this chorus does not leap like the Couretes, while their god is not the new-born babe but the youthful Dictæan Zeus. The words *θόρε ἐς* are to be interpreted in another sense, and I think that they are to be taken literally, 'leap into', and not in the transferred sense of 'leap on behalf of'⁴.

¹ The text is quoted above, p. 475, n. 4; cf. v. 23, *κατήτος*, i. e. *κατ' ἔτος*.

² This was the opinion of Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, II, p. 224, and therefore he approved of Bücheler's conjecture in *Pervigilium Veneris*, v. 2, *vere natus est Jovis*.

³ Jane E. Harrison, *Theism*, p. 10.

⁴ Cf. Latte, *loc. cit.*, p. 49: (*Juppiter*) *vocatur, ut cantu sacerdotum se delectet. Deinde ubicumque vox τοῦ θρώσκεν occurrit, saltu certo finem peti*

Behind this there is certainly a yet more literal and realistic sense, that of 'begetting'. In this hymn, which was composed at a fairly late date of remnants of much older conceptions, the words are taken metaphorically, or it would have been impossible to say: "Leap into our towns and into our sea-faring ships, leap into our young citizens and a lawful order", or, to put it still more correctly, they were an old and venerable, but only half understood, sacred formula. But in the expressions: "leap into the fleecy flocks and the crops of the fields", which certainly are the oldest, the sense here suggested is the most primitive and natural.

This view seems to be corroborated by certain facts in other Cretan cults of the youthful Zeus. We remember that the image of the Dictaeon Zeus was beardless, i. e. youthful. The temple of Zeus Velchanos, which was built upon the ruins of the palace of H. Triada, has been mentioned above; a festival, the Velchania, is known through inscriptions from Gortyn and Lyttos and is to be supposed at Knossos¹. Coins from Phaestus show Zeus Velchanos as a youthful beardless figure seated with a cock in his lap among the branches of an old tree². Other coins from Gortyn show a young woman seated in the same tree, which always has this characteristic pollarded shape³. Some coins from Gortyn show an eagle on one of the branches at the side of the woman or the head of an eagle on the trunk of the tree. On some coins the woman holds a sceptre crowned by a bird. A very remarkable type shows the eagle in the lap of the woman with outspread wings, a representation recalling that of the intercourse of Leda with

significat, nusquam saltationis quasi libera πηδήματα. Quare mihi quidem maxime placet Iovem invocari, ut insiliat frugibus, quasi compleat illas felicesque reddat praesentia sua.

¹ Above, pp. 397. *Ἐλχάνια* in Lyttos, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XIII, 1889, p. 61; in Gortyn, *Mon. ant.*, III, p. 23, No. 10. The month *Ἐλχάνιος* at Knossos, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 204.

² Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 473; *Catal. of coins in Brit. Mus., Crete*, pl. XV, 10; Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète anc.*, pl. XXIII, 24—26; Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 946, figs. 838—841.

³ They are collected by Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 528, figs. 391—400. A long series of specimens in Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, pl. XIII—XV.

the swan¹. On some coins of this type the head of a bull is seen beneath and the reverse of all these coins shows a bull. Other coins show Europa on the back of a bull in accordance with the common myth, and because of this parallelism numismatists almost unanimously call the woman Europa². In doing so they refer to the fable that Zeus celebrated his nuptials with Europa under an evergreen plane-tree, which it is stated was to be seen near Gortyn; near by was a spring in which Europa was said to have bathed³. But the tree on the coins does not seem to be a plane-tree; it has been identified with an oak or an ancient willow. The identifications disagree and are hardly conclusive, and it would be especially rash to press the identification with a willow so hard as to describe the woman as a willow-goddess and her counterpart, Zeus Velchanos, as a willow-god⁴. An evergreen plane-tree is abnormal, even if Dr Halbherr asserts that one is still growing in a village near Gortyn⁵. The kind of tree is in both cases best left on one side; the main point is the association with the tree cult⁶.

For my part I should not care to call the goddess, or it may be a nymph, seated in the tree Europa, but on the other hand I should not venture to deny that she was so called. The coins in question show that there was in the district of Gortyn a belief that Zeus in the shape of a bird united himself with a tree goddess or nymph whose name is not given. But it may be remembered that some goddesses closely con-

¹ Cook, *loc. cit.*, figs. 397 and 398; *Catal. of coins in Brit. Mus., Crete*, pl. X, 8.

² Only Svoronos dissents and supposes that these coins represent Minos wooing Britomartis, *Rev. de num. Belge*, 1894, pp. 113, but this opinion is very conjectural; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 527, n. 1.

³ Theophr., *Hist. plant.*, I, 9, 15; Plinius, *Hist. nat.*, XII, 11; Varro, *De re rust.*, I, 7, 6; Callim., frg. 100 F; cf. the spring Kanathos near Nauplia in which Hera bathed every year to recover her virginity, Paus., II, 38, 2.

⁴ Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 528; II, pp. 946.

⁵ Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 526, n. 3.

⁶ The statement in Hyginus, *Fab.*, 139, *Amalthea pueri nutrix eum in cunis in arbore suspendit, ut neque caelo neque terra neque mari inveniretur*, is so peculiar that it cannot be pure invention, but probably has some actual foundation, and this is likely to belong to an association of the Zeus-child also with the tree cult.

nected with the tree cult, e. g. Helen and Artemis, are of Minoan origin. This myth was, however, necessarily confused with the famous myth of Zeus and Europa, and therefore the marvellous plane-tree was said to have sheltered the nuptials of Zeus and Europa; there is no evidence, however, that it was the tree figured on the coins. The fable of this tree-nymph or goddess is not mentioned in literature but is not unparalleled, for Zeus often appears as a lover in the guise of a bird. As a swan he begot the Dioscuri at Sparta, at Argos it was said that in the shape of a cuckoo he deceived Hera and won her love on the Mountain of the Cuckoo¹. I venture to guess that these myths, which appear in old Mycenaean centres, are remains of the Minoan belief that the gods appeared in the shape of birds.

The trees in which the Gortynian nymph and Zeus Velchanos of Phaestus are seated are similar and apparently identical. Zeus Velchanos holds a bird in his lap, but this bird is a cock, whereas the bird approaching the tree-nymph is an eagle. According to my views the difference of species does not matter much, the main point being the bird-epiphany; and it would only be consistent with the prevailing ideas if the special bird of Zeus, the eagle, was substituted for the cock. Moreover, the cock must have been added to the god as his attribute in a comparatively late period, for this bird became known to the Greeks only in the sixth century B. C.² It is probable that the spouse of the holy marriage at Gortyn was the beardless Zeus Velchanos. In this respect also the myth is parallel, not identical, with the myth of Zeus and Europa.

This is another instance of the holy marriage, which is a well-known piece of Greek myth and ritual; a famous passage in the Iliad depicts it in glowing colours. In Crete it was localized also to the district of Knossos near the river Theren, where there was a temple in which holy sacrifices were offered

¹ Mt Kokkygion, Paus., II, 36, 1; *Schol. Theocr.*, XV, 64, quoting Aristotle in his book on the sacrifices at Hermione.

² The cock is not mentioned in Homer, Hesiod, and the fragments of the oldest poetry. The oldest representations belong to the sixth century B. C. The designation of the cock as *ὁ Περσικός ὄρνις* is significant.

annually and the nuptials were imitated just as they were said to have been celebrated¹. Both the parties, Zeus Velchanos and the goddess or nymph, are tree-spirits or at least associated with the tree cult, and therefore they may reasonably be supposed to be spirits of fertility. Their union is shown on some coins in a more straightforward manner, recalling the representations of Leda and the swan, and as the beardless youthful Zeus Velchanos is clearly kindred to or identical with the beardless youthful Dictaeon Zeus, this straightforward representation confirms the interpretation given above of the words *θόρε εἰς* in the hymn of Palaikastro.

Zeus also died and was buried in Crete. This myth was very famous and it contributed to the bad reputation of the Cretans. Callimachus in his hymn to Zeus expressed this as follows: "The Cretans are always liars. The Cretans have even built thy tomb, O Lord! But thou hast not died, for thou liveth for ever!" There is no allusion to the tomb of Zeus earlier than the Hellenistic age, but since then it is mentioned again and again². The myth about the death of Zeus and his tomb was most welcome to the Euhemeristic writers and Christian fathers, who used it sedulously for their own purposes. It was evidently a Cretan belief, most markedly different from common Greek belief, which in an earlier age lived on locally and unheeded, but was seized upon by the Euhemerists and acquired its fame through their writings. The tomb of Zeus was shown in different places; at Knossos, on Mt Ida, and on Mt Dicte. Evidently this myth, like that of the birth of Zeus, was a Cretan belief concerning the god of vegetation, who dies everywhere just as he is born everywhere. Therefore the myth was originally not localized, but was afterwards attached to the most famous cult-places of Zeus.

The Zeus-child, the god of fertility, is reborn annually, and consequently also dies annually; his annual death is, how-

¹ Diodorus, V, 72.

² It would be of no use to give quotations; they are carefully collected by Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 157, n. 4; II, pp. 940; Pfister, *Der Reliquienkultus im Altertum, Rel.-gesch. Versuche u. Vorarb.*, V, pp. 385, and others. Cf. Mingazini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 258.

ever, forgotten, while of his annual birth there is only a single testimony. His annual death was not consistent with Euhemeristic views, and was therefore ignored¹. We must surmise that Zeus also died annually, but this was in such violent opposition to all Greek ideas that it was neither understood nor thought worth recording².

¹ A very uncertain trace of his annual death may perhaps be suspected in the account of the visit, which Pythagoras made to the Idaean cave, in Porphyrius, *Vit. Pythag.*, 17. Pythagoras spent nine nights in the Idaean cave, underwent some purifications, saw the throne which was annually spread (with carpets) for Zeus, and engraved on his tombstone the epigram of which Porphyrius quotes the first line. The annual ceremony mentioned here, the spreading of the throne of Zeus with carpets, is perhaps a rite belonging to the cult of the dead, but it may with more probability be referred to an annual epiphany.

² The inscription on the tombstone is variously quoted. Ennius, *Sacra hist.*, in Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, I, 11, has only *Zàn Κρόνον*; *Schol. Callim. hymn.*, I, 8, *Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος*, of which the first word is said to have been obliterated so that the inscription was thought to refer to Zeus and not to Minos. This is of course an attempt to refute the alleged testimony of the inscription. Both these inscriptions are copied from actual epitaphs, in which the name of the father of the deceased was added. More current is the form quoted by Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*, *ὧδε θανῶν κεῖται Ζάν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι*, and by others with slight variations. It reflects the pedantry of learned men who thought it necessary to add an explanation of the Dorian form Zan. These inscriptions are evidently inventions of the Euhemerists of the same kind as the famous inscription from the island of Panchaea. Suidas, s. v. *Πῆκος*: *ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανῶν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς*, is a very unskilful adaptation of the same verse, the pentameter being incomplete. This identification of Zeus and Picus has acquired undeserved fame in England thanks to the eloquent exposition by Miss Harrison in her lecture, *Bird and Pillar Worship*, *Transact. of the third Congr. for the Hist. of Religions, Oxford*, II, p. 161, and especially *Themis*, pp. 100. Her views are adopted by other scholars, e. g. A. Le Marchant, *Greek Rel. to the Time of Hesiod*, pp. 62. Of course I should have nothing to say against another bird-form of Zeus, but the testimony in question must be discarded as a product of learned speculation. It would be very surprising if the Greeks had borrowed the Latin word *picus* to denote the woodpecker, for which there were at least two common Greek words. Halliday has cleared the matter up in a short but lucid article: *Picus who is also Zeus*, *Class. Rev.*, XXXVI, 1922, pp. 110. He points out that this identification is first met with in a fragment of Diodorus, VI, 5, *ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Νίνου Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰταλίας* and that Zeus-Picus only figures in passages connected with the alleged interrelations between the histories of Rome and Assyria, especially in the chronographers. The same is the case with one of the other two passages in Suidas

The various features characteristic of the Cretan mythology of Zeus belong to one great cycle of religious ideas, the annual coming to life and decaying of the Life of Nature. Zeus is born as a small child and nourished by animals and nymphs; as a youth he consorts in the shape of a bird with a tree-nymph or goddess, and finally he dies. It is very tempting to systematize the scattered fragments, but the danger is that the result would be more a piece of systematized theology than of research into the past of an old religion. It is possible, perhaps probable, that a holy marriage was never connected with the birth and the death of the god. The classical Greek religion, for instance, never systematized its ideas, and such an attempt to connect and harmonize them only appears in a much later age with the predominance of the Orphic movement, philosophical speculation, and syncretism. The holy marriage cannot with certainty be claimed as a Minoan heritage, although the peculiar character of the youthful Zeus and his associations make it certain that he is of Minoan origin. For the holy marriage is known elsewhere in Greece, and the rite of sympathetic magic, which is at the bottom of it, is very wide-spread in Europe and other parts of the world. It is otherwise with the birth and death of Zeus; they belong exclusively to Crete and differ strongly from Greek conceptions. These can therefore confidently be claimed as a Minoan heritage. It is true that Minoan images referring to these beliefs are wanting, except the doubtful instance of the

not mentioned by Halliday, s. v. *Αἴγυπτος* — — — — ἀφικετο Ἐρμῆς ὁ υἱὸς Πηῆκον τοῦ καὶ Διὸς. The other, s. v. *Ἡρακλέους ἄγαλμα*. — — — — ὁ Ἡρακλῆς Πηῆκον τοῦ καὶ Διὸς υἱός, φιλόσοφος ἄριστος, is of no better origin. How this came about Halliday has also conclusively explained. Picus was said to be an old aboriginal king of Italy and a son of Saturnus, but Saturnus was identified with Kronos whose son was Zeus. Consequently the Euhemerists identified Picus with their Zeus. There is not a scrap of popular or old tradition in the identification; it is a learned invention of the Euhemerist historiographers, who tried to make history out of myth and to correlate the histories of the old world-empires. I will only add that it is an interesting testimony of the respect for the power of Rome that the Euhemerists did not dare to identify their Zeus with the supreme god of the Roman state, Jupiter, but selected a rather obscure god, who could fill the vacant place because he was said to be a son of Saturnus.

seal impression with an infant beneath a horned sheep. But the ideas which they express, the ever recurring changes of the Life of Nature, played a most important part in Minoan religion according to the testimony of the monuments, as was demonstrated above¹. This to some extent corroborates the supposed Minoan origin of the myths concerning the birth of Zeus, which were preserved in the native country of Minoan civilization.

There is another fact which definitely proves that these ideas were a Minoan heritage and a chief part of the Minoan religion. One of the very few mythological names derived beyond doubt from the Minoan language is Hyakinthos². It contains the pre-Greek element *-vθ-*, and besides the hero it denotes a flower. A large number of words with this element occur among the names of flowers and plants of southern origin which were unknown to the northern invaders. In the myth Hyakinthos is the beloved of Apollo whom the god happens to kill with a throw of his quoit. The tomb of Hyakinthos was in the base which supported the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, an old Mycenaean site³, and before the sacrifice to Apollo in the Hyakinthia, one of the greatest festivals at Sparta, a sacrifice as though to a hero was offered to Hyakinthos through the door in the base⁴. But it was still remembered that Hyakinthos was once a god. The relief on the base of the throne showed him and his sister Polyboia introduced into heaven by Demeter, Kore, Pluto, the Moirai, the Horai, Aphrodite, Athena, and Artemis. Apollo is absent, and most of the gods named are gods of fertility. Apollo had ousted Hyakin-

¹ See above, pp. 238 and 455.

² See my *Griech. Feste*, p. 139 with n. 2. The Minoan origin was recognized by Kretschmer, *Einl. in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, p. 404, and Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, p. 58. The comparison with Latin *iuvencus* (Engl. *young*) proposed by Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm.*, 1st ed., II, p. 237, n. 1, is now universally rejected as inconsistent with the Cretan form with *Ϝ*. On the etymological question see Kretschmer in *Wiener Eranos*, (1899), pp. 118.

³ See above, p. 403.

⁴ Paus., III, 19, 3; cf. III, 1, 3; concerning the festival see my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 129.

thos, usurped his festival, the name of which still shows to whom it originally belonged, and degraded Hyakinthos to the level of a hero, who was buried beneath his throne and received a preliminary sacrifice before the festival. Apollo also usurped his name and was called Apollo Hyakinthios¹ or even Apollo Hyakinthos at Tarentum; here also a tomb was shown which some said was that of Apollo Hyakinthos, others that of Hyakinthos². The cult and the festival of Hyakinthos were wide-spread especially in Dorian districts³.

In the myth of Hyakinthos the most striking feature is his death; this originated in his cult, for he had a tomb both at Sparta and at Tarentum, as Zeus had in Crete. But there is evidence that Hyakinthos resembled the Cretan Zeus in regard to his childhood also. At Cnidus Artemis *Ἰακυνθοτρόφος*⁴ was much venerated and had a temple and a festival⁵. We do not know more of her than this, but this is most valuable. *Ἰακυνθοτρόφος* signifies 'the nurse of Hyakinthos'; cf. e. g. *κουροτρόφος*, an epithet given to various goddesses. This epithet shows that Hyakinthos like the Cretan Zeus was thought of as an infant child, which was not reared by its mother. The nurse is, however, neither an animal nor a nymph, but the Mistress of Animals and the foremost of the Nymphs, the pre-Greek goddess Artemis. This agrees so well that we are justified in saying that the Cretan Zeus and Hyakinthos, who

¹ Nonnos, *Dionys.*, XI, v. 330.

² Polybius, VIII, 30.

³ This is testified by the month name occurring at Byzantium, Sparta, Gytheion, Kalymna, Knidos, Kos, Rhodos, Thera and in the form *Ἰακύνθιος* (written *βανίνθιος*) in Crete at Lato and Malla. Concerning Tenos see the next note. In my *Griech. Feste*, p. 129, in accordance with the current opinion I have identified the month in which the Hyakinthia are celebrated with Thargelion, but the inscription, *Inscr. Gr.*, V: 1, 18 B, l. 8, commemorates a Spartan month Hyakinthios immediately following Agrianos, in which case it is rather to be identified with Hekatombaion. This is of importance with regard to the question of the nature of the festival being associated with vegetation.

⁴ A by-form with *ι* occurs also on Tenos in the phyle *Ἰακυνθίς* and the place name *Οἶον Ἰακυνθικόν*, see *Inscr. Gr.*, XII; 5, *index*, p. 359. The change of sounds may be accounted for by the pre-Greek origin of the word.

⁵ Temple: *Samml. d. griech. Dialektinschr.*, No. 3502; festival: No. 3501; dedication: No. 3512.

are both pre-Greek, represent the same god of vegetation under different names. Most important is the fact that the name of Hyakinthos definitely proves his Minoan origin. That the same name denotes a flower is a further proof of his connection with the vegetation cult.

In searching for further traces of the Divine Child we turn to the holiest and most famous cult of Greece, the Eleusinian mysteries. The testimony of the ruins proves that the assembly hall is of Mycenaean origin¹, and therefore it must be a well-founded supposition that Minoan elements may have survived in the cult. But the mysteries have been subject to various influences, and as in any case our knowledge of their contents is very meagre and the sources are often open to doubt, it is most difficult to trace their history and discern the different elements. The secret has been well kept; only Christian authors have divulged the holy words and there is of course always some doubt concerning the authenticity of the information they give. Hippolytus says that the hierophant performing the highest mysteries cried out: "the Mighty and Strong one has born a strong son"². This information seems trustworthy³, for it is justly compared with far older testimonies, which prove that the idea of the Divine Child existed in the exoteric Eleusinian myth.

A late red-figured vase found at Rhodes, now in the Museum of Constantinople, shows a group of Eleusinian deities⁴. Ge emerges from the ground, holding out a child seated on a cornucopia to a goddess with a sceptre standing to the right; to the left there is another goddess with two torches, and above her head is Triptolemos in his winged car. The identity of the other personages is less important and may be passed over.

¹ See above, p. 402.

² Hippolytus, *Refut. Haeres.*, V, 8, p. 164, ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον, βομῶ βομῶν.

³ Cf. A. Körte, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XVIII, 1915, p. 124.

⁴ The vase was published by S. Reinach, *La naissance de Ploutos*, *Rev. arch.*, 1900, I, pp. 97 (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II, pp. 262); and repeated and discussed by Miss Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Rel.*, p. 526, fig. 153; Svoronos, *Journ. d'arch. numism.*, IV, 1901, pp. 386; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pl. XXI b, facing p. 256.

The other vase is a *pelike* from Kertsch in the Hermitage¹. Ge emerges from the ground, holding out a child to Hermes; behind him is Athena to whom perhaps he is about to hand it over. This vase presents some difficulties to which we shall recur below.

These vases have been very keenly discussed. Some scholars have hailed them as valuable monumental evidence for the mysteries and combined them with the above-quoted formula, while others have tried to diminish their value with regard to the mysteries. It is said that a vase painter would not have dared to divulge the mysteries; but at that rate the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, our most valuable source of information, would never have been composed; whereas in fact it expresses in mythical form the contents or some of the contents of the mysteries as openly as the vase paintings in question. The interdict simply concerned the holy actions and words, not the myths connected with the mysteries. The more important of the two vases is that from Rhodes, where all the chief figures, except Ge, clearly belong to the Eleusinian circle. The opinion that the woman who receives the child is Athena² is erroneous, for, as Professor A. Körte remarks³, Athena never wears a *stephane*, and the staff which she holds is not a lance but a sceptre, for it is inconvenient to hold a lance by resting one's hand on its top. The figure to the left of Demeter taken as Kore is too insignificant; it is only one of the accessory figures which are common on vases of this date. The child was once called Iacchos, but this name is now universally rejected, and it is recognized that the child seated on the cornucopia must be Ploutos⁴, whom the two goddesses send to the house of those whom they love.

The other vase is less clear. One side shows an ad-

¹ *Compte-rendu de la comm. arch. de St. Petersbourg*, 1859, pl. II; Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, pl. XIV; Farnell, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXI a, facing p. 253.

² Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, p. 389; Farnell, *loc. cit.*, p. 256; Miss Harrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 526.

³ *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XVIII, 1915, p. 125, n. 1.

⁴ See e. g. A. Körte, *loc. cit.*, who formerly embraced the opposite view; and Kern, *Eleus. Beiträge*, Programm, Halle 1909, pp. 9.

mitedly Eleusinian representation: a boy with a cornucopia, namely Ploutos, stands by the side of the seated Demeter; on his other side is Kore; above is Triptolemos in his winged car, and in the background Iacchos and accessory personages. On the other side, which is our immediate concern, Hermes and Athena appear as the chief actors. It has even been disputed whether the object which Ge hands over to Hermes is a child¹. I cannot enter into a detailed discussion of all the arguments in this vexed question²; some of them I consider obsolete after the discovery of the vase from Rhodes. First, it is certain that the woman who from the knees upwards has emerged out of the earth is Ge³, and hence it follows that the indistinct object in her hand is a child, for Ge with a child in her arms is a current type; whereas examples should be adduced in order to prove that the object is something else than a child, and such examples are wanting. The representation was interpreted as the birth of Erichthonios, but the scene on the other side and the woman holding torches seated above Ge and Hermes associate it with Eleusis, and this association can no longer be questioned after the discovery of the vase from Rhodes. The group in the right-hand upper corner must be called Hades and Persephone. The presence of Hermes and Athena cannot prove the contrary: it is due to the influence of art types and to the Athenian origin of the vase. Hermes as a carrier of the Divine Child is well known — the vase belongs to about the same time as Praxiteles — and in the parallel representations of the birth of Erichthonios it is Athena who receives the child. The predominant Athenian influence, which is responsible for the figures of Hermes and Athena, reflects at once the constant determination of Athens to associate herself with the Eleusinian mysteries and the somewhat easy-going and thoughtless practice of the vase-painters of this age.

I refrain from overemphasizing the testimony of Hippolytus, which he has taken from Gnostic sources, the sect of

¹ By Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, pp. 318.

² I can only refer to Farnell, *loc. cit.*, p. 253.

³ Although Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, pp. 179, tried to show that she is a well-nymph.

Naassenes, although its trustworthiness is enhanced by the scenes described; for it is not my object to investigate the innermost recesses of the Eleusinian mysteries. I observe that there is a certain difference between the formula, which mentions the actual birth, and the vase paintings, which represent the delivering of the child to its nurses. The vase from Rhodes is sufficient evidence for the following statements. The child seated on the cornucopia is Ploutos, whom in other representations we see as an aged white-haired man with a cornucopia. Ploutos is wealth in the old sense, the fruit of the fields. He is, like the Zeus-child, a representative of vegetation, for the spirit of vegetation naturally becomes the spirit of the crops, when he is adopted and worshipped by an agricultural people. The representation of Ploutos as an old man is due to the idea of the harvested crop and the housed corn; the child represents the awakening of the Life of Nature and of the fields. The antithesis expressed in the birth and the death of Zeus is found here also, although in a less pregnant form. The child Ploutos, like the Zeus-child, is not reared by its mother; Ge delivers it to others, to Demeter, or to Athena, just as she took the Zeus-child and brought it to the cave in the Goat-mountain. The peculiar idea of the Divine Child, which was not reared by its mother, recurs in the Eleusinian mysteries, another cult with Mycenaean associations.

There is another scene, similar to this and often depicted by the vase-painters, in which Ge holds out the small Erichthonios to Athena. A myth relates that Athena hid the child in a chest together with snakes and gave the chest to the three maidens Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse to guard. The oldest literary testimony, the Catalogue of the Ships, says that the corn-yielding Earth bore him and Athena fostered him¹. The same motif, the child which is not reared by its mother, recurs here. If this suggestion is well founded, Erichthonios is originally the Divine Child, which is called Ploutos at Eleusis, the new-born spirit of vegetation and the crops, which is given over to others to rear. The names lend colour to

¹ *Iliad*, II, v. 547 et seq., ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη θρέψε, Διὸς θυγατήρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

this suggestion. *Ἐριχθόνιος* is derived from *χθών* 'earth' with the prefix *ἐρι-*, 'much', *Ἐρεχθεύς* being an abbreviated by-form¹; the names of the nurses are intelligible: *Aglauros* signifies 'the Bright one', *Pandrosos* 'the all Dewy one', and *Herse* again 'dew', viz. the atmospheric conditions which promote the growth of vegetation and the crops.

Erichthonios came to be regarded as a mythical ancestor and king of Athens in olden times, but his real nature was not quite forgotten. Herodotus says that he was called 'the earth-born', and Euripides that he rose from the earth². In art he is represented as half man, half snake, his body ending in a snake's tail. This association with the snake recalls the prominent place taken by the snake in the Eleusinian cult, where it is above all associated with the special hero of agriculture, *Triptolemos*, and the snake of *Zeus Ktesios* who protects the store-chamber and the housed corn.

Erichthonios is firmly bound up with the oldest cults of the Acropolis. He shared a temple with *Athena*, and apart from the still standing *Erechtheum*, Herodotus mentions his temple with the olive-tree and the well, which *Poseidon* had called forth by a blow of his trident. Without entering upon the endless discussion of the 'Old Temple', it can be stated that the temple of *Erechtheus* was situated in the ruins of the Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis. *Erichthonios* belongs to the very oldest stratum of Athenian cults, which certainly go back to Mycenaean days.

In his enumeration of the chief myths concerning *Erechtheus* Euripides relates that he was hidden in a chasm in the earth and that a blow from the trident of *Poseidon* killed him³. His tomb is mentioned by later authors together with that of *Kekrops*, a hero who in many respects is similar to *Erech-*

¹ Cf. Malten, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 190, but I cannot agree with the conclusion that *Erichthonios* is the Lord of the Underworld; *γη* is here to be understood in the sense of *ζειδαρος ἄρουρα*, not in that of the realm of the *ὑποχθόνιοι*.

² Herodotus, VIII, 55, *Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός*: Euripides, *Ion*, v. 267, *ἐκ γῆς* — — — *ἔβλασταν*, v. 1000 *ἐξανήκε γῆ*.

³ Euripides, *Ion*, v. 281 et seq.

theus, — indeed, almost his double¹. But the authenticity of this tomb is subject to doubt and it cannot be affirmed with certainty that it is of ancient origin. For according to the prevailing opinion the cult-place of a hero was his tomb, and many hero-tombs have thus been invented. If the tomb is old it would of course fit in excellently with the idea of the death of the vegetation spirit which is the counterpart of the idea of his birth from the Earth. And this idea appears as clearly in connexion with Erichthonios as it does in connexion with the Cretan Zeus and Hyakinthos.

Erichthonios was closely associated with the chief gods of Athens, Athena and Poseidon; he was worshipped in the same temple as these. Consequently he shared the fate of Hyakinthos, and was degraded to the rank of a hero; and if the myths concerning his death and his tomb were old, as they are in the case of Hyakinthos, they would of course very strongly contribute to the conception of him as a hero. Now the heroes were from an early age onwards to a certain degree looked upon from a Euhemeristic point of view as kings of olden times and ancestors of the people; thus Erichthonios obtained the place which he occupies in the mythical history of Athens. Already in a late passage in the *Iliad* he appears as the representative of the Mycenaean kings of Athens². The old gods, who were born and died, met with a variety of treatment in the Greek age, to which this idea was not familiar; they were thus adapted to suit later conceptions in various manners.

Greek mythology tells us of another much more famous Divine Child, Dionysos, who may perhaps be thought to disprove my contentions; for the general opinion is that the cult of Dionysos came to Greece from the North, from Thrace. I would remark in passing that this cult has two aspects.

¹ According to Apollodorus, III, 14, 7, Erichthonios was buried in the precinct of Athena, according to an epigram in honour of Appia Regilla, recalling the passage in the *Iliad*, Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, No. 1046, l. 89, and Clemens Alex., *Protrept.*, III, 45 (p. 39 Potter), in the temple of Polias; and Kekrops on the Acropolis; cf. the Kekropion of the inscriptions.

² See above, p. 418.

One is the sacramental meal, the *omophagia*; in their ecstasy the Maenads tore asunder young animals and ate their flesh raw, by which means they hoped to receive the strength of the god. The aspect of Dionysiac religion which interests us here is the cult of the child Dionysos¹. The clearest idea of it is given by Plutarch, when he says that the Thyiades awaken the *Liknites*², the child in the winnowing-basket which served as the cradle of the babe. It is also an instrument of agriculture in which the corn called Ploutos by the Eleusinians was laid to be cleaned; and this is an apt illustration of the rôle of the child Dionysos as the spirit of vegetation and of the crops. But the authenticity of this information may be questioned, since it occurs in an Egyptianized discussion of the identity of Dionysos and Osiris, and Plutarch is addressing his friend Klea, who was not only the head of the Delphian Thyiades but also initiated in the mysteries of Osiris. In this age of syncretism, which very seriously affected the mysteries, we have always to reckon with an introduction of foreign elements and ideas. But happily this late piece of evidence is corroborated by one far older. For Homer speaks of the nurses of Dionysos in the famous passage about Lycurgus, and they are well known from the myth³. The nurses must have a small child to rear. Consequently the idea of the

¹ I need not enlarge on the child or on the *liknon* in which it was laid, for both are thoroughly treated by Miss Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Rel.*, pp. 364 and especially pp. 402. On the *liknon* see her papers on the *Mystica vannus Iacchi*, *JHS*, XXIII, 1903, pp. 324; XXIV, 1904, pp. 241, and *BSA*, X, pp. 144; see also Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr. zur Gesch. des eleus. Kults*, Diss., München, 1905, pp. 29.

² Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 35, p. 365 A, *θύουσιν οἱ Ὅσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅταν αἱ Θυιάδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην.*

³ *Iliad*, VI, v. 132, *ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας σευε κατ' ἠγάθειον Νυσηιον.* The expression recurs in a new fragment of Tyrtaeus, *Sitz.-ber. der preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1918, p. 731. It is unnecessary to quote later testimonies and monuments showing the Maenads tending the child Dionysos; my purpose is only to prove that the idea of the child Dionysos is old. In the current myth the child is reared by nymphs on the heights of Mt Nysa. Unfortunately we do not know where this mountain was originally localized. In my opinion it suggests the mountain-top cults of Asia Minor.

child Dionysos is attested by the very word *τιθήναι*, although Dionysos himself in Homer appears seeking shelter in the sea with Thetis; and this child, like Zeus, Ploutos, and Erichthonios, is not reared by its mother, and is a spirit of vegetation. Its mother Semele, according to the myth, was slain before the birth of the child.

Like the Cretan Zeus Dionysos died and was buried. In the same passage Plutarch speaks of his tomb at the side of the oracle at Delphi¹. The oldest author mentioning the tomb of Dionysos is the attidographer Philochoros, who says that it was at Delphi by the side of the golden statue of Apollo, resembling a base, and quotes the epitaph²; the statue in question stood in the innermost part of the temple to which few had access³. The tomb of Dionysos was inevitably associated with the myth that the god was killed and dismembered by the Titans; it was told how they set the pieces of his corpse before Apollo in a cauldron, or how Zeus gave them to Apollo who deposited them beside his tripod⁴. The tomb was of course also seized upon by the Euhemerists, who interpreted the myths in their fashion, and told how Dionysos finally went to Delphi, hung up his arms in the temple, and was buried there⁵. It appears that the tomb of Dionysos

¹ Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 35, p. 365 A, *Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκείσθαι νομίζουσι.*

² Philochoros, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, 22, in Malalas (see n. 5) *ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν βᾶθρον δέ τι εἶναι ὑπονοεῖται ἢ σορός, ἐν ᾧ γράφεται ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανάων Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σευέλης.*

³ Paus., X, 24, 5.

⁴ *Schol. Lycophr.*, v. 208, quoting Callimachus and Euphorion; Clemens Alex., *Protrept.*, II, 18 (p. 15 Potter), says on Mt Parnassos. Other passages see in Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, pp. 572; or Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, *Rel.-wiss. Versuche u. Vorarb.*, V, pp. 387.

⁵ The Byzantine author Malalas, who has preserved the fragment of Philochoros, (II, 52, p. 45 Dindorf) narrates the exploits of Dionysos in the Euhemistic manner and proceeds to say that he fled from Lycurgus to Delphi and died there. He quotes an unknown poet Deinarchos for the information that he suspended his weapons in the temple and then says that Philochoros gives the same account. Thereupon follows the above-quoted mention of the tomb.

was a fact which mystic theology and Euhemerism used and interpreted each in its own fashion¹.

Although at first sight it may seem probable that the tomb of Dionysos is in some way connected with the rite and myth of his dismemberment, a closer inspection leads us to dismiss this association. For the dismemberment is a rite of the Dionysiac orgia, which were celebrated every second year. Although no sufficient explanation of the trieteric period is found, it is bound up with the orgia comprising the *omophagia* and peculiar to them. But the child Dionysos as a spirit of vegetation must be born annually and so must also die annually. Moreover it would be somewhat contradictory to suppose that the god, whose flesh was eaten by his worshippers, was afterwards buried in a tomb; the Orphics tried to harmonize the conflicting facts by modelling the myth on the myth of Thyestes². Consequently we recognize, as stated above, that the cult of Dionysos is composed of two elements: one is the trieteric orgia, in which the god is dismembered and eaten in the shape of an animal, and the other is the conception of the new-born child in the winnowing fan and of the death of the god. Here he is clearly the spirit of vegetation, and as such must be born and die annually.

The etymology proves conclusively that we are on the right track. The Zeus-child, Ploutos, and Erichthonios were handed over to their nurses by Ge, the 'Earth'; the name of the mother of Dionysos, Semele, again signifies 'Earth', while his own name reveals him as 'Son of Zeus'³. Professor Kretschmer,

¹ The tomb of Dionysos ought not to be confused with the tomb of Python beneath the omphalos, although this confusion already appears in Tatian, *adv. Graecos*, 8, p. 40. See Rohde, *Psyche*, 5th ed., I, p. 132, n. 2. On the omphalos see Miss Harrison, *JHS*, XIX, 1899, pp. 225, and *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXIV, 1900, pp. 254, and others, especially the criticism of Roscher, *Omphalos*, *Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss., Leipzig*, XXIX, No. 9, pp. 115. There was perhaps a tomb of Dionysos at Thebes also, Clemens Rom., *Recogn.*, X, 24; cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, p. 131.

² See quotation above, p. 494, n. 4.

³ These generally accepted etymologies were proposed by Kretschmer, *Aus der Anomia*, (1890), pp. 17; cf. Russian *zemlya*, earth, land. The supposed Phrygian *vōsos*, 'son', corresponds to Greek *vōs*, daughter-in-law.

to whom these important discoveries are due, presents them as evidence for the Thracian origin of Dionysos; but the inscriptions from which he draws his material are Phrygian, and this distinction is not to be lightly passed over. The Phrygians were a Thracian tribe, but they immigrated early, about 1200 B. C., to Asia Minor, where they overthrew the Hittite Empire¹. In the centuries after the migration the Phrygians and the Thracians had very different fates. The latter persisted in their savagery, the former were subjected to the influence of the old civilization and religions of Asia Minor. These they took over. The cult of the Magna Mater, for example, is often called Phrygian, but is of course native to Asia Minor. The question raised by the provenance of the inscriptions, whether the child Dionysos is really Phrygian and not Thracian, is therefore of more far-reaching importance than appears from a first glance. Phrygia was, at that early time, when the cult of Dionysos was imported, a highly civilized country, from which the Greeks received many impulses².

Our first task, to search for the child Dionysos in the Phrygian religion, does not, however, seem very promising. There is a Phrygian god Sabazios, who is commonly identified with Dionysos; but the Phrygian inscriptions, on the contrary, call him Zeus Sabazios. His mysteries, which came to Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., comprised purifications and other ceremonies, and the snake took a prominent place in them. Later authors relate weird myths and seem to contaminate the mysteries of Sabazios with the cult of Attis. Here

¹ I put forward the opinion that the sudden collapse of the mighty Hittite Empire was caused by the Phrygian immigration in an article in the Swedish periodical *Ymer*, 1912, pp. 458. I am glad that such eminent scholars as the late L. W. King, *A History of Babylon*, p. 241, and Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, 3rd ed., I: 2, p. 805, independently arrived at the same conclusion.

² The Greeks themselves say not only that Dionysos came from Thrace, but also that he came from Phrygia. See e. g. Euripides, *Bacchae*, v. 85, *Διόνυσον κατάγουσαι Φρυγίων ἐξ ὀρέων Ἑλλάδος εἰς εὐρυπόρουσ ἀγνιάς*, and this is also the reason why the poet in the preceding verses combines the orgia of Dionysos with those of the Great Mother.

there are no traces of the child, but these are to be found in Asia Minor itself. An inscription from the Maeonian district, which was inhabited by a mixed Lydo-Phrygian tribe, is dedicated to Meter Hipta and Zeus Sabazios¹. The Orphic hymns have occasionally preserved precious relics of antiquity. The 49th hymn invokes "Mother Hipta, the nurse of Bacchos, the evoc-crying virgin", and though a verse is lost it appears from the 48th hymn that Sabazios was delivered to Hipta, and she is called the Earth Mother². Hipta was taken over by Orphism; Proklos relates that she carried on her head the child Dionysos in a *liknon*, surrounded by a snake³. Here too Sabazios, contrary to the generally accepted view but in accordance with the inscriptions, is identified with Zeus, and Bacchos is the small child in the cradle and is nursed by Hipta, who is also called the Earth Mother.

The Phrygians brought Dionysos with them from their Thracian home; their affinity to the Thracians in matters of religion also was noted already by the ancients⁴, but the cult of Dionysos was evidently deeply influenced by native elements. It was certainly in some degree contaminated by the espe-

¹ From Menje (Maeonia), published in *Μουσείον και βιβλιοθήκη τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ*, 1878—80, p. 169; *Denkschr. d. Akad., Wien*, LIV, 1911, No. II, p. 96, No. 188, *Μητροὶ Ἴπτα και Δει Σαβάζιω*. Hipta and not Hippa is the correct form, see J. Keil, *Meter Hipta, Wiener Eranos* (1909), pp. 102. Another inscription from Gjölde near Kula on a round altar is a dedication running: *Denkschr., loc. cit.*, p. 85, No. 169, *Με[λ]τινή Μητροῦ Μητροὶ Ἴπτα εὐχῆν*. Professor Kretschmer has quite recently made an interesting suggestion in the periodical *Glotta*, XV, 1926, pp. 76. He connects the name Hipta with the second part of some Mitannian female names ending in *-hepa*, which is derived from a goddess *Hepa*, and thinks that this goddess appears in the Boghaz-keui texts under the name of *Hebe* or *Hepit*.

² *Hymn. orph.*, 49, v. 1, *Ἴπταν κικλήσκω, Βάκχου τροφον, εὐαδα κούρη;* cf. v. 4 *κλυθὶ μεν εὐχομένον, χθονίη μητερ, βασιλίσσα*.

³ Proklos, in *Timaeum*, II, p. 124 C (I, pp. 407 Diehl); cf. III, p. 171 F and 200 D (pp. II, 106 and 198 Diehl). See Kern in *Genethliakon für Robert* (1910), p. 92, and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, s. v. *Hipta*.

⁴ Strabo comments on it at length, X, pp. 469. The best treatise on the relations of Dionysos and his cult to Thrace and Phrygia is still, as regards facts, A. Rapp, *Die Beziehungen des Dionysoskultes zu Thrakien und Kleinasien*, Programm, Stuttgart, 1882.

cially Phrygian cult of the Great Mother¹, but on the other hand it is probable that the peculiarities of the Phrygian cult of Dionysos are due to the Lydians, who were neighbours of the Phrygians and mixed with them².

The trieteric orgia are that part of the worship of Dionysos which is most certainly of Thracian origin. They were celebrated in midwinter: Plutarch describes the hardships which the Thyiades had to endure from snow and cold when roaming about on the heights of Mt Parnassos. A far older testimony is the Delphian month name Dadaphorios which is derived from the torches which the Maenads brandished; it corresponds to Maimakterion, the first hard winter-month (parts of November and December). For this reason the year was divided at Delphi between Dionysos and Apollo, so that the former had the winter-months³. Even if a god of vegetation can be celebrated in the winter, this Dionysos cannot be a representative of vegetation, which revives and dies again, for this idea is indissolubly bound up with the seasons.

We cannot afford to neglect this difference between the common cult of Dionysos which was derived from Thrace and that of Asia Minor, namely, that the former was celebrated in the winter, while the latter on the contrary was concerned with the god who vanishes during the winter and revives with the spring. The distinction is, moreover, confirmed by the testimony of the other authors. Plutarch relates how the Phrygians believed that the god sleeps in the winter and is awakened in the summer and celebrated his going to sleep and his awakening. He mentions too the Paphlagonian belief that the god is bound and shut up in the winter, but moves and is untied in the spring⁴. Unhappily nothing is known with

¹ Cf. e. g. the passage in Euripides quoted above, p. 496, n. 2.

² It was noted that the Maeonians were of mixed Lydian and Phrygian origin. This is also true of the Mysians. Herodotus counts them as Lydians, while other authors disagree, but a valuable statement by Xanthos in Strabo, XII, p. 572, informs us that their language was a mixture of Lydian and Phrygian; see Kretschmer, *Einl. in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, p. 391.

³ Plutarch, *De E*, p. 389 C.

⁴ Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 69, p. 378 F, *Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰοῦντο χειμῶνος καθεῖδεν, θεῶν δ' ἐργηροῦναι, τότε μὲν κατεννασμούς, τότε δ' ἀνε-*

certainly about the race to which the Paphlagonians belonged. This spring festival of Dionysos is further mentioned by Galen, who says that the Bacchants used to tear snakes asunder at the end of the spring before the summer had commenced¹. It is more probable that he is here alluding to his native country, the district of Pergamon, than that he has taken this reference from the famous Cretan archiater of Nero, Andromachus, whom he quotes. Two passages in a late author, the rhetor Himerius, describe these spring festivals to Dionysos². In his flowery language Himerius describes how the spring brings Dionysos and the Bacchic orgia to the Lydians, who celebrate them in a frenzy and with dancing on the shores of the Golden River, viz. Paktolos. It would certainly be somewhat doubtful whether it were permissible to draw far-reaching conclusions from this late passage, if the Lydian origin of the Bacchic cult was not corroborated through an unexpected discovery.

In the American excavations at Sardes some Lydian inscriptions were found; the largest of them is a bilingual edict, in Lydian and Aramaic, of a Persian king Artaxerxes. Some short inscriptions are written both in Lydian and Greek. The chief result is that we recognize that Lydian is neither of Indo-Europæan nor of Semitic origin³. In one of the Greco-Lydian *bilingues* the Lydian name *Βακιφαλις* is rendered by the Greek *Διουνυσικλῆς*; it follows that *Βακ-* (the ending is unknown) was the Lydian name for Dionysos, viz. that Bacchos

γέροεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι. Παφλαγόνες δὲ καταδεισθαι καὶ καθείργυσθαι χειμῶνος, ἦρος δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλύεσθαι φάσκουσι.

¹ Galen, *De antidot.*, I, 6 (XIV, p. 45 Kühn): the best time to collect the poison of the snakes is ὁ μεταξὺ τούτων, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄνδρομαχος ἐδήλωσεν, ἥρῃκα καὶ οἱ βακχεύοντες τῷ Διονύσῳ εἰώθασι διασπᾶν τὰς ἐχίδνας πανομήνου μὲν τοῦ ἦρος, οὐπω δ' ἠργυμένου θέρους.

² Himerius, *Orat.*, III, 6. Λυδοὶ μὲν οὖν παρὰ χρυσῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ βακχεύοντες μαινόνται μὲν τῷ θεῷ καὶ χορεύουσι, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ἕαρ ἐνέγκῃ τὰς ὥρας ἀμείβων ὁ ἥλιος — — — Λυδοῖς μὲν οὖν ἕαρ Διόνυσος ἄγει καὶ τὰ Διονύσου βακχεύματα. Cf. XIV, 7.

³ J. Fraser, *Anatolian Studies to Sir W. Ramsay*, pp. 139, tries to show that Lydian is a mixed language connected with Etruscan and subject to Indo-European influence. Unhappily the material is still very scanty and meagre.

is a Lydian name, a fact of the highest importance for the origin and history of the Bacchic cult¹, and this corroborates the testimony of Himerius that the Bacchic spring festival is really Lydian.

As already remarked the Phrygians took over the religion of the old inhabitants to a very great extent, and the cults which we are accustomed to call Phrygian are in reality indigenous. The chief of these is the cult of the Great Mother of the Mountains, who has also been claimed for the Minoans; in my opinion the goddess who occurs in Minoan Crete is not an identical, but a kindred, protectress of the life of Nature; she may perhaps be called an older and less developed form of the Great Mother. There is a god, called Σώζων, the Saviour, known from the Hellenistic age, who seems to have come to Phrygia from the south². He is represented as riding with a double axe on his shoulder; the double axe is on the one hand the weapon of several deities of Asia Minor and on the other the symbol of the Minoan religion. These and other points of similarity in religion are very often quoted to prove a racial connexion between the Minoans and the peoples of Asia Minor. The linguistic proofs for this affinity cover only southwestern Asia Minor, and it is still an open question which of the many different peoples of Asia Minor belonged to the same stock as the Minoans, and especially whether the Lydians can claim to have been related to them. On the other hand there is ample evidence for the fact that religious forms and ideas spread in Asia Minor beyond the boundaries of race

¹ *Sardis*, VI: 1, p. 39, L. 25. *Ναννας Βαυβαλὺς Ἀρτιμυῦ. Ναννᾶς Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι.* The editor has put the question with some hesitation; the conclusion is fully recognized by Wilamowitz, *Pindar*, p. 45, "*Seit Βάκχος im Lydischen ans Licht getreten ist, in das er ohne Zweifel aus dem Phrygischen übernommen war, seit Σεμέλη als phrygisch erkannt ist, kann an der Herkunft dieser Götter kein Zweifel sein.*" His derivation of the name Bacchos from Phrygian is questionable; taking into account the difference between the Thracian and Phrygian cult it is more likely that the Phrygians borrowed the name of the god for whom they celebrated their spring festival from the indigenous population than that they brought it with them from Thrace. I think that Bacchos is Lydian.

² See the article by Höfer in Roscher's *Lex. der Mythol.*

and language. With regard to the very peculiar idea which was our clue, the Divine Child borne by the Earth and not reared by its mother, — an idea which is almost unparalleled elsewhere, — it does not seem too bold to assume that it was borrowed by the Phrygians from the Lydians, and that it ultimately goes back to those indigenous inhabitants of Asia Minor who were of the same stock as the Minoans.

So the circle is closed. We are thus carried back to the religion of the very people who originally inhabited Greece, Crete, and parts of Asia Minor. It seems to be a fair assumption that the idea of the Divine Child, the spirit of vegetation who was borne by the Earth and nursed by Nature daemons or even by animals, also belonged to the religion of the Minoan people.

The mother of the Child is the Earth. She rises from the ground and delivers the child Ploutos or Erichthonios to its nurses. The name of the mother of Dionysos, Semele, signifies earth. Only in the birth of the Zeus-child does Mother Earth play another part: she takes the child from its mother and carries it to the holy cave, where it is concealed. This is evidently the result of a compromise by which only a secondary rôle was assigned to Mother Earth, which the real nature of must remain uncertain¹. The idea that the young vegetation is born of the Earth and nursed by others, Nature daemons, — or to take the names of the Erichthonios myth, the Dew and the Bright Sky, — is so simple that neither explanation nor comments are needed; it corresponds perfectly to a plain and simple vegetation cult, which includes the tree cult because trees and shrubs also blossom in the spring and the bough is the usual symbol of the sprouting vegetation. It fits in very well with the Minoan religion as revealed to us by the

¹ We cannot proceed further except to guesses. It may be guessed that Rhea and Ge are simply doubles, and that when Rhea was retained the only possible method of introducing the Greek Ge was to make her receive and carry the child. Or else we may suppose that Zeus, like every Greek god, had his parents in the myth, and as neither the mythical mother nor the idea of the Zeus-child borne by the Earth as a spirit of vegetation could be discarded, the said compromise was resorted to.

monuments; witness, for example, the sacred boughs watered by Nature daemons. It would perhaps be tempting to enlarge upon the subject and to make further comparisons, for Mother Earth takes a prominent place in the religious ideas of the Greeks and in the modern discussion of them¹, but it will be more prudent to resist such a temptation, for Ge very seldom appears in Greek religion as a cult goddess, but is rather a figure of popular belief whose importance has been stressed by cosmogonic and semi-philosophical speculation. With regard to one point often mentioned both by ancient and by modern writers, the parallelism of the fertilization of Earth and of man, I must warn the student that there are absolutely no traces of sexual symbols in the Minoan monuments. It will be a valuable addition to our knowledge of Minoan religion and its influence on Greek religion, if the evidence adduced can be considered sufficient to prove that the belief in the birth of the young vegetation from the Earth was a part of the Minoan religion and in its peculiarly Minoan form passed over into Greek religion.

The result of this exposition is of importance also for the worship of Dionysos. The latter is admittedly of foreign origin, and although its derivation from Thrace is recognized, we were led to discern a twofold origin, Phrygian as well as Thracian. We have already noted the conflicting ideas and rites which indicate this division: the trieteric period bound up with the dismemberment of the god, and the annual celebration of the Phrygian Bacchic festivals, which according to the nature of things must be supposed also for the Divine Child connected with the Phrygian cult of Dionysos; the celebration of the orgia by the Maenads and of the *omophagia* in the midst of the winter, and the Phrygian celebration of the advent of Dionysos, viz. the birth of the Divine Child, in the spring; the presence of Dionysos during the winter at Delphi, and his absence during the winter according to the myths of Asia Minor, where he is thought of as sleeping or shut up during that season. There is yet another point where the difference is less obvious but still of such importance, especially with

¹ I refer especially to the famous book of A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, 3rd ed., 1925, which has had a lasting influence.

regard to the Minoan connexions of the Divine Child, that it should be discussed in detail.

The part which the snake plays in the Phrygian cult of Dionysos is very prominent. According to the late Orphic account of Proklos, a snake surrounded the *liknon* of Dionysos; we know the snake from the mysteries of Sabazios and from the Bacchic orgia of Lydia¹. The snake is intimately bound up with the Eleusinian mysteries, in which the Divine Child appears, and the chest, in which the Divine Child of Athens, Erichthonios, was laid, also contained snakes, while he is himself represented as half man, half snake. The Divine Child and the snake are intimately associated. In the Thracian cult of Dionysos the god was represented as an animal, which was torn to pieces and devoured, but this animal is a quadruped. Of course the Thracian Maenads are also said to handle snakes, and vase paintings do in fact show them with snakes in their hands; but this may be due to a confusion of the cults, and we may reasonably suppose, that originally the quadrupeds were associated with the trieteric orgia of Thracian origin and the snake on the contrary with the Phrygian cult of the Divine Child.

Now there is a difference between the Divine Child in Crete and in the other parts of Greece where it has been traced. There it is regularly associated with the snake, except Hyakinthos, of whom our knowledge is rather scanty; the Zeus-child is not, at least in Crete². This distinction is paral-

¹ See above, pp. 497 and 499.

² There is one single testimony. *Schol. Arat.*, v. 46, describes a catasterism, quoting a Cretan myth that Zeus transformed himself into a snake and his nurses into bears to escape Kronos who was pursuing him. The myth refers to the constellations of the Snake and the Bears, and is, like most catasterisms, of a late date, although it is referred to a poet using the name of Epimenides by Pohlenz, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Alt.*, XXXVII, 1916, p. 570. Another myth which associates the Zeus-child with the snake comes from the mainland; it is the *aition* of the cult of the hero Sosipolis at Olympia, and Sosipolis is elsewhere an epithet of Zeus. He was worshipped in the same temple as Eileithyia. The myth (Paus., VI, 20, 4) relates that before a battle between the Eleans and the Arcadians a woman appeared with a small child, which was to help the Eleans. The Eleans put the child down before their line of battle and as the Arcadians advanced it was transformed into a snake.

leled by another: apart from Hyakinthós the Divine Child in Greece is not simply the spirit of vegetation but particularly the spirit of the fruit of the fields. The Eleusinian Ploutos shows this in his very name, while the child Dionysos is laid in the winnowing fan. This parallelism can hardly be accidental, and demonstrates that the snake of the Divine Child is of the same nature as the snake of Zeus Ktesios, the house-guarding snake which protects the store-chamber with the housed corn and which was therefore quite naturally associated with the spirit of the crops.

The ecstatic cult of Dionysos, which spread all over Greece in the archaic age, was a powerful religious movement. I venture to think that its strength is better understood, if we assume that it was not an importation of a completely foreign god and form of religion but the revival of old Minoan and Mycenaean religious ideas, and perhaps also rites, which had for a time fallen into the background. The ideas peculiar to the Minoan religion were suppressed under the overwhelming onset of the gods and religious ideas which the conquerors brought with them, but just as the old gods did not vanish but mingled with the new comers, so the old religious ideas persisted in secret. When the opportunity arose they emerged once more to cause a religious revolution, the occasion being the acceptance of a foreign cult with kindred ideas of a mystic character; this was the Thracian worship of Dionysos combined with the Phrygian form of the same cult, which had already been transformed through the influence of the native religion of Asia Minor, which in its turn also contained elements of Minoan origin, identical with or similar to Minoan ideas which still survived in Greece.

The characteristic peculiarity of this movement is its mysticism, which combines with the belief in the reborn and dying god, who is by origin the spirit of vegetation. Thus the

This myth is very interesting (cf. Robert, *Athen. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 37) and may be compared with that of the Divine Child, but our information is too scanty to permit a definite decision. Above all it may be observed that there is no evidence for a connexion with vegetation-rites or beliefs; on the other hand Sosipolis is associated with Eileithyia.

old religious idea acquires a deep emotional value, when the god appears as the divine prototype of the inexorable fate of man, whose birth and decay form so salient a feature of the mysteries. This idea would seem more natural if it originated in the Minoan religion, where the tree (that is the vegetation) cult seems to find ecstatic expression in sacred dances and lamentations. These ideas were elaborated, sometimes in the form of strange rites and myths, in Orphism, which too is a creation of the religious movement in the archaic age.

Some facts which add to the probability of the view here proposed deserve mention. It has already been pointed out that the Eleusinian mysteries are probably of Mycenaean origin. The rôle which is attributed to Crete, the old home of the Minoans, where a Minoan population and Minoan ideas lingered on most persistently, in the religious documents of the archaic age has hitherto been hardly sufficiently explained, but in the light of the exposition given here it becomes natural and easy to appreciate. In art we begin to recognize that surviving Minoan traditions of Cretan origin have contributed to the rise of Greek art in the archaic age. The same would, of course, be still more natural in the history of religion.

It is recognized that Apollo is an intruder at Delphi, although he behaves as the host and protector of Dionysos. This myth is a reflection of the fact that Delphi was a Mycenaean cult-place usurped by the new comer, Apollo. We may be justified in thinking that the cult of the Divine Child was a part of the pre-Apolline cult at Delphi, but this is a conjecture for which only general evidence can be adduced. The sacred legend in the Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo relates¹ that the god in the shape of a dolphin sprang on board a ship carrying Cretans from Knossos and brought the ship and the men to Krisa, the harbour of Delphi; there the god appeared in his real shape and ordered the Cretans to be his servants in his temple. This tale of a Cretan connexion with Delphi has caused much embarrassment, but is readily comprehensible if taken as a recollection of the link between Delphi and the chief seats of the Minoan religion, Crete and

¹ *Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. Pyth.*, v. 210 et seqq.

Knossos. This is also true of the relations of Eleusis to Crete indicated in the hymn to Demeter, where the goddess herself says that she came oversea from Crete¹. The myth of Iasion and Demeter in Homer and Hesiod may also be adduced², for there is absolutely no reason for its localization in Crete, if it was not originally a Cretan myth. The gist of it is the conception of the marriage or union of the spirits of vegetation; this is found in Crete, and out of this union springs Ploutos, the Divine Child of Eleusis.

These are rather the outward indications of Cretan influence on Greek religion; there are also signs, however, that the mystical movement which overtook Greece in the archaic age had its home, or to put it more cautiously one of its homes, in Crete. The cult of Zeus in Crete had a mystic character which is completely foreign to the Greek Zeus and can only be explained as a relic of Minoan religion associated with Zeus, and this is not just limited to the Zeus-child. According to Cretan traditions quoted by Diodorus³ mysteries comparable with those of Eleusis and Samothrake were celebrated at Knossos in the presence of all who cared to attend. This is a general statement not especially applying to the cult of Zeus but characteristic of Cretan religion; it reminds one of the festival in which the marriage of Zeus and Hera was imitated in the same town near the river Theren⁴. Strabo states that both the cult of Dionysos and that of Zeus were celebrated in Crete in an orgiastic manner and with followers resembling the Satyrs, — namely, the Couretes⁵.

The chief testimony for the mystical character of the cult of the Couretes is the much quoted chorus in the Cretans

¹ *Hymn. Hom. in Cer.*, v. 123.

² Hes., *Theog.*, v. 969 et seqq.; *Odyss.*, V, 125 et seqq., mentions neither the place nor the child, but says that Zeus killed Iasion with his lightning.

³ Diodorus, V, 77.

⁴ Diodorus, V, 72; cf. above, p. 481.

⁵ Strabo, X, p. 468. After mentioning the followers of Apollo, of Demeter, and of Dionysos he proceeds: *ἐν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰ ἰδίως ἐπετελεῖτο μετ' ὄργιασμοῦ καὶ τοιοῦτων προπόλων οἳ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσόν εἰσι οἱ Σάτυρον τούτους δ' ὠνόμαζον Κουρήτας.*

of Euripides¹. The priests live in timber houses in lonely places, are clad in white garments, do not touch the meat of any living thing, and avoid everything that is connected with birth and death. They call themselves *mystai* of Zeus Idaios and Bacchants of the Couretes, and say that they have accomplished the *omophagia* of Zagreus and brandished the torches of the Mountain Mother. This is a rather fantastic and syncretistic picture of the cult of the Couretes, and no doubt those scholars are right who think that Euripides is alluding to Orphic doctrines². His words are not to be used as a testimony for the details of the cult, but it is very significant that such doctrines and associations could be imputed to it, and this is a proof of the mystic character of the Cretan cult of Zeus in the fifth century B. C. Porphyrius relates how Pythagoras went to Crete, was initiated into the mysteries of one of the Idaean Dactyls, Morgos, and underwent some purifications in which a thunderstone played a part. He proceeds to describe his visit to the Idaean cave, where he saw the throne which was spread every year with carpets for Zeus, and wrote his epitaph³.

These accounts are certainly not wholly reliable; the last-quoted is tinged with the syncretistic mysticism of a late age, and that of Diodorus is a piece of Euhemeristic adaptation of the myths designed to show that the Greek gods and Greek religion originated in Crete. But on the other hand they are no mere invention, but are founded upon the recognized mystic character of the Cretan cult of Zeus. It is said that the most holy and unspeakable mysteries were celebrated in the cave of Zeus⁴. There is perhaps a very old testimony to the orgiastic character of the cult of the Couretes in the so-called bronze shields, several of which were found in the

¹ Euripides, *Cretans*, *Fragm. Trag. Gr.*, No. 472; see Poerner, *De Cur. et Coryb.*, pp. 246; Aly, *Philolog.*, LXXI, 1912, p. 466; Jane E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 479.

² E. g. Wilamowitz, *Berliner Klass. Texte*, V: 2, p. 78, and others quoted by Poerner, *loc. cit.*, p. 247, n. 2.

³ Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.*, 17; cf. above, p. 483, n. 1.

⁴ *Schol. in Plat. De leg.*, introduction.

Idaean cave. Professor Thiersch has pointed out that they are too small to be shields, the diameter of the largest being only 55 cm., and proposes to consider them as cymbals used in the cult of the Couretes¹. The cymbal is characteristic of the orgiastic cult. The best preserved and best known specimen² shows the 'Master of Animals' in Assyrianized style standing on the back of a bull and swinging a lion over his head with both hands; on each side there is an almost entirely Assyrian daemon. Although the strongly Assyrianized style makes it doubtful whether this representation may be instanced as evidence for a Greek cult, it was tentatively suggested above as possible that the Minoan Master of Animals survives in this image; and if that be so, he is combined with Zeus. Then the peculiarly mystic and orgiastic character of the Cretan cult of Zeus may be understood as a survival of Minoan Nature worship. But I repeat that this suggestion is uncertain.

The testimonies are in detail subject to doubt, but are generally taken as proving the mystic and orgiastic character of the cult of Zeus in Crete and especially of that performed by the Couretes. The cult of Dionysos is conspicuously absent in Crete. Dionysos is rare on Cretan coins, occurring only at Sybrita and sometimes at Kydonia. The reason why Dionysos does not appear in Crete can only be that he was not needed there, the religious ideas of which he was the herald having already been applied to the Cretan Zeus. Through Orphism Dionysos was brought into close relationship with Zeus. The same is the case in Phrygia, where Sabazios was identified partly with Zeus and partly with Dionysos, and the child Dionysos is begotten by the Earth and Zeus, and nursed by the Earth Mother, Meter Hipta. The inscriptions identifying Sabazios with Zeus are so late that Orphic influence is possible, but on the other hand it is difficult to understand why the identification with Dionysos was rejected by the Phrygians them-

¹ Thiersch, *Altcretisches Kuretengerät*, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, pp. 47.

² *Aut. cré.*, I, pl. 40; cf. above, pp. 442 seq. Other such shields were found in the temple at Phaestus (above, p. 397) and in the temple of the Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro, *BSA*, XI, pl. XVI; cf. F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriech. Kunst*, pp. 77.

selves, unless their Sabazios in some respects corresponded more to Zeus than to Dionysos, with whom he shared the mystic and orgiastic cult.

The evidence for the cult of Dionysos in Crete refers to the Dionysos of the Orphics. This is probably true of the passage in Strabo already quoted¹. Other authorities refer explicitly to the Orphic myth of the child Dionysos-Zagreus which was torn to pieces by the Titans. The evidence appears in a Euhemeristic setting in Diodorus, who makes excerpts from a Euhemeristic writer, whose aim is to show that all the Greek gods originated in Crete². He says that this god, who in the Orphic myth was said to have been torn to pieces by the Titans, was born in Crete, the child of Persephone by Zeus. In Firmicus Maternus the Euhemeristic method is applied to the *omophagia* and to the Orphic account of the death of the child Dionysos³. He relates how the Cretans, to placate the wrath of the tyrant, made the day of the funeral into a trieteric festival, in which the events of the child's death were imitated; they tore a bull asunder with their teeth, devoured the pieces, and roamed about in the forests in a frenzy.

Of course the parallels adduced by the Euhemeristic writers are to be treated with the utmost caution. The *omophagia* was a piece of the ritual of the trieteric Dionysia; in Orphism it was incorporated in the myth about the child Dionysos and the anthropogony. There are several famous myths which record that not only animals but also men, especially children, fell victims to the Maenads, but it may reasonably be doubted whether these myths correspond to the real truth, that is, whether the *omophagia* was ever, even in exceptional cases, a cannibalistic meal. The origin and the early development of Orphism are hidden in a cloud, which owing to the

¹ Above, p. 506 and n. 5.

² Diodorus in his fifth book from chapter 65 onwards. At the end of ch. 80 he says that he follows partly the theologian Epimenides, partly three other authors whom he names. On this, see the paper by Bethe quoted p. 473, n. 1. The passage referred to, which is found in ch. 75, belongs to the so-called Epimenides, who is of course a falsification of later date.

³ Firmicus Maternus, *de err. prof. rel.*, ch. 6.

nature of our sources will never be wholly dispersed; but one thing is clear, that Orphism combined elements from various different religious sources into one system ¹.

The following suggestions may be tentatively proposed. The connexion of Orphism with Thrace and the Thracian cult of Dionysos is testified by the Thracian origin of Orpheus; but the rite of the *omophagia* was discarded and transferred to the anthropogonic myth, where it appears not as a sacred act but as a crime. The vicious Titans surprised the child at play, dismembered, and devoured it. They were smitten by the lightning of Zeus and from their ashes man was created, in whom parts of the vicious nature of the Titans combine with parts of the divine nature of the Divine Child. Hence it is the duty of man and the aim of the Orphic mysteries to free man from his innate viciousness, and this is attained by purifications and ascetism, which are prominent features of the Orphic ritual. The myth of Dionysos and the Titans appears to be founded on a combination of the Thracian rite of the *omophagia* and the conception of the Divine Child. But the Divine Child was most prominent in the Cretan myth of the childhood of Zeus; in other Greek cults and myths it had passed into the background. Consequently the Orphic myth was localized to Crete, though this localization cannot support a Cretan origin of Orphism; it appears, however, that kindred elements of a mystic and orgiastic character derived from a Cretan cult encouraged this localization ².

Perhaps Crete was of greater importance with regard to Orphism, although the evidence has been swept away by time. In the Hellenistic age at least Orphism had taken hold of Crete. Three of those inscribed strips of gold-leaf which were placed in tombs, and which are precious documents of the Orphic doctrine, though mostly found in Southern Italy where Orphism was especially popular, have also come to light in the Cretan

¹ Cf. my *History of Greek Rel.*, pp. 213.

² Kern, *Orpheus*, pp. 51, rightly calls attention to the conception of the child at play in the mysteries. It appears also in the mysteries of the Cabiri. I think that this conception is a by-product of the myth of the innocent child which met its fate playing as children do.

town of Eleutherna¹. But this is of course no proof of Orphism in an earlier age. For that we may refer to the orgiastic character of the dance of the Couretes, the companions of the Zeus-child, for owing to their mystic character the Orphic and the Cretan myths were fused; the Couretes are also said to have danced around the child Dionysos².

The Divine Child takes a prominent place in Orphism, although its rôle is very different from that of the Divine Child whose history is traced here. But in studying this innovation, we ought not to forget that Orphism is a speculative religion created by a religious genius, at least in its most vital doctrines, and that this man combined and reshaped the various elements with the independence and sovereignty of genius. If the contributions of Crete to Orphism are difficult to discern, its influence on other religious movements of the archaic age is more evident and easier to trace. Orphism also incorporated that longing for purifications which combines the mystic desires and the legalist leanings of man. In this age a great number of miracle-workers, seers, and purificatory priests appear; they are associated with Apollo by virtue of their purificatory activities, but on the other hand they are deeply affected by mysticism³. The most famous of them is the Cretan Epimenides. There is no doubt that he really existed, although the traditions concerning his date are conflicting and difficult to value. The best known episode is his long sleep in a cave. He was called the 'new Courete'. A poem on theogony was ascribed to him which shows points of similarity to Orphic ideas⁴. Another similar personage of Cretan origin was Karmanor, who was even said to have purified Apollo himself when he had slain Pytho. On the whole Crete was by common consent regarded as the home of purifications

¹ Kern, *Fragm. Orph.*, No. 32 b; Jane E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Rel.*, pp. 661, No. II.

² Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, II, 17 (p. 15 Potter).

³ See my *History of Greek Rel.*, pp. 201.

⁴ The information about his life and writings is collected by Diels, *Fragm. der Vorsokr.*, 3rd ed., II, pp. 185, see also Kern s. v. in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertumswiss.* The Epimenides alluded to by Diodorus is fictitious, see above, p. 509, n. 2.

and the mantic art¹, and if the tradition is authentic that Onomacritus, one of the most famous of the Orphicians of the sixth century B. C. who lived at the court of Pisistratus, spent some time in Crete in order to learn soothsaying, this reputation was of old date. It agrees well with the mystic poem of Epimenides.

The suggestions made in the last few pages are not intended to disentangle the origin of the Orphic doctrines; I am quite aware of the ambiguous character of the evidence adduced. Their sole aim is to point out that Cretan religion in accordance with commonly received opinion had a certain bias towards mysticism. If this character of the Cretan religion is considered in conjunction with the reputation of Crete as a home of purificatory priests and miracle-workers, there is just reason to suppose that Crete actively contributed to the religious revival in the archaic age. In this respect Crete differs appreciably from other parts of Greece, and it is reasonable to suppose that this difference is due to a stronger survival of Minoan elements in Crete than elsewhere. They were not absent even in the rest of Greece, but they were more hidden, and only reappeared when the Dionysiac movement swept over the land bringing with itself kindred elements.

The vistas opened up in our search for traces of the Divine Child are very far-reaching and of primary importance for understanding the violent and deep religious movements of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. These are conspicuous for the strongly emotional character of the religious forms they propagated, and there is very deep religious and emotional value in the conception of the Divine Child and the myths and rites connected with it; both originate in the conception of the dying and reviving vegetation. We have reason to suppose that this idea and the rites expressing it occurred in the Minoan religion, and these ideas and rites were capable, as no others were, of being amplified and applied to man and his fate and longings. This was done in the great religious movements of the archaic age, but the foundations upon which they built were older and went back

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*, 5th ed., II, p. 96.

to the Minoan age; we shall understand the strength of these movements better, if we look upon them not as a wholesale importation of foreign religious ideas and forms but as in great measure a recrudescence of the old religion, just as the revival of art in the same period seems to have come from Crete and to have been due to a revival of the Minoan spirit.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HERO CULT AND THE AFTER LIFE.

1. THE HERO CULT.

The attitude towards Euhemerism has changed abruptly. In antiquity it carried the day in spite of other ideas concerning the origins of religion and was the most powerful instrument in the destruction of the old faith. It dominated the ideas concerning pagan religions for centuries; in modern times it has fared worse than ill. Although the Greeks themselves, as far as post-Homeric records go back, thought of the heroes as men who had lived and died, and although ethnology provides an abundance of examples of men who have lived, died, and afterwards been honoured as gods, — so much so that even the actual corporeal relics of a man who after his death was venerated as a god by his people are preserved in the Museum of Ethnology at Cambridge, — it has been regarded almost as a sign of an unscientific mind to yield even so much to Euhemerism as to allow that the heroes, or at any rate some of them, were once real men. They were said to have been faded gods or anything else except once corporeal beings. It has been asserted that if their graves had been disclosed, no bones would have been found in them: their so-called graves were said to be cult places of old gods who had been degraded to the rank of heroes; the consequence of this degradation was that the cult place was called a tomb¹.

¹ I quote a dictum of Miss Harrison, *Themis*, p. XXXII, which is the more characteristic in being proposed incidentally in an addendum: "Dr Pfister in his *Reliquienkult im Altertum*, p. 396 and *passim*, shows convincingly that the evidence of excavation is dead against Euhemerism. "Im allgemeinen wird man behaupten dürfen, dass wenn die Griechen einmal die 'Gräber' ihrer Heroen aufgegraben hätten, sie in den weitaus meisten Fällen keine Gebeine

Time has again changed. In recent years two comprehensive treatises on the hero cult have appeared which both decidedly adopt the old Greek and Euhemeristic view. It may perhaps be said that the two distinguished authors of these works, Dr Farnell and Professor Foucart, reproduce the views of that older school which was attacked in England by Miss Harrison and others, in Germany by Usener and his followers, but there is no doubt that their views and reasoning are gaining ground also among younger students of Greek religion. This is the place for a discussion not of principles but of facts, and I must be content to state the case in a few words. If the heroes were not by origin dead men who had a tomb, how did it come about that gods who had been degraded were regarded precisely as dead men and their cult places as tombs? Or if there were, to begin with, no heroes in the common sense of the word, whence came the persistent belief of the Greeks in such heroes? I find the question impossible to answer satisfactorily, and in fact not one of those who maintain that the heroes are degraded gods has tried to give an answer. I think that the Greeks were right with regard to the genuine heroes; there are others also, degraded gods etc., but with these we are not concerned here. The proof lies in the form of the hero cult which is the same as that of the cult of the dead. The cult of the heroes arose from the cult of the dead in such a manner that instead of being a family cult like the cult of the dead, it became a cult common to all the people. Or to make a sharper distinction between the different stages of the religious process which may be summarized under the name of the cult of the dead, we have to begin with the funeral or burial customs which are performed only once, on the occasion of a man's death, though they are spread over a longer period, from the moment of the death and the day of the funeral to some fixed days afterwards. Next follows what Dr Farnell calls the 'tendance' of the dead, the bringing of gifts and sacrifices etc. to the dead man and his tomb on certain days or on certain occasions. This service, at least in the historic age, *gefunden haben würden. Die 'Gräber' waren alte Kultstätten*". Dr Pfister's testimony is doubly valuable as he has no theoretical axe to grind".

is to a great extent a repetition of some of the funeral customs; it is nevertheless a cult, though in practice it may not have been so regular as the other forms and may have been apt to be forgotten as time elapsed, memory faded, and those who had known the dead man and stood near him died themselves. The cult of ancestors is the service of the dead moulded into regular and fixed forms and repeated at fixed intervals; it is performed by the members of the family and prolonged for generations. When such a regular cult of the dead is severed from the family and becomes a concern of the public in general, a hero cult arises. The classical age effected the sharp distinction between the cult of the dead and the cult of the heroes, for while the cult of the dead was seriously restricted by laws, the cult of the heroes persisted in its old, full forms.

That this was the development, — or to pick out the contested point, that the cult of the heroes arose out of the cult of the dead, — will be strongly corroborated, if it can be proved that hero worship goes back into the Mycenaean age, for then we shall have the missing archaeological evidence that the hero cult is a cult at a tomb. Both Dr Farnell and Professor Foucart have hinted at this. The richness of the gifts buried with the dead in the shaft graves at Mycenae and the stately beehive tombs are a well-known and eloquent testimony of the elaborate and sumptuous burial customs which evidently could be bestowed only upon members of the royal kin. But scores of tombs show that the people imitated them as far as they could. The Cretan tombs are not so rich; the difference between them and those of the mainland has been pointed out above¹. But here the funeral customs must be dismissed with a word about their magnificence and the care taken for the dead; we have to do with the continued cult of the dead.

Dr Farnell pointed briefly to the altar on the shaft graves at Mycenae and the traces which show that e. g. the tomb at Menidi was tended for generations². Professor Foucart under-

¹ See above, pp. 264 seq. and 368 seq.

² Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, pp. 4.

lined the importance of the grave cult at Mycenae¹, but the archaeological facts are so important that they deserve to be fully set forth and appreciated; and in the meanwhile several other very interesting facts have come to light.

The continuation of the cult at the tomb into the Greek age presupposes a cult in the Mycenaean age. This is not only a natural assumption, but is also corroborated by archaeological facts, of which some are generally known and will be mentioned below. But as the archaeological evidence for a continued cult of the dead is in the nature of things rare, we may recall a fact which seems to be due to such a cult, the small niches which are sometimes found in the *dromos* of Mycenaean tombs. In a chamber tomb at Nauplia there was a recess in the wall of the *dromos* near the doorway of the tomb-chamber, about a metre above the floor of the *dromos*, a metre high, 1 m. 20 broad, and 75 cm. deep. The fragments of bones found in the filling had evidently been brought in accidentally, with the exception of a fragmentary idol, a plate, and some glass-like splinters which had also perhaps been brought in with the filling. Such niches were found in other tombs also, but have never been satisfactorily accounted for². In the *dromos* of tomb III at Asine about 3 metres from the doorway was a niche, 1 m. 10 broad, 70 cm. high, 55 cm. deep, and about 30 cm. above the floor of the *dromos*. It was blocked by stones and in it were found much destroyed remains of human bones, some Mycenaean sherds and vases, and a glass pearl. The chamber itself was almost empty³. In the north wall of the *dromos* of tomb V in the same necropolis, about half a metre from the door of the tomb-chamber there was an arched niche, more than two metres above the floor of the *dromos*. The niche was about 55 cm. broad, 45 cm. in height and depth, and was sealed by a stone. It seems to have been made expressly for the ceramics found in it, three sub-Mycenaean vases of which the largest, an amphora, must

¹ Foucart, *Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscri.*, XLII, 1918, pp. 40.

² *Athen. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 162.

³ *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1924—25, p. 50.

have been tilted to enable it to be introduced into the niche. In this amphora were found carbonized animals' bones mixed with some black earth; the mouth was covered by a cup. In addition to the three vases there was a small cow's head of terracotta. It is evident that this find, which does not contain any human remains, is an offering made after the tomb was closed; the *dromos*, at any rate, was in part barred¹. In the Kalkani necropolis near Mycenae a very small



FIG. III. NICHE AT THE ENTRANCE TO GRAVE NO. 529 IN THE KALKANI NECROPOLIS.

niche of the same kind was found at the entrance to grave No. 529². These niches seem too small to be destined for burial purposes, in which case they may be explained as serving the cult of the dead³.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 52 and 91 and pl. XLV, 1.

² Photo lent by Dr Boethius and reproduced with Mr Wace's permission.

³ They are perhaps derived from Minoan Crete. On each side of the fore-hall of the Royal Tomb at Isopata there is a niche the depth and breadth of which are a little less than 1 m. 20. These niches were used for secondary

I append a discussion of the pits discovered in Mycenaean tombs, which in some cases were certainly destined to receive offerings to the dead¹, and the traces of fire which some scholars take as evidence that cremation was coming into use in the latest Mycenaean age. A distinction must be made as regards the position of the pits in question.

1) Pits in the tomb. In the tomb at Menidi there was a kind of terrace or bench of irregular layers of stones about 70 cm. high occupying one third of the floor on the south side. Underneath this terrace near the southern wall there was a pit, which reached the floor under the stone layers (length 80 cm., breadth 35 cm., depth 20 cm.); it was completely filled with dark ashes of charcoal². It is one of the obvious instances of the many traces of fire in Mycenaean tombs; the pit may have served the cult, but this cannot have continued for long. It must have ceased at any rate when the stone bench was superimposed. Perhaps the pit was only in use in certain ceremonies.

This latter supposition seems to be well founded in a most important case, the unroofed beehive tomb at Dendra near Midea, which was excavated last summer by Professor Persson with rich results. Below the floor of the vaulted chamber there were two graves, about 1 1/2 m. deep and c. half a metre beneath the floor, covered with large limestone slabs. In these the dead rested covered with precious objects. It is to be noted that the clay, with which the graves were filled, was mixed with charcoal particles, the explanation of which is with some probability that the clay had been mixed up with charcoal from the burial offerings. Beside these two graves there were two other pits. The bottom floor of both graves was covered with a bed of chalk about 2 cm. deep,

interments, but there are no indications as to their original use. They are arched like the niche in the tomb at Nauplia. See Evans, *The Tombs of Knossos, Archaeologia*, LIX, 1906, p. 140 and pl. 94.

¹ Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, p. 49; Keramopoulos, *Eph. arch.*, 1910, p. 181, n. 1; G. Oeconomus, *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus* (Athens 1921), pp. 8, who gives the most complete enumeration and adds examples from the pre-Mycenaean civilization of the Cyclades (Amorgos) and the mainland (Drachmani) and from later ages as well.

² *Das Kuppelgrab von Menidi*, pp. 37.

that of the two pits on the contrary not. One, about two metres square and 1 1/2 m. deep, was entirely filled with earth mixed with much charcoal, minute bronze fragments, pieces of burnt ivory, beads of glass paste, and semi-precious stones. The other was much smaller and contained a quantity of apparently unburnt human and animal bones among which was the skull of a dog. The contents of the first pit, which did not include any bones and which unlike those of the graves were burnt, are certainly derived from offerings to the dead during or after the burial. The second pit may be variously interpreted either as containing offerings like the first one or as being a separate later burial. The same applies to the relics found on the floor, some human bones, of three persons at least, a few late Mycenaean vase sherds, some small gold objects, beads of stone and glass paste, and a gem. For a full appreciation of this most important discovery its publication and discussion must be awaited ¹.

In a pit in tomb VIII in the Mycenaean necropolis of the Deiras at Argos charcoal was found mixed with fragments of Mycenaean vases and human bones, among them fragments of a half-carbonized cranium; but this was a mortuary pit, as is indicated by its size (2 m. by 35 cm., depth 1 m. 50) ².

2) Pits in the *stomion*. In the entrance to the beehive tomb at Vaphio there is a pit, the breadth of which is the same as that of the entrance, 1 m. 93, its length 1 m. 60 to 1 m. 80, and its depth 1 m. 90. It was originally empty and filled with stones and earth fallen down from above. The bottom was covered with a layer of ashes, 10 cm. thick ³. At Mouliana in Crete a *tholos* tomb of Late Minoan III was discovered with a quadrangular ground-plan and covered by a corbelled vault. On the inner edge of the entrance there is an elliptical pit, cut in the rock and occupying its whole breadth, 73 cm.; it is narrower in the other direction, and its depth is 90 cm. narrowing towards the bottom. Nothing is mentioned about its con-

¹ It will appear in this series. I owe the above statements to personal information given me by Professor Persson.

² Vollgraff, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXVIII, 1904, pp. 372 and 392.

³ Tsoundas, *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pp. 140.

tents¹. At Damania in Crete a similar tomb with *larnakes* from the same period was discovered. In this there was a quadrangular pit built of square slabs occupying the whole breadth of the entrance. Its outer border coincides with that of the entrance so that the pit is within the tomb-chamber. Nothing is said of its contents².

3) Pits near the tombs. Near the Mycenaean tombs at Delphi a number of pits was found which Professor Perdrizet³ takes to be wells of a later age connected with the numerous house-foundations of the site; one was near the entrance of a *tholos* tomb, another had steps leading down into it. Keramopoulos, however, objects that these pits are not so deep as to reach the water-bearing layers and that they are very near each other, for which reasons he thinks that they are related to the tombs⁴. In the same manner he explains the six pits discovered in the Mycenaean necropolis of the Deiras at Argos which are thought by Professor Vollgraaf to be wells of a later age⁵. One of them was more than 11 1/2 m. deep, while two others go down into underlying Mycenaean tombs. In the Late Mycenaean necropolis on Aegina Keramopoulos found two pits, of which one is 1 m. 50, the other 3 m. 50 deep, a metre in diameter and accessible by steps⁶. At Mazarakatis on Cephallenia a number of pits are cut out in the rock near a Mycenaean necropolis⁷. Contrary to the pits mentioned above these are shallow and hemispherical, about a metre in depth and in diameter. It is impossible to say what purpose they served. With regard to the others I need hardly emphasize the rashness of Keramopoulos in identifying them as sacrificial pits. This is impossible because of their considerable depth, not to speak of other circumstances.

¹ Xanthoudides, *Eph. arch.*, 1904, pp. 24.

² Xanthoudides, *Delt. arch.*, II, 1916, pp. 172.

³ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pp. 6.

⁴ In *Eph. arch.*, 1910, p. 181, n. 1.

⁵ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXVIII, 1904, pp. 365.

⁶ *Eph. arch.*, 1910, pp. 180. That of Dragatsoula near Thebes, *loc. cit.*, p. 248, belongs to a later period.

⁷ Kavvadias in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1909, p. 391 and fig. 1, p. 383; *Προϊστ. Αρχαιολ.*, p. 371 and fig. 449, p. 360.

A striking analogy to the entrance pit of the Vaphio tomb is presented by the square entrance pits lined with slabs before the entrances of the *tholos* tombs of the Messara, although the bottom of the latter is on the same level as the floor of the tomb-chamber. We must seriously consider whether it is not related to these. The other two instances of an entrance pit are Cretan Late Minoan III *tholos* tombs. If we are to assume a connexion, it must lead to a revision of the current opinion that the beehive tombs of the mainland are unconnected with the early Cretan *tholos* tombs. On the other hand the pits in the *stomion* of the later *tholos* tombs do not serve as an entrance, but as a barrier just as the cross walls do. If a connexion is postulated, the pit must for this reason be considered as a survival, which was transferred to some use other than its original one, and it is not improbable that they served the fire rites which, as we shall see, there is reason to assume in the funeral ceremonies or in the cult of the dead. For an ash-layer was found in the pit of the Vaphio tomb, though no mention is made of the contents of the others. In the Late Minoan III Cretan *tholos* tombs the pit was moved inwards; that at Mouliana is partly, that at Damania wholly within the tomb-chamber, with its edge just touching the entrance. We may guess that this was caused by the sacrificial use of the pits.

With regard to the first group, which is represented by the tombs at Mideia and Menidi, the pit filled with ashes is evidently referable to the very frequent traces of fire in Minoan and Mycenaean tombs. These are already conspicuous in the *tholos* tombs of the Messara which, on the whole, date from Early Minoan III. In *tholos* B at Koumasa there were two hearths, one in the centre and another near the S. E. wall, whose stones were much damaged by fire; the bone fragments and the earth were also blackened. In *tholos* A at Platanos there were traces of fire on the floor, especially in the centre, and the clay of the floor was in parts hardened into brick. In *tholos* II at Porti the earth with its admixture of bones and objects was unusually strongly blackened by the action

of fire. Less marked traces of fire were observed in the small *tholos c* at H. Eirene ¹.

With regard to the Mycenaean tombs Tsoundas, who knew the early excavations thoroughly, says that more or less charcoal is found in nearly all the tombs ². E. g. the floor of the beehive tomb at Vaphio was covered with black earth mixed with charcoal ³. Later excavations have added fresh examples, e. g. the tombs at Menidi and others. In tomb I in the Mycenaean necropolis of the Deiras at Argos ⁴ the action of fire was so conspicuous that it was thought by the excavator to prove cremation. The floor was covered with a layer of ashes and charcoal to a depth of 3 to 4 cm., and in this layer were carbonized remains of at least two skeletons mixed with vases showing the action of fire. Professor Vollgraff assumes that the dead had been cremated in the tomb, but when we remember the traces of fire in other Mycenaean tombs which are certainly not due to a cremation of the dead this is a rash assumption. The exact observations of Dr Boethius in a tomb in the Kalkani necropolis are especially valuable. The human bones found in the centre of the tomb were completely blackened by fire, whereas those at a distance near the walls were white. Evidently a fire was made in the centre of the tomb, the action of which did not reach the bones placed near the outer edge ⁵. A similar fact was noticed in tomb I at Asine. The layer which contained the gifts laid with the dead was mixed with ashes and charcoal, and certain remains of human bones showed traces of the action of fires which are stated to have been repeatedly kindled in the tomb ⁶. In five of the Mycenaean tombs recently discovered near to the Argive Heraeum a burnt layer was found, but also bones untouched by fire. The tombs have been reused ⁷. The

¹ Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted tombs of Mesara*, index s. v. *tholoi*.

² Tsoundas, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 138.

³ *Eph. arch.*, 1889, p. 143.

⁴ *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXVIII, 1904, p. 391; for tomb VIII see above, pp. 519.

⁵ Kindly communicated by Dr Boethius.

⁶ *Bull. de la Société des Lettres de Lund*, 1924—25, pp. 43.

⁷ *JHS*, XLVI, 1926, p. 227.

hollow between graves I and IV in the Grave Circle at Mycenae with its ash-layers will be discussed later ¹.

Dr Boethius is disposed to think that the fire, whose traces appear in the tomb in the Kalkani necropolis quoted above, was made by shepherds who took shelter in the tomb accidentally, and with regard to the evidence of the *tholos* tombs of the Messara I was of the same opinion and asked tentatively whether these fires were not made at a late date by persons who used the *tholoi* as shelters or occasionally as habitations ². But I then failed to recognize how numerous are the traces of fire, ashes, and charcoal in Minoan and Mycenaean tombs, and that in many cases it is absolutely impossible to explain them as due to later occasional fire-making; this is especially evident, for example, in the case of the pit with ashes beneath the stone bench in the beehive tomb at Menidi, the pit with burnt precious objects mixed with charcoal in the beehive tomb near Mideia, and the entrance pit with an ash-layer at Vaphio, in tomb I at Deiras, etc. No satisfactory explanation of these fires has been given, for the attempts to show that cremation was in use in the Mycenaean age are not to be taken seriously. Only one possible explanation seems to remain, that fire was introduced in the funeral rites and in the cult of the dead, either for burning sacrifices or for a purificatory purpose, as Sir A. Evans thinks ³. Concerning the re-used tombs near the Argive Heraeum it is supposed that the fire is due to a purification before their re-use. That the former explanation is correct as regards the Mycenaean age, the discovery at Dendra has proved.

I pass on to the archaeological evidence for a cult of the dead continued from the Mycenaean to a later age. That of the beehive tomb at Menidi, the old Acharnae in Attica, is very important, and although it has long since been well known, it was passed over in silence by those who did not believe in the connexion of the cult of the heroes with that

¹ Below, p. 532.

² In my review of Xanthoudides' book in *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1925, pp. 272.

³ Evans in Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*, p. XII.

of the dead¹. The tomb is one of the less carefully constructed beehive tombs. The entrance was closed by a carelessly built wall, which left an opening of 30 cm. between its upper edge and the upper lintel of the doorway, and the *dromos* was barred by a cross wall near its outer end; between these two walls it was filled with earth to the height of the cross wall. This happened in the latest Mycenaean period when the vases of Furtwängler and Löschcke's third style were in use². From the time when the tomb was closed somewhere before the end of the Mycenaean age the cult went on uninterrupted into the fifth century B. C., as is shown by the discovery of offerings in the *dromos*³. It seems that some sherds etc., found in the uppermost layer in the *tholos* near the opening, had been inserted after the tomb was closed, but the discoveries made in front of the wall barring the entrance are much more important. This opening had later been blocked by stones fallen down from the walls into the *dromos*. In the lowest layers of this mass of stones several sherds of Mycenaean vases⁴ and large fragments of coarse pottery and *pithoi* etc. were found⁵. These sherds and fragments were blackened by smoke, even in their interior. We can only assume with Professor Wolters that they belong to offerings burnt before the door of the tomb. There are also other traces of fire. About five metres from the door and a metre beneath the surface a layer of earth mingled with ashes and some fragments of bones was noted. Similar remains, though in a smaller quantity, were also found much deeper down⁶. In a later age the place of offering was moved eastwards towards the beginning of the *dromos*. Six metres from the doorway

¹ The report of the excavation and the objects found is *Das Kuppelgrab von Menidi* (1880).

² Furtwängler und Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. XI.

³ Wolters, *Vasen aus Menidi, II, Arch. Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 103; cf. H. Gropengiesser, *Die Gräber von Attika*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1907, pp. 11 and 54. The conclusions of this author do not always display the requisite caution.

⁴ Wolters, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 48-52, pp. 113; cf. the section p. 116, fig. 24.

⁵ *Kuppelgrab etc.*, pp. 8.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 4 and 11.

at a depth of 3 ¹/₂ metres an early Attic vase and some other fragments were found¹, and about ten metres further eastwards near the northern wall of the *dromos* there was a heap of vase sherds etc., among them Corinthian lekythoi, terracotta shields, and a vase by the early Attic vase painter Sophilos², and only about two metres further eastwards at a depth of 1 ¹/₂ metres came a heap of numerous fragments of Corinthian and Attic black-figured pottery, and fragments of coarse terracotta horses and shields³. I have here mentioned only such finds as are especially noteworthy for their stratigraphic evidence and are noted in the section described by Wolters; on the whole the earlier the finds were the nearer they came to the entrance. It is evident that these vases and terracottas were deposited with a purpose; it cannot reasonably be doubted that they were votive offerings, brought to this sacred place. It is to be noted that the above-mentioned layers of earth mingled with ashes cannot be brought into relation with these offerings because of the stratigraphical evidence. Many other terracottas and vase sherds were found, including some red-figured pieces; Professor Wolters assumes, perhaps rightly, that the Peloponnesian war caused the cult to be abandoned. The types are characteristic of this kind of cult: terracotta shields, a few fragments of votive *pinakes*, about 30 terracotta horses and groups of horses and charioteers, perfume vases, drinking vessels, a few jugs, amphoras, and finally cauldrons on a high foot, in which probably bathing water was brought to the hero, a rite in the cult of the dead for which Wolters collected the instances⁴. This is the most obvious example of a cult at a tomb persisting through the ages from the Mycenaean downwards to classical times, and there is no doubt that it must be called a hero cult, even if we do not know by what name the hero was called.

¹ Wolters, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 53 and 54.

² *Loc. cit.*, Nos. 44 and 45.

³ *Loc. cit.*, Nos. 20—27, 38—40.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 129; P. Stergianopoulos, *Die Lutra und ihre Verwendung bei der Hochzeit und im Totenkultus der alten Griechen*, Diss., München, 1922 (printed in Athens), pp. 30. I may add that water cisterns were found in tombs at Alexandria, Thiersch, *Zwei Grabanlagen bei Alexandria*, p. 17, n. 14.

Less clear is the evidence from the chamber tombs with a *dromos* at Spata in Attica¹. One was almost empty, in the other numerous objects were found and most of them in the *dromos*, but as this tomb had been plundered in ancient times these finds are of course no evidence for a cult. Perhaps the objects or some of them were deposited in the *dromos* as offerings, but it is also conceivable that some at any rate came in with the earth when the tomb was plundered. The same is the case with many other Mycenaean tombs in whose *dromos* sherds and other objects were found; these may even have been brought in accidentally with the earth filling. They may therefore be passed over. Nor, in the case of Spata, I can agree with Dr Gropengiesser in drawing any definite conclusion from the fact that coals and human bones were found in the *dromos* near the opening between the wall barring the entrance and the upper lintel. Probably these bones either belong to a secondary burial or were moved and dispersed in plundering the tomb or in introducing the earth filling.

Some circumstances seem to make it probable that some cult continued to be practised right on into the geometric period in the *dromos* of the so-called beehive tomb of Klytaimestra at Mycenae which was excavated by Mrs Schliemann. The information is meagre and gives no account of the stratigraphy. In the earth filling Mycenaean and geometric terracotta figurines were found and also sherds of large geometric vases, apparently in considerable quantity, together with beads of white glass and others belonging to a necklace². Later in 1892 two bronze mirrors, a beautiful Mycenaean ivory mirror handle, a quantity of beads, pieces of gold-leaf, etc. were found in a pit in the *dromos*, probably a woman's grave³. The

¹ Gropengiesser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8 and 60; *Athen. Mitt.*, II, 1877, pp. 261.

² Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pp. 115, figs. 157 and 158, pp. 135. The tomb was explored afresh by the British School; there is a catalogue of all the finds *BSA*, XXV, pp. 363; it enumerates nearly 100 sherds but was of course not able to ascertain the places where they were found.

³ Tsoundas, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 187 and fig. 82; *Praktika*, 1892, pp. 56; *BSA*, XXV, pp. 368.

necklace found by Mrs Schliemann may belong to a secondary interment or may have been left by plunderers, and the Mycenaean idols may perhaps have been brought in accidentally; but such an assumption is difficult to maintain with regard to the large geometric pottery. The presence of such large vases as these cannot be ascribed to the agency of tomb-robbers. If they were not brought in by chance the only explanation is that they are remains of offerings made in the *dromos* during the geometric period.

With regard to the other *tholos* tombs of Mycenae the evidence is ambiguous and cannot be considered as proof of a cult at the tomb in the Mycenaean, still less in a later, age¹. Mycenaean sherds, especially of the IIIrd period, are found in all of them in great quantities; they may have been brought in with the earth filling, as the Middle Helladic sherds found in a considerable quantity especially in the *dromos* of the tomb of Aegisthus certainly were. Here the circumstances are best known because Professor Tsoundas was not able to clear the *dromos* and the work was completed by the British School in 1922; Mycenaean pottery was plentiful, especially that belonging to the Ist and IInd periods. Above the south end of the *dromos* and just outside it a certain amount of later Greek pottery was found, with one exception late Hellenic or Hellenistic. It has of course nothing to do with the tomb. In the *dromos* of the beehive tomb at Vaphio a cult was perhaps performed in the Mycenaean age. Near the entrance some traces of charcoal were found and numerous fragments of Mycenaean vases, but none of a later age. If there was a cult, it was not continued².

Many years ago Dr Belger tried in a very ingenious paper³ to prove that the area within the Grave Circle at Mycenae with its tombstones was preserved at least down to the first century B. C., so that Hellanikos, who is quoted by Pausanias,

¹ *BSA*, XXV, pp. 287.

² Tsoundas in *Eph. arch.*, 1889, pp. 137.

³ Chr. Belger, *Die myk. Lokalsage von den Gräbern Agamemnonns und der Seinen*, Progr. des Friedrichsgymn. in Berlin, 1893; cf. *Arch. Jahrb.*, X, 1895, pp. 114.

and perhaps Pausanias himself saw the old *stelai*, and that the tombs of Agamemnon and his followers, which Pausanias mentions in his description of Mycenae¹, were so described by a local tradition, of course of late origin, attached to these tombstones². This is hardly probable, for although Schliemann has given very little information concerning the earth filling above the level of these *stelai*, it seems certainly to be older than the first century B. C. On the contrary Professor Tsoundas maintained that the circle of stone slabs was the enclosing ring of the base of a tumulus, which was heaped over the graves as soon as the circle was built, viz. in Mycenaean times³. But this view is proved to be untenable by the excavations of the British School. There never was a tumulus⁴, for then the entrance to the Grave Circle and the pavement slabs laid along the inner ring would have been meaningless. The pressure of the earth would have thrust the thin slabs outwards; this is not the case, but on the contrary some of them are leaning inwards⁵. In the filling of a hollow in the rock between graves I and IV all kinds of Mycenaean pottery including the latest style were found⁶. The area was covered up gradually. Dr Belger was closer to the truth than Professor Tsoundas. According to the recent investigations of the British School the history of the place was as follows⁷: This place was used for burial purposes already in the Middle Helladic age as being the nearest place where tombs could be cut in the soft rock. At the end of this period part of this cemetery was reserved for royal tombs and remained in use throughout the first

¹ Pausanias, II, 16, 5.

² Belger's point is that after inserting the name of Electra and her two children in a lacuna in the text the tombs mentioned are nine just like the *stelai* standing at the higher level: but the tombs mentioned and the *stelai* nevertheless do not correspond because Pausanias explicitly remarks that the twins of Cassandra were buried in the same tomb.

³ Tsoundas, *The Myc. Age*, pp. 106; cf. *Arch. Jahrb.*, X, 1885, pp. 148.

⁴ This is the meaning of my words, *Hist. of Greek Rel.*, p. 101, though they are unfortunately so condensed that they have been misunderstood.

⁵ See *BSA*, XXV, p. 124.

⁶ See below, pp. 531.

⁷ *BSA*, XXV, pp. 108 with plan pl. I and section pl. XVII.

Mycenaean period (L. H. I.). The newly discovered tomb to the North not included in the circle is probably later than the others. At this time the tombs were on the sloping hillside and tombstones were erected over them. Fragments of these were found over graves I, III, IV, and V, and it is considered probable that the sculptured *stelai* originally stood on this lower level but were

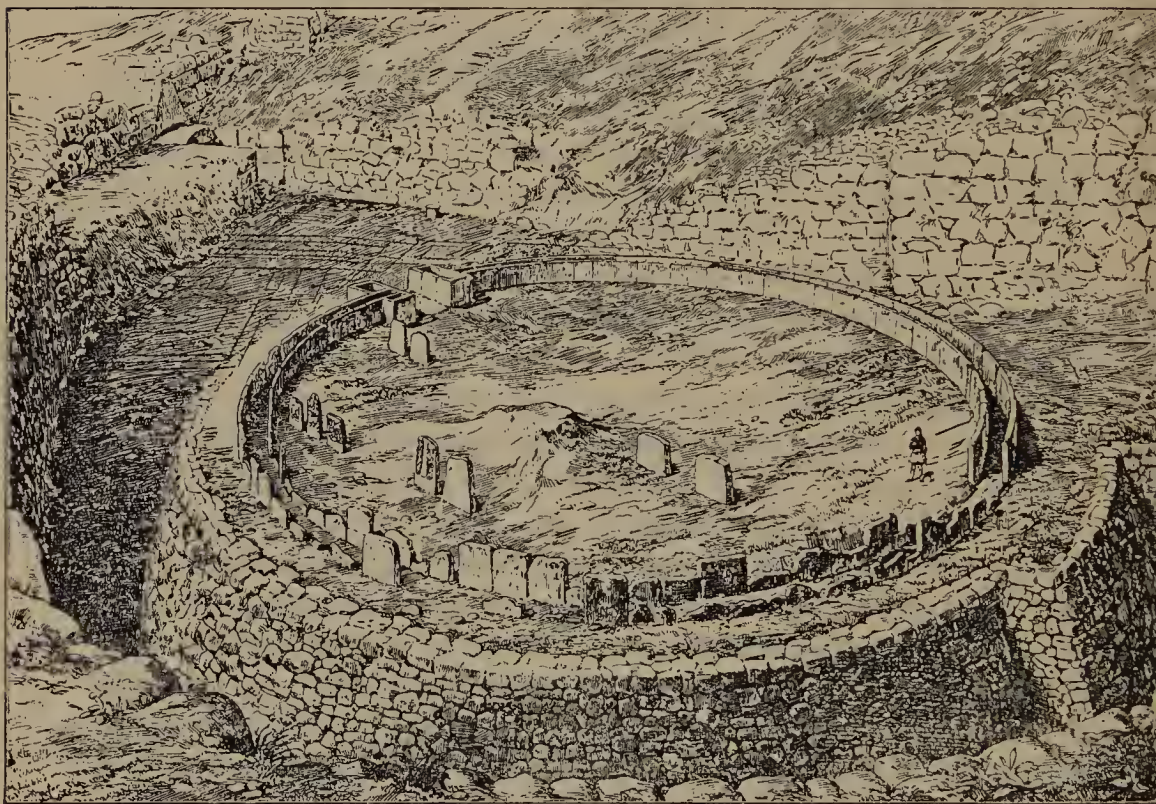


FIG. 112. THE GRAVE CIRCLE AT MYCENAE AS RESTORED BY DR BELGER.

removed to a higher level when the area was levelled up. With the second period burial customs changed; the *tholos* tombs were built, but the old royal cemetery was also cared for. At the beginning of the third period it was included in the fortifications, on the outer side a circular supporting wall was erected, on the inner side some earth was dug away, the sloping hillside was levelled up, and the area thus formed surrounded by a double ring of stone slabs. Over the tombs *stelai* and a circular

pit-altar were erected¹. The Grave Circle remained practically untouched to the end of the Mycenaean age and still later, until it was gradually filled up with débris and accumulations of earth washed down from the upper part of the acropolis.

In the earth filling of the Grave Circle numerous vase sherds and so-called Hera idols, i. e. common Mycenaean idols, were found, and at a depth of three to four feet ash of animal stuff and numerous animal bones were observed but no human bones. At the foot of the third *stèle* a handful of grey ash containing a gold-plated button was found and at the feet of most of the *stelai* ash of burnt animal stuff and animal bones were observed². The conclusion that these remains are derived from offerings to the dead or from funeral banquets, as Professor Tsoundas thinks, seems very probable³. It is often said that human bones and skulls were found there apparently thrown pell-mell, and it is thought that they belong to slaves who were killed that they might follow their master to the Other World⁴, but the human remains belong to graves from the Middle Helladic cemetery on the same site, of which four were found by Stamatakes in the eastern part of the Grave Circle and others by Schliemann eastwards above grave III⁵.

The altar, however, a typical altar of the cult of the dead, a hollow ring of stones, shows that there was a cult, and another discovery of a rather enigmatical character may perhaps be related to it⁶. The soft rock between graves I and IV almost in the centre of the Grave Circle broke down on account of the rains during the winter of 1913 and revealed

¹ The restored view, *BSA*, XXV, pl. XVIII, is, as regards the Grave Circle, not very different from that given by Belger, *loc. cit.*, p. 26 (fig. 112).

² Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pp. 99, p. 104, respectively.

³ Tsoundas, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 96.

⁴ Human remains are not seldom found in the *dromoi* of Mycenaean tombs and it is asserted that these come from slaves sacrificed at the funeral; see Tsoundas, *Eph. arch.*, 1888, pp. 130, and Vollgraff, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXVIII, 1904, p. 370, but this assumption cannot be definitely proved.

⁵ *BSA*, XXV, p. 118. I must apologize for my misstatement in regard to this matter in my *History of Greek Religion*, p. 101.

⁶ Keramopoulos, *Eph. arch.*, 1918, pp. 52; cf. the short account, *Arch. Anz.*, 1914, p. 125.

a hollow in the rock, which had a small opening towards grave I blocked by sun-dried bricks and a large one towards grave IV. It was filled with earth and stones, among them many rolled water-worn specimens. The sherds extend from Minyan to Late Mycenaean fabrics and were not stratified. At a depth of 2 metres, there were traces of a hearth, 40 cm. beneath this another larger layer of ashes with hardened earth, and 15 cm. beneath this a third, and beneath this the bottom of the hollow was covered with ashes to a depth of 20 cm. Evidently this hollow was open and empty during the Mycenaean age. It is assumed that it served a cult¹. It was filled towards the end of the Mycenaean age, and with this filling sherds of different periods were brought in. It therefore seems impossible to take any finds for remains of the cult except the hearths, but it is precisely these that Keramopoulos considers as being later. Nothing is reported to have been found in the layers of ashes, and consequently there is no archaeological evidence to prove that the fires were made up for the purpose of the cult. But these fires, made up repeatedly in the Mycenaean age at the bottom of this small hollow in the centre of the Grave Circle, which at this time was undisturbed, are so curious an occurrence that it seems hardly possible to explain them as accidental. They agree too well with the traces of fire often observed in Mycenaean tombs², and seem to be intelligible only on the supposition that fire was introduced in the funeral rites or in the cult of the dead. The hearths discovered in the hollow of the Grave Circle at Mycenae seem to prove that fire was used not only in the funeral rites in the tomb, but also in the cult of the dead which was performed at a place before or at the side of the tomb. Even to these fires the observation applies that the rites of the cult of the dead are often a repetition of the funeral rites.

¹ Keramopoulos assumes that the altar stood over this hollow and not over grave IV. His reasons are that the roof of the grave which was supported by beams would be too weak to support the altar. It is, however, impossible to regard the plan of the grave with the altar in Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pl. F, and his explicit statement in the index to ch. VIII as mere fancy.

² See above, pp. 522.

That a cult was carried on in the place where the old kings of Mycenae were buried is only natural; for our purpose it would be most valuable if it could be proved that it continued in the Greek age. As it happens, there is a find pointing to this. In the excavation of the earth filling covering the Grave Circle Schliemann found at a depth of six feet a sherd of a black-figured vase of the 6th century B. C. with an engraved inscription τῷ ἡρώοι ἐμ-¹. It would be an especially malicious stroke of fortune if this small sherd was brought in from some other cult place of a hero; at most it may be supposed with Keramopoulos² that it was washed down from the upper part of the acropolis; but even if this be the case, a cult of a hero must be recognized within the walls of Mycenae. This sherd is of course no certain proof that a hero was venerated even in the Greek age on the place where the old Mycenaean kings were buried, but there is a definite probability that this was so. It is much to be regretted that Schliemann in his excavation of the earth filling above the graves did not make sufficiently accurate observations to enable us to know in further detail the history and the causes of this accumulation; they would certainly have been valuable with regard to the question of the cult performed here. Now the occasion is irreparably lost, but Schliemann is not to blame; in his days Mycenaean archaeology was still in its infancy, and nobody suspected to what results the excavations here would lead.

The second great centre of the worship of Apollo, Delos, was also counted above among the places where a cult had survived from the Mycenaean age down to Greek times, but the discussion of these remains was deferred to this chapter because they belong to the cult of the dead. The Mycenaean remains of Delos were long overlooked, although Professor Furtwängler had called attention as early as 1882 to Mycenaean sherds discovered in the holy precinct³. Now it is

¹ Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 129; *Inscr. Graec.*, IV, No. 495, τῷ ἡρώοι ἐμ[i or τῷ ἡρώοι ἐμ[ε ἀνέθηκε κτλ.

² Keramopoulos who noted the importance of the sherd, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

³ In *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 333.

stated that numerous Mycenaean sherds were found in the centre of the precinct between the two older temples of Apollo and the treasuries. There are also remains of walls, houses, pavements, and a sewer, but these may belong to a later age; in any case they only show that the site was inhabited. There is also evidence that a cult was carried on from Mycenaean to classical times.¹

Before the hall of Antigonos two Mycenaean tombs were discovered, or rather a tomb with a *dromos*. It is built of irregular blocks, and only the lowest layers are preserved. The *dromos* was empty, but the tomb contained two Cycladic and three Mycenaean vases; one of these resembles a shape known from Middle Minoan II, one was a beaked jug from Late Minoan II, and the last one a stirrup vase of a good style. The difference in age is notable: the construction may have been an ossuary which was in use for a long time; the human remains are very minute. At the point where the walls of the tomb and the *dromos* meet two upright stones are standing, 70 cm. high, built into the wall; they are evidently the door-jambs of the destroyed tomb. These blocks must have been visible in classical times also, for they emerged more than half a metre above the floor-level at that period. In early Hellenistic times the tomb was surrounded by a circular wall, on the outside of which was a square base which may have been an altar². Although this tomb must always have been visible, it was not removed either when Pisistratus purified Delos or when the Athenians in 426 B. C. purified the island again, opened the burial places, and transferred their contents to Rheneia. It was a holy place in the classical age and is in fact a Mycenaean tomb. As late as the Hellenistic age a wall was built round the sacred site. No votive objects were discovered either round the tomb or in the interior of the circular wall; they may have been carried away in cleaning the place.

Sanctity clung to this tomb from the Mycenaean age

¹ *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1907, pp. 338; 1909, pp. 543; 1923, pp. 238.

² *Exploration de Délos*, V, pp. 65, plan facing p. 64.

down to Hellenistic times, and here the heroes to whom the cult was dedicated are recognizable. Monsieur Courby has concluded that they were the two Hyperborean maidens, Opis and Arge, from the topographical indications given by Herodotus with regard to their tomb which was situated behind the Artemision¹. Of course this was no more than a probable supposition and in 1923 Dr Picard proceeded to test it. In a preceding chapter Herodotus mentions two other Hyperborean Maidens, Hyperoche and Laodike, whose tomb was to the left as one entered the Artemision². The identification of the temple of Artemis was not settled, but Dr Picard determined to search for the other tomb where it should be according to certain assumptions as regards the identification of the ruins — and found it³. A metre beneath the slabs of tufa covering the floor a platform was found cut out in the rock. A wall, which had disappeared, — the only trace of it was a block of granite which by its form proved to have belonged to the crown of the wall — surrounded a platform of water-worn stones; the form of this foundation was semi-circular. It is no doubt another sacred place, an *abaton*. Numerous sherds were found in relation to this foundation ranging from the Cycladic period corresponding to Middle Minoan II or perhaps III, viz. the same periods to which the finds from the other tomb belong. Other objects continue the series and

¹ Herodotus, IV, 35 (Opis and Arge), *καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναικας ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ἔμῳ τὸν σφι Ὡλήν ἀνήρ Λύκος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἠμύνειν Ὀπίν τε καὶ Ἄργην ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας — — — —, καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην τὴν Ὀπίος τε καὶ Ἄργης ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλουμένην. ἡ δὲ θήρη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὀπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου πρὸς ἡῶ τετραμμένη ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηίων ἰστυορίου.*

² Herodotus, IV, 34 (Hyperoche and Laodike), *τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων. αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμον πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι (τὸ δὲ σῆμά ἐστι ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμισιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν προτιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.*

³ *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1923, pp. 238, and especially Picard et Replat, *Hérodote, l'Artemision délien, et les deux tombeaux des Vierges hyperboréennes*, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 247.

carry it down to historical times, e. g. fragments of a bronze cauldron, and pottery including some in the Corinthian style. This new discovery corroborates the identification, and no doubt the tombs of the two pairs of Hyperborean Maidens are actually found, and are proved to be old Mycenaean tombs.

This discovery is very important not only because it proves the survival of a cult at a Mycenaean tomb, but also because it shows how the cult associated with the old sacred spot underwent changes. Herodotus relates that the Delian youths and maidens cut off their locks and laid them down upon the tomb of Hyperoche and Laodike. As regards Opis and Arge the ashes from the sacrifices burnt upon the altar (viz. of Artemis) were deposited upon their tomb. But the most prominent feature of their cult was that the women went round, sang a hymn in their honour, and collected gifts. The Hyperborean Maidens are evidently not real heroines but agrarian deities¹; it is very interesting to see that their cult was attached to two old prehistoric tombs. We see here how sometimes at least that much discussed degradation of old gods to the rank of heroes came about. From time immemorial sanctity clung to a spot because it was an old tomb; the cult remained, but its object was forgotten, and the cult of deities, which of course had never been living men, was for some unknown reason associated with the spot. So they were regarded as heroes, for they had a tomb.

It may be objected that the indisputable instances of hero cults perpetuated from the Mycenaean age down to Greek times are few. But in this case it is only fair to remember that the archaeological traces of the hero cult in the classical age are also few, except for the inscribed votive objects which are of course wanting in an earlier age. Without these and the testimony of literature our knowledge of Greek hero-cults would be extremely scanty. The evidence that a cult at a tomb lasted from Mycenaean to Greek times is sufficient to justify the old view of the hero cult. It originates in the cult of the dead, but the scheme of the hero cult was applied to

¹ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 207.

minor deities, daemons, and also to local and dispossessed gods, who were not found worthy to rank with the real gods.

The examples which were adduced all come from the mainland and Delos, none from Crete. This difference is perhaps not accidental. The hero cult originates in the cult of a dead man who made such an impression upon the people that his memory lasted for long among them and caused them to venerate him at his tomb¹. It is impossible to imagine a hero cult under the conditions presented by the common sepulture in *tholoi* or ossuaries of the Early Minoan age. The rising power of the Minoan kings lifted them above the common people, but their approach to a higher sphere was perhaps accomplished in another manner. They were priest-kings and as such are hardly likely to have been heroized after the fashion of the Greeks, and if our interpretation of the H. Triada sarcophagus is right, they were translated into the sphere of the gods, not into that of the heroes.

The fact has been noted² that the cult of the dead was more elaborate and sumptuous in Mycenaean Greece than in Minoan Crete; this is not without importance for the origin of the hero cult, if taken together with the social conditions which prevailed in Mycenaean Greece. Here mighty kings held sway from their strongholds over a subject population; they were great warriors and hunters, — indeed the recent discoveries in the tablets from Boghaz-keui reveal Greek warrior kings on an equal footing with the monarchs of the East. They built tombs for themselves which in stateliness surpass everything known from Crete, for although the royal tomb at Isopata is large and rich, it cannot be compared with the beehive tombs of the mainland. These kings show their intention to perpetuate their fame and power even after death, and it is a fair assumption that popular belief corresponded to this intention. They were mighty lords even.

¹ This is still reflected in the veneration of the founder of a colony as a hero, a custom of regular occurrence which is unduly neglected in comparison with cases where the circumstances of the death of a man made such an impression that there seemed to be something supernatural about him.

² Above, p. 516.

after death and may have been venerated by their people as such. Here we find the conditions under which men in other countries and among other peoples have become gods. The Greek man, who was venerated by the people after his death, became not a god but a hero, because the cult retained the form of the cult of the dead in contradistinction to the cult of the gods. Most cults at the Mycenaean tombs disappeared in the revolutions during the dark ages between the Mycenaean and the historical period, the age of the migrations and the collapse of civilization; many tombs were robbed of their contents and forgotten, but here and there the cult lingered on, even if the man who was once buried there was forgotten; and still more the idea of the hero cult persisted. If the hero cult originated at the tombs of the mighty Mycenaean lords whose memory survived the storms of the ages only in myth and whose real history and tombs were forgotten, and if the hero cult during an interval of change was in some measure severed from the tombs where it was originally performed, we understand better both the persistent belief of the Greeks that the heroes were dead men and the fact that the forms of the hero cult were applied to cults of another nature; and we also understand why the hero cult was absent among the Greek colonists on the coasts of Asia Minor who created the Homeric epos.

2. THE AFTER LIFE.

The hero cult originates in the belief that the dead man lives in his tomb and is accessible there by means of prayers and gifts and that he rises from it to help friends and to take vengeance on foes and wrongdoers. The gist of the hero cult is that the power of the living man is prolonged after his death and projected into the other life which is bound up with the tomb; hence he is more venerated and more distinguished in the cult than other dead men. In historical times, when monarchy did not exist in Greece, the power of the dead man was recognized in abnormal events connected with his death and was ultimately established by the Oracle, but the founders

of a colony also and the warriors who fell at Plataeae were honoured as heroes. The conception that the dead continue to live in their tombs with their accustomed occupations and desires is of a very primitive character, — probably, indeed, the oldest of all beliefs. When man begins to imagine this After Life in some detail, it is always copied from the real life on earth which is transferred to the other side; consequently the conception of the Other World arises as a common meeting place of the dead, separated from the world of man.

But then the ways diverge, according to the disposition and the point of view from which this life and the other life are regarded. Further, more different conceptions of the human soul come to the front with varying force and contribute in different manners towards fashioning and transforming the Other World. Some peoples have thus created another world which is an idealized image of this life; while other peoples have thought that this life was the only real life, and that as power and strength are taken from man by death, the other life is but a pale shadow of this life. They think of the souls as powerless shadows, and imagine the Underworld to be as dark and gloomy a dwelling place as the tomb-chamber. Such are the Sheol of the Semites and the Hades of the Greeks; both originate in the idea of a life in the tomb which was widened into the idea of a common Underworld.

The characteristic feature of the Greek Hades is its emptiness and nothingness; it is the land of the pale and powerless shadows. One might have supposed that the Other World would have been depicted otherwise, for according to the principle that man continues his accustomed life in the Other World many peoples have made distinctions in the Other World and attributed a blessed life to prominent men, princes or priests, and on the contrary annihilation or a sad and empty existence to common people; in the Greek Hades the king also appears as a king and the champion as a champion, but they are all alike in their shadowiness. The cult of the heroes would seem to lead to such a result, but it does not. This is certainly in some measure due to the influence of

Homer, who does not know their cult and depicts even the kings and champions as powerless shadows in Hades. But we must also take careful note that the hero cult was separated from the ideas of the Other World; it remained at an older stage of religious development, and the Greek heroes are in popular belief nothing but *revenants*.

This conception of the dark and gloomy Hades with its pale and fluttering shadows would not have made so powerful an impression upon the Greek imagination, had it not been the natural result of the innate Greek character. Although the strongest religious movements from Orphism to Syncretism and Christianity have preached quite dissimilar conceptions of the After Life, the Other World of Greek popular belief is to this day the old Hades. It is rare to find a religious idea of this order defying the changes of times and religions, and this seems to be a very strong argument for assuming that Hades is the original Greek conception of the After Life, although it may have been strengthened and developed through the influence of Homer. It originates in the same idea of the other life as the hero cult, although stress was laid on different sides of the complex of ideas included in the belief in a continued life in the tomb; here the power of the dead or the ghost feared and venerated by the living, there the emptiness and nothingness of death which awaited everyone as his inexorable fate.

The shadow-like Hades may confidently be taken as the Greek conception of the other life, and its picture was given its classical form by Homer. But quite another idea appears suddenly in a passage in Homer where Proteus prophesies to Menelaos that he will not die but that the gods will carry him away to the Elysian fields at the end of the Earth, where Rhadamanthys holds sway and life is most easy for men, and then this far-off country is pictured in glowing colours resembling those bestowed upon Olympus in another well-known passage¹. The reason of this bliss is not the

¹ *Odyssey*, IV, v. 561 seqq.

σοὶ δ' οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι, διοτρεφεὶς ὦ Μενέλαε,
 Ἄργει ἐν ἵπποβότῳ θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης

deeds and the righteousness of Menelaos but the fact that he is the son-in-law of Zeus. This idea of Elysium or the Islands of the Blest henceforth takes an important place in Greek literature. But later passages are of no importance here, since they are deduced from Homer or Hesiod and often transformed according to the religious ideas of a later age.

In this isolated passage quite another idea of the After Life suddenly appears, a blissful corporeal existence in a land of Cockayne situated at the borders of the world on the shores of Oceanus which surrounds the earth. This conception is so strong that it is explicitly said that Menelaos will not die but be transferred by the gods to this land, and hence it may be thought that Elysium is no land of After Life at all, although the Greeks of a later age and modern scholars take it to be so. And they are right, for the idea of the Blessed Land of After Life is older than that of the Land of Cockayne. Among sea-faring peoples and islanders it is a common belief, for which no examples are needed, that the dead voyage to a remote land beyond the seas where lies the Other World. When the Greeks began to navigate the Mediterranean this belief combined with the belief in the Underworld beneath the surface of the Earth; the earth, thought of as a flat disc surrounded by the Ocean, had of course an edge, and over this edge it was possible to enter the Nether World. This is a conception appearing in the tale of the visit of Odysseus to the Underworld.

The other aspect of this belief which differs from the belief in Hades is the full corporeal existence in this blessed life; with this is connected the fact that we have here the other type of the After Life in which, contrary to Greek ideas, the image of human life is idealized. Of this type the best known instance is the Happy Hunting Grounds of the Indians.

*ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὄθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθους,
τῇ περ ὀπίσθη βιοτῇ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν
οὐ νηφετός, οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ξεφύροιο λιγὴ πνειοντας ἀήτας
Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναρῦχειν ἀνθρώπους·
οὔνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καὶ σφιν γαμβρὸς Διὸς ἔσσι.*

Cf. the description of Olympus, *Odyssey*, VI, v. 42 seqq.

To enjoy such a life a full corporeal existence is necessary. It was very difficult, in fact impossible, for the Greeks to harmonize this type of the After Life with their accustomed ideas of death and the realm of death, an inhabitant of the Underworld being a pale shadow incapable of enjoying anything and the heroes being ghosts bound to their tombs and appearing on earth among men. Consequently the idea was taken rationalistically, as is often the case with Homeric poetry; the voyage to the Islands of the Blest was conceived not as a passage of the soul but as a voyage of the whole man, who travelled alive to this land of living men¹. Such bliss was not the lot of common man; it came to Menelaos because he was the son-in-law of Zeus. Greek mythology has some instances of men who gain immortality because of their relations to the gods, — I am not referring to Herakles who in the common myth is admitted into Olympus by virtue of his own merits, — but Tithonos is made immortal because he is the husband of the goddess Eos, and Kalypso promises immortality to Odysseus, if he is willing to stay and be her husband. In Homer the gods were so consistently anthropomorphized that they were nothing but stronger, more powerful, and immortal men. Hence it seemed only fair that a man who had the good fortune to be received into the family of the gods as the spouse of a goddess should attain to immortality also. But his human origin clung to him; the Greek mind was unable to introduce him into Olympus; hence in the case of Menelaos it seized upon the idea of Elysium and brought him thither in virtue of his relationship to Zeus. It is a kind of apotheosis.

It appears that the idea of Elysium and that of the Underworld are opposed to each another in the mind of the Homeric poet, but also that Elysium is originally a conception of the After Life, although so inconsistent with the nature of the Greek ideas, that both can hardly have originated in

¹ That living men are transported (*entrückt*) by the gods to another place is an important point in the reasoning of Rohde, *Psyche*, 5th ed., I, pp. 68, but he has laid undue stress upon the instances, and Malten, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 44, gives the reasons why the tale of Menelaos cannot be compared with the other instances adduced.

one and the same people. A simple way out of this difficulty is to suppose that of these two ideas that which is un-Greek is a heritage from the Minoan age; this can be proved as Professor Malten recognized in a valuable paper¹. The proof is the very short reference in the Homeric account of Menelaos' transference to Elysium given in these words: ὄθι ξανθὸς Ραδάμανθους. This extreme briefness of expression can only be due to the fact that Rhadamanthys was commonly known and recognized as intimately bound up with Elysium. The name, containing the element -νθ-, is of Minoan origin, and Rhadamanthys belongs to Crete not only as the brother of Minos, but his home is more especially Southern Central Crete with which he is connected in the genealogies². His local associations with Phaestus and places in its neighbourhood are of greater value than the tradition, appearing already in Homer, that he is a son of Zeus and Europa and brother of Minos which only expresses his Cretan origin³. So it is certain that Rhadamanthys and the Elysium associated with him are of Minoan origin⁴, and this conception of the After Life harmonizes well with the little that can be deduced from the Minoan monuments⁵.

¹ L. Malten, *Elysion und Rhadamanthys*, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVIII, 1912, pp. 35.

² The old genealogical poet Kinaithon of Sparta, quoted by Pausanias, VIII, 53, 5, has the genealogy Kres, Talos, Hephaistos, Rhadamanthys. Malten's emendation, Ἡφαιστός into Φαιστός, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVII, 1912, p. 264, is obviously right. *Schol. Eur. Rhes.*, v. 29, calls his parents Lykastos and Ide; Lykastos is a town on the southern foot-hills of Mt Ida.

³ *Iliad*, XIV, v. 321 seq.

⁴ The localization to Boeotia is secondary and due to the transference of the myth of his mother Europa to this country. I cannot find anything conclusive in the paper by Vürtheim, *Rhadamanthys, Ilithyia, Elysion, Mededeelingen d. K. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, LIX, Ser. A, No. 1.

⁵ Malten, *loc. cit.*, pp. 39, tries to corroborate his thesis by showing that the word Ἠλύσιον is also Minoan and connected with the place name Ἐλευσίς and the name of the goddess Εἰλειθυία, Eileithyia. The common etymology, which connects this name with the verbal stem ἐλνθ and takes it to signify "The Land of those who have gone", involves us in several difficulties of which Malten gives an account. Without putting forward any judgment on the very difficult etymological question I only wish to point out that Pro-

In the first place it is to be noted that the Minoans were a sea-faring people, so that the idea of an Other World situated beyond the sea would be natural to them; whereas the invading Greeks were not, until they learnt in Greece to navigate, in the 14th century B. C., at first as Vikings and then, after an interval of centuries during which the Phoenicians had command of the sea, as colonists and merchants. It must have taken some time for the sea to enter into their mythological ideas¹, and in the meantime they kept to a conception of the Underworld more natural to inlanders.

In the second place we have seen reasons to suppose that the Minoans adopted a different attitude towards the After Life from that of the Greeks. If our interpretation of the H. Triada sarcophagus is well founded, its paintings represent the divinization of man. Of course the apotheosis only applied to rulers, but even so it is wholly inconsistent with the Greek belief of Homeric and classical times, and even with the cult of heroes, for the heroes are not gods; it harmonizes better with the conception of the Other World as a Land of Bliss. One detail of the offertory procession may be better understood in the light of our assumption that the Minoans believed in a voyage of the deceased over the sea to a distant land, — the barque carried by the foremost youth.

It is necessary to dwell upon this subject, and in this connexion to discuss the Greek myths of the Islands of the Blest and the Gardens of the Hesperides, their identity with Elysium, and their foreign comexions. The only explanation of the presence of a barque in the offertory procession is that of Dr Paribeni, who quotes Egyptian customs. This comparison was adopted above, when the Egyptian procession of

fessor Wackernagel is of the opinion that there are no valid reasons for connecting *Ἡλύσιον* and *Εἰλείθυια*, or *Ἐλευθία*, see above, p. 450. The assumption of Malten, *loc. cit.*, pp. 42, that Rhadamanthys was a *paredros* of Eileithyia in the cave of Amnisos seems to me nothing less than extravagant. The chief point, the Minoan origin of Eileithyia and Rhadamanthys, is proved in any case and there is no need for hazardous accessory hypotheses.

¹ Poseidon may be a native Greek god, but in that case he was a god of the water, the streams, and the springs, and only later became the god of the sea.

the divine barque was referred to ¹. But Egyptian belief furnishes so close a parallel to the idea of Elysium that, since this conception was derived from the Minoans who took over so much from Egypt, we must seriously consider whether we may not find the origin of Elysium in Egypt, instead of referring it to the wide-spread belief that the Land of the Deceased is situated beyond the Sea.

In Egypt it was an old custom to provide the dead with ships and boats. An American expedition, for instance, recently dug out pits near the pyramids of Gizeh in which wooden ships of a deceased king and his queen were buried ², and near the pyramid of Sesostris III at Dahshur real ships were found in the sand; common mortals had of course to be content with terracotta models of ships. Sometimes the mummy is seen lying on a ship surrounded by lamenting women and accompanied by a priest. This is evidently a representation of the funeral procession on the Nile ³. But originally the purpose of the ship was different, namely, to carry the dead over the waters which surrounded the Land of the Blest ⁴. For already in the Old Empire according to the inscriptions in the pyramids the Egyptians imagined that the Blest dwelt on some islands encircled by water, although this idea, as was often the case, was fused with solar and celestial conceptions. These islands were provided with an abundant supply of food; one of them is called 'the Field of Food'; better known is the field Earu, an idealized image of the Nile country. This concern with food is expressed also in the conception of the great sycamore in which the gods are seated, the tree of Life in the east of the Heavens, the fruits of which are the nourishment of the gods and the Blest, or the two sycamores on the further side of the sky which the king seizes when they ferry him over and set him down in the east ⁵. It is difficult to pass

¹ See above, pp. 378.

² *Ill. London News*, March 3rd, 1925.

³ A. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, 2nd ed., pp. 146.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 131.

⁵ Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 104. A tree is often pictured at the side of the tomb of Osiris, sometimes

over the waters encircling the Islands of the Blest. Hence they sometimes pray to the divine birds, the falcon of Horus or the ibis of Thoth, to carry them over, but usually they trust in a ferryman called 'Face-behind', who brings both the gods and the deceased to these islands¹.

We see that according to Egyptian ideas both the gods and the blessed dwelt upon these far-off islands and the voyage thither is in fact an apotheosis; for the deceased is regarded as a god himself and in later times was constantly called Osiris. This agrees exactly with our interpretation of the scenes on the H. Triada sarcophagus as a divinization of the deceased and of the boat offered to him as destined for his voyage to the Other Land. The similarity of these Egyptian Islands of the Blest and Elysium is so striking that it hardly appears too bold to suppose that the Minoans borrowed the idea from Egypt just as they took over other Egyptian elements, which are especially conspicuous in the cult of the dead, if our interpretation of the H. Triada sarcophagus is well founded. Of course they were helped by their own experiences of the sea and sea voyages, and perhaps from the beginning they had kindred ideas of their own. This probability seems to be confirmed if the forms of Elysium in post-Homeric myth are taken into account.

In Hesiod the name of this far-off country is the Islands of the Blest (*μακάρων νῆσοι*)², and this name henceforth rivals

arms issue from it holding food. Paribeni, *Mon. ant.*, XIX, pp. 20, compares this tree with the tree at the side of the so-called tomb on the paintings on the H. Triada sarcophagus.

¹ Erman, *loc. cit.*, p. 107. In this complicated question I prefer to quote the sober treatment of Erman who presents the facts impartially. Cf. also the interesting exposition of Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 104. A very interesting suggestion is made by W. Brede Kristensen, *Livet fra Doden*, Oslo, 1925, pp. 78, that the tomb sometimes, e. g. those of some kings of the Middle Empire and especially that of Osiris in his very old temple at Abydos, was on a kind of artificial island surrounded by water.

² Hesiod, *Opera*, v. 167 seqq.

τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοντος καὶ ἦθε' ὀπάσσει
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατήρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης
 [τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει]
 καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκήδεα θυμὸν ἔχοντες

that of Elysium. These islands are situated far off in the deep-streaming Ocean and separated from humanity, and Zeus lets the heroes of the fourth age live there in bliss. The circle of their inhabitants is enlarged to comprise all the heroes of the mythical age, and whereas Homer is content to say that life here is most easy and describes the climate in the same terms in which he describes Olympus, Hesiod dwells, like the the Egyptians, on the abundant supply of food; the earth gives her fruits thrice a year, he says.

Another version, in which the same myth appears, is that of the Gardens of the Hesperides with the Tree of Life from which Herakles plucked the wonderful apples that renew the youth of man. There is strong internal probability that this myth goes back to Mycenaean times, and is therefore ultimately derived from the Minoans. It is generally recognized that Herakles' journey to the Gardens of the Hesperides was once thought of as the last of his exploits; having succeeded in gathering the apples of Life he entered the Land of Bliss and Immortality, but by his own virtues, not by the grace of the gods, as Menelaos did. Now I take it for granted that the formation of the great mythical cycles, and among them that of the labours of Herakles, goes back to Mycenaean times. The journey to the Gardens of the Hesperides is the original end of the labours, the number of which was at first undetermined, and this end corresponds to Minoan-Mycenaean ideas. The Greeks, who could only imagine the Other World as the realm of Hades, must have felt this end unsatisfactory, unless Hades himself were conquered, and added the story of the fetching of Kerberos. The self-cremation of Herakles on Mt Oeta is a still later addition which was not received into the canonical cycle of the twelve labours ¹.

It is generally recognized that the Gardens of the Hesper-

ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίην,
ὄλβιοι ἦρωες, τοῖσιν μελιτῆα καρπὸν
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

V. 169 is an interpolation wanting in most manuscripts.

¹ See my paper *Der Flammentod des Herakles auf dem Oite*, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XXI, 1922, pp. 310.

ides are only another version of Elysium; both are proved to be derived from the Minoan Land of the Blest, but in this myth a new detail appears, the Tree of Life. The fable of a remote place of Bliss with a Tree of Life or a wonderful garden is, however, wide-spread. We have found it in Egypt associated with the Islands of the Gods and the Blest with their abundant supply of food and the wonderful sycamore, with the fruits of which both the gods and the Blest are nourished. We find it in the Hebrew myth of the Garden of Eden with the two trees, that of Life and that of Knowledge¹, and in the Persian myth of the Garden of Yima where the germs of life are preserved. The pedigree may perhaps be traced back to that land beyond the sea where Gilgamesh sought for the herb which would restore his friend Eabani to life. We recognize a very old and very wide-spread fable of the Tree of Life, growing in some remote and secluded place beyond the sea or the mountains.

In spite to this there seems to be a characteristic similarity in details between the Greek and the Egyptian myth which speaks for a closer connexion between them. The first point is that the Tree of Life is thought of by these two peoples as growing in a country beyond the sea, whereas this is not the case in the Hebrew and the Persian myth².

The Greek Land of the Blest and its varying features are derived from the Minoan age and agree so closely with Egyptian conceptions that it seems probable that an intimate connexion may be supposed with Egyptian belief in this case.

¹ Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, I, pp. 46.

² It may be objected that even Gilgamesh goes beyond the sea to find the herb of life, but this herb of life is of another order, a magical means to restore the dead to life. There is also a Garden of the Gods in this myth, but this is not beyond the sea. The myth does not therefore agree closely with the Greek myth. It is very complicated and the main features are as follows: On his way to his ancestor Ut-napishtim, who had died long ago and had been transported to a far-away land, Gilgamesh came to the Gardens of the Gods on the shore of the sea, and from there he travelled over the sea and the Water of Death to Ut-napishtim, and with his help he dived into the sea to find the herb of life at the bottom of the sea. It was snatched from him by a serpent and he was obliged to return by land.

To return to the H. Triada sarcophagus the presence of the barque will be much more significant, if it is destined to serve the divinized man in his voyage to the Islands of the Blest where he is to dwell together with the gods. This seems, however, to be incompatible with our interpretation of the scenes on the small sides, the representations of which were taken to be the cortège of the new god who enters the Divine Sphere in a chariot. This is another conception of the supreme voyage contrary to the one mentioned. It must, however, be comparatively late, for the horse appears in the Minoan world only with the Late Minoan age, and it was remarked above that the chariot acquired this function by being a stately and princely vehicle. Consequently this is not an old Minoan idea but a later accretion, and inconsistent at that with the conception of the sea-voyage to the Islands of the Blest. But such inconsistencies are very common in myths and especially in the ideas of the Other World. So the barque of the H. Triada sarcophagus may receive a fuller meaning in the light of the belief preserved in the Homeric lines, but I need hardly warn the student that this association is only conjectural. I should consider the evidence stronger if boats or models of ships were known to have been found in Minoan tombs.

Quite recently a most amazing find was published, which is thought to give us a glimpse into the Minoan After Life, and, in fact, in the light of the highly suggestive interpretation of Sir Arthur Evans, allows us not only a glimpse but also the recognition of certain details¹. To begin with it may be stated that the picture of the After Life thought to be represented by the ring referred to is on the whole consistent with the general conception of the Minoan After Life reached by the above analysis of the other meagre sources of our knowledge.

This gold signet ring, which is said to come from one of the beehive tombs at Kakovatos-Pylos, differs most markedly from other Mycenaean rings. It shows a great number of extremely small figures in almost microscopical detail arranged in four fields. The fields are separated by broad

¹ Evans, *The Ring of Nestor*, *JHS*, XLV, 1925, pp. 43.

bands somewhat resembling the bars of a coat of arms in that they are of irregular shape. The horizontal ones are the narrower; they spring from a broader vertical stem which rises from a very broad and flat irregular base, and here there is an undefined animal, perhaps most resembling a dog. Sir A. Evans is evidently right in assuming that this is a schematic representation of an old tree with a gnarled and twisted trunk and branches rising from the ground, and he justly rejects the other alternative view that it may represent the streams of the Underworld or the rivers of Paradise. But the comparison with the Scandinavian myth of the Tree of the World, Yggdrasil, the root of which is gnawed by the dragon Nidhög, is almost too close. Yggdrasil is not the tree of the Underworld but that of the entire world; its branches cover the whole world of the living and its top shoots up into the heavens and the gods hold their assembly beneath it. It has three roots, of which one belongs to the gods, the second to the giants, and only the third to Hell (Nifheim). Two different conceptions must be distinguished; on the one hand that of a tree embracing the whole world of which the Underworld is only a part, on the other that of the Tree of Life which was discussed above and may perhaps be called a tree of Elysium. The World-tree is absent in Greek myth, and even if it appears in an Arabian fable of the eighth century A. D. or earlier, quoted by Sir A. Evans, it would be an hazardous assumption to pretend that even a simpler form of such a myth could survive in secret and reappear after two thousand years. Although the two conceptions are kindred to a certain extent, there is a nice distinction between them; only the Tree of Life appears in Greek mythology. Therefore it would be more convincing when explaining the tree on the ring to refer to the Greek myth of the Gardens of the Hesperides in which the Tree of Life grew¹. In this myth also a parallel may be

¹ The World-tree is not unknown in the lore of primitive peoples. Sometimes it grows upside down with its roots in the heavens; see e. g. an account of the Dyaks of Borneo, S. St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East, or Travels in Northern Borneo*, 2nd ed., 1863, I, pp. 213. Generally speaking, the topic is very large and has been much treated, and it is im-

found to the animal at the root of the tree which Sir A. Evans compares with Nidhögg and calls a Minoan forerunner of Kerberos; namely, the serpent Ladon, which Herakles killed before he was able to pluck the apples.

But even this comparison is by no means to be taken as certain. Sir A. Evans has noted the similarity between the design on the ring and the Minoan wall paintings of the Miniature style, and this similarity is so great that when we look at the translation of the design on the ring into the Miniature fresco style which Sir A. Evans added by a happy thought, we feel immediately that this is the true source of this type of design. There are specimens of wall paintings divided into fields by broad bands, and perhaps the tree has no symbolical meaning whatever, but is only a conventionalized form of these bands, in which they have been made to resemble the trunk and the branches of a tree. The decision must be given by an interpretation of the figures.

The two upper fields have separate scenes, the two lower one continuous scene. The interpretation of Sir Arthur Evans starts from the upper left-hand field¹, which shows four persons, two ladies seated on the ground apparently engaged in animated conversation and a youthful standing couple of which the woman seems to be energetically gesticulating. Above the head of one of the seated ladies two insects appear, and a little further upwards to the right two other curious figures or objects. In reality these four small figures are the pivot of Sir Arthur's interpretation. He takes the insects as butterflies and the two small figures as chrysalises, and finds in them the well-known symbolism of the happy After Life into which the soul enters after leaving the prison of the body. He takes the seated ladies to be the Great Minoan Goddess with an attendant, and the young man and woman

possible to enter into details. I refer only to a recent and clever book by a Finnish scholar, U. Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens, Annales Acad. Scient. Fenn.*, B, XVI: 3, 1922, especially valuable because of the abundant material collected from Finno-Ugrian peoples.

¹ In the drawings, *loc. cit.*, p. 65, fig. 55, and the photo, p. 49, fig. 44; in the collotype plate, pl. IV, inversely the upper right-hand field.

to be a couple parted by death and reunited by the life-giving power of the Goddess. The decisive questions are whether this symbolism can be supposed to belong also to the Minoan age, and whether the figures in question really are butterflies and chrysalises.

For this view Sir Arthur adduces the authority of an expert entomologist. I have also consulted an entomologist, the keeper of the Entomological Museum of the University of Lund, Dr S. Bengtsson. He answered without hesitation that the insects certainly resemble butterflies, but because that to the right, immediately above the head of the woman, has an intermediate part, resembling a small orb, between its head and the back part of its body, it cannot be a butterfly, but must be a hymenopter. Concerning the two other figures he stated with equal conviction that they are not chrysalises, and referred for this opinion to the tags on their left and the concentric circles, of which parts are visible on the main parts of the figures; he therefore concluded that they were more likely to be a kind of shell¹. Entomological authorities differ and the objection that one of the insects has a form of body peculiar to a hymenopter is not easily overcome. If the artist meant to symbolize the resurrection of man to new life by means of butterflies, it is curious that he should have depicted one of them in such a manner that it certainly cannot be a butterfly.

The butterfly is not rare in Minoan art, and there are also figures which Sir A. Evans rightly takes to be chrysalises. He has carefully collected all the examples; the best known are the gold-leaves from the shaft graves of Mycenae, and a bronze axe from Phaestus which shows a beautiful butterfly, while butterfly wings enter into the fantastic composite monsters of the Zakro seal impressions. Some gold pendants from Mycenae are taken to be chrysalises; and a more striking resemblance to a chrysalis is shown by the newly published object

¹ As regards these circles seen in the drawing, p. 52, fig. 45, which is enlarged ten diameters, it is fair to observe that they may perhaps have been overemphasized in the drawing, and may be due to the action of a revolving tool, and would consequently be of no account for the interpretation.

from a tomb in the Kalkani necropolis¹. But as far as I am aware there is no decisive proof of a symbolic value of the butterfly in any of these instances, neither in the monsters of the Zakro seals, nor in the butterfly shown on the bronze axe from Phaestus, which is solid and not made of sheet-bronze as votive double axes usually are, nor in the fact that gold-leaves decorated with butterflies are used as scales in the well-known models of a balance from shaft grave III at Mycenae. I fear that it is too far-fetched to adduce the Homeric *ψυχοστασία* in interpreting these balances. They may simply be models of implements from daily life deposited in the grave; according to the ingenious interpretation of Svoronos they were used to weigh gold which served as currency². The symbolism of the butterfly originates in an old belief that the soul may appear in the shape of a flying animal, a bird, or an insect³; but the more complicated form, in which the resurrection of man is symbolized by the chrysalis, is of late date and associated with the syncretistic religions in which the hope of a happy After Life was very prominent. I am bound to confess that it would be most astonishing to find this symbolism as early as the Minoan age.

If this scene with the two ladies engaged in animated conversation and the youthful couple is taken by itself, it would perhaps be difficult to refute the view that it represents nothing but a perfectly ordinary garden party assembled beneath a secular tree and molested by insects; but the other scenes have clearly religious associations. The right-hand upper field shows a representation of quite another order and no less peculiar. A huge couchant lion with its head turned backwards reposes on a kind of table with three low feet. Before this are two small kneeling female figures,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 55, fig. 47.

² See *Journal d'archéol. numism.*, IX, 1906, p. 188.

³ The oldest instance of the butterfly in this connexion seems to be a black-figured vase of the sixth century B. C. in Berlin, mentioned by G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, p. 2, n. 4. The subject has recently been treated by several writers: O. Waser, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XVI, 1913, pp. 382; O. Immisch, *Sprachliches zum Seelenschmetterling*, *Glotta*, VI, 1915, pp. 193; H. Güntert, *Kalypso*, pp. 215.

one stretching her arms upwards, the other seemingly beating the earth, but both apparently seized by abject terror. This type of table is known from the sacrificial scene on the H. Triada sarcophagus and a series of gems¹, and its purpose is always the same: it is the slaughtering table on which the sacrificed animal is laid to be cut up². I cannot help feeling that the artist has misunderstood this slaughtering table and made it into a base for the Divine Animal. For such is the lion apparently meant to be. Here is another feature, — animal worship, — and this recurs in the scene which occupies the two lower fields.

To the right there is a winged griffin seated on a stool; behind it is a woman in the common Minoan dress, recalling the attitude of a dancing woman or goddess who appears on some rings already discussed³. Before the griffin two griffin-headed women are standing adoring it with their hands raised⁴. A third griffin-headed woman turns her back on them and moves rapidly towards the left. On the other side of the trunk of the tree a youth advances rapidly and gaily, grasping a woman by the forearm; this young woman places her arm round the waist of another griffin-headed woman, who raises her arms; on the extreme left stands another youth. Sir Arthur describes the scene as 'the Griffin's court' and notes the relation of the Minoan Goddess to the griffin. He takes it to be a ceremony of initiation, in which the young couple whose reuniting was depicted in the upper left-hand field is introduced into the court of the Divinity reigning in the halls of the Blessed, and he thinks that in all probability the goddess is to be recognized in the female figure behind the enthroned griffin.

¹ They were enumerated above, pp. 195.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 66, may be right that the gem from Mycenae quoted above, p. 195, n. 4, shows the dissection of the entrails by some kind of *haruspex*; for if this kind of divination existed in Minoan times, it was of course performed through cutting up the sacrificial animal.

³ Above, pp. 239.

⁴ Their attitude is curious; they seem rather to be pointing towards the griffin with their hands clenched than to be holding their hands as worshippers do with the palms turned towards the object of their worship.

The *prima facie* impression is that of a cult of the Griffin, for even if the long-robed female figure behind it — the other female figures wear the short skirts of the early period of Late Minoan I — may be a goddess, the worship is addressed to the griffin, which is evidently a form of the epiphany of the goddess. This is corroborated by the griffin-headed female figures. Animal-headed daemons and monsters abound in Minoan art, but we have seen that most of them are fantastic combinations, and that the types which really possess religious significance are limited to a very small number¹. Here a new type appears, the griffin-headed woman, in the attendants of the Griffin. This can be taken as a fresh example of the process described above²: among a host of daemons one is singled out in the cult and the others become his attendants; only in this case the god retains his animal form, while the attendants are half human. The next parallel is actually a Greek one: the female figures clad in long robes with heads of different animals, making music and moving rapidly, — probably dancing, — which decorate the robe of Despoina at Lykosoura, a goddess to whom theriomorphism is not foreign³.

Animal worship of this kind is hitherto unknown in the Minoan world, for although both lions and griffins occur very often in scenes of religious significance, they never occupy a central position, but perform a much humbler service as servants and guardians of the deities and the holy places and objects⁴. Only daemons of the type which can be called especially Minoan sometimes take the place of a deity⁵, but animals never do so. Traces of zoolatry are not absent in Greek religion and have been keenly discussed; as regards the Minoan-Mycenaean religion there is no evidence available except this ring⁶. Next it must be observed that whereas Greek

¹ Above, pp. 317.

² Above, p. 328.

³ Cf. my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 346; there are also similar terracottas.

⁴ Above, pp. 317.

⁵ See above, pp. 325.

⁶ Concerning Minotaur cf. above, pp. 321.

animal worship concerns real living animals, it is here devoted to fabulous animals. For the lion no less than the griffin was both for Minoans and Greeks a fabulous animal which they knew only through artistic representations¹. It seems difficult to imagine how this fabulous animal and this monster, which were known only through art, were raised from being servants and guardians of the gods to such a position that a cult was devoted to them and that they were at least thought of as a form of the epiphany of the deity.

To return to the initial question, it must be asked whether any internal evidence connects these scenes with the After Life. From other quarters no arguments can be deduced that either the lion or the griffin has any relations with the Other World, or that the scene in the lower fields is distinctly referable to Elysium. In fact the interpretation depends on the opinion held with regard to the so-called butterflies, and if these are taken to be common terrestrial insects, all four fields may merely represent some cult scenes performed in an open-air sanctuary beneath the shadow of an aged tree, just as e. g. the cult scene on the gold ring from Isopata² is performed in a flower-decked meadow. I am bound to conclude by expressing my opinion that as the whole matter is so uncertain new discoveries alone can help us to see daylight.

Even if for the time being we take into account only the evidence first adduced for Elysium, which through the name of Rhadamanthys is bound up with Minoan religion, we are still able to catch a glimpse of the Minoan conceptions of the Other World and their very marked difference from the Greek notion of Hades. The Greeks derived their ideas of Elysium from the passages in Homer and Hesiod, and a later age varied these ideas under two main influences. Either in accordance with the common Greek conception of the dwelling places of the dead Elysium was thought of as situated beneath the surface of the earth, and was made a part of the Underworld,

¹ This is very justly remarked by Sir A. Evans; cf. above, p. 332; *loc. cit.*, p. 66, he assumes with probability that the Minoans derived their knowledge of it from Egypt.

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 58, fig. 51; cf. above, p. 240.

though a Land of the Blest, or else it was combined with other fabulous lands at the extremities of the world, where the righteous and pious lived in a closer communion with the gods than other men, such as the Hyperboreans, the Ethiopians, etc.¹ In a remarkable passage in Pindar Elysium is, however, combined with Orphic doctrines²; the pious are said to travel by the highway of Zeus to the Tower of Kronos where the Ocean airs breathe about the Islands of the Blest.

The divergent fates of the pious and the unjust in the After Life was a most important point in the Orphic doctrine; already Polygnotus had painted such scenes in his great work at Delphi. The Orphics used old popular ideas to picture the bliss and the penalties which awaited the one and the other³. I pointed out that the stock expression as regards the lot of the uninitiated, that they lie in the mire (*ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσθαι*), is taken from the idea that those who had not been purified and initiated lived in their uncleanness and continued to do so in the other world, and that this was regarded as a penalty⁴. Another penalty of the uninitiated mentioned by Plato, that of having to carry water in a sieve, is of a kindred character and taken from a well-known myth. As regards the bliss of the pious our oldest source of information next to Pindar, Plato⁵, describes it in one passage as a banquet of the Blessed, an idea which had already been paraphrased by him as an eternal intoxication and which always presents itself to simpler minds; it is the gist of the funeral reliefs called *Totenmahle* and recurs in Christianity in the catacomb paintings. In another passage he says that whosoever comes purified to Hades will dwell with the gods, and this comes nearer to the Pindaric description, although the expression is somewhat general and ambiguous.

By these brief references to a vast and much discussed subject I wish only to point out that the conceptions of Ely-

¹ Cf. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, pp. 19.

² Pindar, *Olymp.*, II, v. 67 et seqq.

³ Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, pp. 63.

⁴ In my *History of Greek Religion*, p. 218.

⁵ Plato, *De rep.*, p. 363 C and *Phaedo*, p. 69 C.

sium, as well as other conceptions related to the Other Life, were seized upon by the Orphics in order to depict that form of After Life which was so fundamental a part of their doctrine. This leads up to the question whether this contrast of a bright and a dark After Life was a wholesale creation of the Orphics, or whether it was derived, in some measure at least, from old beliefs. It has been assumed that the belief in a happy After Life connected with the Eleusinian mysteries is due to Orphic influence. This is hardly probable¹. The blessed life of the initiated in the Other World is pictured according to popular ideas as a continuation of their life on Earth, — that is, as a repetition of the mystery rites. If we remember that the Eleusinian mysteries are of Mycenaean origin, there is a certain probability for the view that the prominent place taken in these mysteries by the belief in a blessed After Life is due to a survival of Minoan influence, inasmuch as this belief, though contrary to Greek ideas, was retained, while the picture of the After Life was re-fashioned in accordance with the mystery rites. The *mystai* of Eleusis did not proceed to picture the lot of the uninitiated also; this the Orphics did because they were sectarians and felt themselves opposed to the unbelievers and the uninitiated. Then they seized upon the contrast in popular myth of the dark and gloomy Hades with the Minoan belief in a bright land of After Life, the two having coalesced as the two peoples were fused into one. In popular myth Elysium and Hades were not brought into relation with one another nor associated with moral notions. That both were found side by side was one of those inconsistencies which popular beliefs admit in such matters without caring how they agree. They implied a difference in man's fate in the Other World; this was taken by the Orphics as a contrast in one and the same After Life of man, and was remodelled in accordance with their aims and ideas, creating a different fate for man in the Other World corresponding to their notions of virtue and sin.

The question raised here is one of those which can

¹ See my *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 210.

never be answered with certainty, but in my opinion there is a probability that the contrast of Elysium with Hades created the contrast of an After Life of bliss with another of penalties, when it was remodelled in accordance with moral notions in order to satisfy the craving for that justice which was not administered during the earthly life. If this view is well founded, Minoan religion has transmitted another heritage of far-reaching consequence to Greek religion. What a hold it took upon men's minds is shown by the descriptions of the Other World in Aristophanes and Virgil, the remarks of Democritus¹, and the vehement philippics of Lucretius, not to speak of the syncretistic religions. In the previous chapter we discussed some ideas in the mystic religion of the Greeks and we saw reasons to assume that they were ultimately of Minoan origin. The belief in a happy After Life is also connected with the mysteries, the Eleusinian, the Bacchic, and the Orphic cults, and propagated by them. We do not know the old history of these cults, except a little concerning that of Eleusis; but the connexion between these beliefs of Minoan origin and the mysteries would seem to suggest that the religion of the old inhabitants of Greece, who were subdued by the invading Greeks, survived in a certain measure in secret cults not accessible to all, that is, in mysteries. From a general point of view it is natural that a religion, like that of the Minoans, so well calculated to make a strong impression on the mind, should continue to survive in conventicles of the faithful when the ruling people neither understood its deepest meaning and value nor cared for it. But a time was to come when the ruled and the ruling races were fused and a longing for a religion of a more emotional and mystical character spread widely among the people. Then the old religion came to the fore again.

Some of the deepest and richest sources of Greek religion spring from the remote past, when monarchs of the kin of Minos held sway over the Greek islands and the sea, and

¹ Democritus, frg. 297 in Diels, *Fragm. d. Vorsokratiker*, from Stobaeus IV, 120, 20.

Minoan civilization penetrated Greece. Many scholars believe that the two great antitheses in the Greek religion are the Olympians, the religion of the Homeric knights, and the chthonic deities, the religion of the peasants. I think that the antitheses are of a racial character; they are Homer and Minos, each taken as a representative of his race, the Greek and the pre-Greek elements in the historical Greek religion, which was formed by a fusion of both, just as the historical Greek people was formed by a fusion of Greeks and Minoans.

INDEX.

The objects are indexed according to the places where they were found, and only where these are unknown, according to the museums in which they are preserved. Gems, rings, seal impressions, and Greek vases are collected under their respective headings. To facilitate identification I have added references to illustrations. The following abbreviations are used:

AG, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*.

BSA, *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

EA, *Ephemeris archaeologike*.

JHS, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

PM, Evans, *Palace of Minos, I*.

RN, Evans, '*The Ring of Nestor*' etc.

TPC, Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*.

Fig. with a number and without any such reference being added refers to the figures of the present book.

-
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Achaea, 31</p> <p>Achaean attacks on Egypt, 39
 dialects, 28, 29 seq.
 immigration, 32, 34</p> <p>Achchivaja, 35 seq.</p> <p>Adler, F., 217</p> <p>Adonis, 346</p> <p>Aegina, gold pendant, 312, 315 seq.</p> <p>Aeolian dialects, 28, 29</p> <p>After life, 380, 539 seq.</p> <p>Agamemnon, tomb of, 529</p> <p>Agathos Daimon, 283</p> <p>Aglauros, 490 seq.</p> <p>Agraulides, 427</p> <p>Ahura Mazda, 23</p> <p>Aias Telamonios, 349</p> <p>Akakallis, 467 seq.</p> <p>Alexander of Pherae, 193, 350</p> <p>Altar: altar bases, 98 seq.</p> | <p>(Altar), round, 101 seq.
 on gem from Mycenae, 221
 on Cretan coins, 222
 at Tiryns, 406 seq.
 on tombs, 273</p> <p>Aly, W., 393</p> <p>Amalthea, 466</p> <p>Amarna letters, 38</p> <p>Amber, 17 seq., 401</p> <p>Annisos, <i>see</i> Cave of
 ἀμφιφών, 389</p> <p>Amphoras, symbol of the Dioscuri,
 470</p> <p>Amyklai, 403, 485</p> <p>Ἄνακτες παῖδες, 469</p> <p>Anchiale, 394</p> <p>Ancilia, 350 and n. 4, 352</p> <p>Andreus, 36</p> <p>Androgynism, 345</p> |
|--|--|

- Animal figurines, 64, 249, 263, 264,
 289, 403, 411
 Animal worship, 325, 555 seq.
 Animals, fabulous (*see also* Griffin,
 Sphinx), 327
Ankh, 178, 336
 Antaravas, 36
 Anthropogony, Orphic, 509
 Anthropomorphism, 295
 Antithetic group, 214 seq., 218, 244,
 308 seq., 317
 origin, 329 seq.
 Anubis, 369
 Apes, 319 seq.
 Aphaia, 441 and n. 3
 temple of, idols found at, 262, 263
 — Mycenaean remains, 404
 Aphrodite, 290, 292, 293, 337 n. 1,
 341, 346, 452 n. 2
 Hagne, 452 n. 2
 Apollo, 4, 317, 402, 403, 421, 432, 443
 seq., 461, 467, 485 seq., 511
 Agyieus, 217
 origin from Asia Minor, 443 n. 1
 Hyakinthios, 486
 at Delphi, 401 seq., 505
 Aqaiwasha, 38 seq.
 Arcadian dialect, 29 seq., 32
 Ares, 428
 Argos, *see* Deiras
 Arkalokhori, *see* Cave of
 Ariadne, 3, 451 seq.
 Aphrodite, 454
 Art, Mycenaean, 22, 413
 Artemis, 69, 293, 337 n. 1, 432 seq.,
 445, 452, 474, 481
 etymology, 438
 ἀροστέρα, 433
 ἀπαρχομένη, 458
 Caryatis, 434
 Eileithyia, 433, 446
 Ἰακωνδοτρόφος, 486 seq.
 κελαδεινή, 433
 Kourotrophos, 433, 446
 Laphria, 399
 (Artemis) Lochia, 446
 Lyaia, 434
 Lygodesma, 434
 Limnatis, 433
 Orthia, 433
 'Persian', 435
 Phakelitis, 434
 Arvi, 18, 165
 libation table, 106
 Aryans, migrations of, 22 n. 1
 Asheras, 210
 Asia Minor, invasion from, 40 n. 1
 Mycenaean finds in, 27, 34
 connexions with, 188, 332, 336, 346,
 498 seq.
 Asine, 412
 sanctuary, xx seq.
 tomb I, 18, 523
 tomb III, V, 517
 traces of fire, 523
 Ass daemons, 324 seq.
 Athena, 293, 337 n. 1, 338, 402, 415,
 417 seq., 488 seq., 490, 491
 Aithyia, 422
 Alea, 404
 and birds, 421 seq.
 Ergane, 425 n. 1
 etymology, 419
 Kraanaia, 405
 protectress of men, 430
 — of towns, 430 seq.
 sacrifice to, on vases, 422, 427
 statue in the Parthenon, 426
 and the snake, 426 seq.
 temple at Athens, 405 seq.
 — at Mycenae, 405
 winged, 425 seq.
 Athens, Erechtheum, 406, 491
 etymology, 420
 temple of Athena, 405 seq., 417
 seq., 491
 Pandroseion with the holy olive
 tree, 428
 Attarisijas, 37
 Attis, 346, 459, 496

- Attitudes of figurines, 253 seq.
 Attributes of gods, 208
 Axe, sacrificial, 192
 Axos, figurine, 260
- Babylonia**, relations with, 8, 321, 329, 363
 Babylonian seal cylinders, 321, 329 seq., 330 n. 3
 Bacchants, 499
 of the Couretes, 507
 Bacchos, 497 seq.
 Lydian origin of name, 499, 500 n. 1
 Baetyls, 221, 234
 Bases of double axes, 7, 183, 416
 representations, 182 seq.
Βασιλεύς, 415 n. 1
 Basins, 204, 205, 212
 Basket, mistaken for horns of consecration, 158 seq.
 'Bath-rooms', 83 seq.
 Bees, 471 seq.
 Belger, C., 528 seq.
 Beloch, K. J., 393
 Bell-shaped idols, *see* Idols
 Bethe, E., 443 n. 1, 444 n. 3, 509 n. 2
 Bird figurines, 253, 270, 288 seq.
 — Cycladic, 290
 — neolithic, 290
 human-headed, 422
 perching on boughs, 286
 — on columns, 286
 — on double axes, 369 seq.
 — on idols, 266, 287, 288 n. 6
 — on shrines, 286
 rhyta, 288
 signs, 289 seq.
 soul bird, 374
- 'Bird's nest bowls', 108 seq., 121.
 Birds on Aegina gold pendant, 315 seq.
 attached to female figurines, 287
 epiphany of gods, 192, 285 seq., 293 seq., 340, 437, 480 seq.
 — in Homer, 421 seq.
- (Birds) identity of, 291 seq.
 as messengers, 347
 and Mistress of Animals, 309 seq., 340
 Bitch, 468 seq.
 Blegen, C. W., 407
 Blinkenberg, C., 241 n. 1, 299, 338, 341 n. 3, 350, 352, 418 n. 4, 429
 'Blossom bowls', 109
 Boar's tusk helmet, 19 seq., 35 n. 1
 Boeotian dialect, 30, 32
 Boethius, A., 12 n. 1, 184, 523
 Boghaz-keui tablets, 35
 Boios, 471 n. 4, 472
 Bonfires, 399, 474 and n. 2
 Bosanquet, R., 114
 Bothros, 391
 Boughs, 225 seq., 234 seq., 342, 433 seq.
 Bouphonia, 194 n. 1, 372
 Bow, 306 seq., 314 and n. 2
 Bow (or snake) implement, 310 seq.
 Boyd Hawes, H., 185
 Branches, *see* Boughs
 Britomartis, 438 seq., 440 seq.
 Brizo, 158 n. 3
 Bucchero, 40 n. 2, 56, 58
 Buck, C. D., 40 n. 2
 Bucranium, *see* Skulls
 Bull cult, 322
 fighting, 322
 Bulls buried, 155 and n. 4
 Bull's head rhyta, 123
 Bull-god, 189, 197
 sacrifice, 195, 288, 369 seq., 374
 Bulle, H., 152
 Burrows, R., 187 n. 5
 Butterfly, 551 seq.
 'Butterfly' pattern, 180 seq.
- Callisto**, 434
 Cambridge, statuette, 253 n. 9, 340 n. 1
 Camirus, bottomless vessel, 386 seq.
 Caphyae, 458
 Cassandra, 426

- Catastrophes of Cretan sites, 24 seq.,
33, 34 n. 2
- Cave of Amnisos, 54, 67, 98, 394 seq.,
446, 449
- Arkalokhori, 55, 68, 165
- Delos, 62
- Dictaeon, 55, 392 seq., 462 n. 2
- 'of Eileithyia', 54, 394, 446, 449
- Idaean, 59, 392, 395, 462 n. 2, 507
- bronze shields, 442 seq.
- Mt Juktas, 53
- Kamares, 59 seq., 68, 392
- Λυγροσπήλαιον*, 61
- Miami, 49 seq.
- near Palaikastro, 51
- Patso, 61, 394
- horns of consecration, 142,
146
- bird figurines, 289
- Parnes, Mt, 61
- Psychro, 55 seq., 68, 393 seq.
- altar, 98, 100
- bases of double axes, 183
- bronze tablet, 145, 226
- cups, 119
- double axes, 164
- identity, 392 seq.
- idols, 253
- relief pithoi, 102, 143, 168, 173
- rhyta, 123 seq.
- table of libation, great, 105,
111 seq., 221
- — others, 106, 107, 121
- Pyrgos, 51
- ταῖς Σκάλαις*, 51
- Skoteino, 53, 165
- Σπηλαγίδα*, 54
- near Zakro, 51
- Caves, burials in, 49 seq.
- inhabited, 49 seq.
- sanctuaries, 52 seq.
- continuity of cult, 392 seq.
- Celestial bodies (*cf.* Sun, Moon, Stars),
355 seq.
- cult of, 362 seq.
- Cercopithecus, 320
- Chairs, models of, 262, 264
- Chamaizi Sitias, 93
- house, 235
- idols, 253, 254
- Charon, 273, 387
- Child exposed, 466 seq., 471
- Child gods, 469 seq.
- Chrysalises, 552
- Chthonic deities, 279
- Claus, A., 217
- Cock, 481
- Colours, 291
- Columns, 201 seq.
- of the Hellenistic-Roman age, 217
 seq.
- significance of, 217 seq.
- and single animal, 214
- antithetic group, 214 seq.
- heraldic type, 216 seq.
- Consort of the Great Mother, 238, 303,
344 seq., 347 seq., 438
- Cook, A. B., 155 n. 4, 169 n. 5, 187
n. 1, 193 n. 2, 282 n. 2, 322 n. 1,
2, 324 n. 2, 363 n. 4
- Corcyra, votive terracottas, 435
- Corybants, 472 n. 3
- Courby, F., 535
- Costume, Mycenaean, 17
- Couretes, 468, 472 seq., 506 seq., 511
- Court, relation of c. to megaron, 15
seq.
- Cow and Hera, 431
- suckling, 467
- Creator, in primitive peoples, 356
- Cross, 363 seq.
- Christian, 192
- as linear sign, 364 seq.
- Cuckoo, 292, 372, 481
- 'Cuirass', 136 seq.
- Curium, bronze vessel, 125
- Curtius, L., 330
- Cycladic bird figurines, 290
- female figurines, 251 seq.
- Cymbals, 508

- Cynocephalus, 319
 Cyprus, 27, 34, 37
 colonization, 35, 37
 dialect, 29, 31
 idols, 262
 vessel, bronze, 125 seq.
 — ring-shaped, 117

 Dactyls, Idaean, 394
 Dadaphorios, 498
 Daedalus, 452
 Daemons, Babylonian, 320 seq.
 griffin-headed, 318, 554 seq.
 with human body and animal's
 head, 322 seq.
 Minoan, 125, 307 seq., 317, 324 seq.
 — functions, 325
 — in the antithetic group, 325
 seq.
 — origin, 326
 Daggers, 55
 Damania, tholos tomb, 521, 522
Δαμάτρες, 448 n. 5
 Danaoi, 38
 Danaos, 38,
 Danau(na) Danuna, 38
 Dancing, 236, 244, 296, 303
 in the cult of Artemis, 433
 in the myth of Ariadne, 452
 of the Couretes, 472, 475
 Dancing women, figurines of, 256
 Dawkins, R. M., 290
 Dead, cult of the, 368 seq.
 Death of vegetation deities, 455
 seq., 482
 Deiras at Argos, pits, 521
 tomb VIII, 520
 traces of fire, 523
 Delos (*cf.* Cave), 400, 533 seq.
 Mycenaean tombs, 534 seq.
 table of offering, 104
 Delphi, ceremonial year, division of,
 498
 continuation of cult, 400 seq., 505
 Cretan connexions, 505 seq.

 (Delphi) idols, 263
 lioness's head rhyton, 123, 401
 Marmaria, 401 seq.
 pits in the necropolis, 521
 seated nude idol, 262, 401
 tomb of Dionysos, 494 seq.
 — of Python, 495 n. 1
 Demeter, 293, 301, 346, 389, 409, 434,
 448, 455
 Eleusinia, 448, 450
 Melaina, 434
 Dendra, *see* Mideia
 Descending figures, 295 seq., 344
 Despoina, 434, 555.
 Deubner, L., 158 seq.,
 Dialects, Greek, 28 seq.
 Differences between Minoan and My-
 cenaean civilization, 12 seq., 264
 seq., 354, 368 seq., xx
 Dikte, Mt, 393 seq., 440 seq., 466,
 478
 Diktyнна, 293, 439, 466 n. 2
 Diktyннаion, Cape, 440
 Dionysos, 3, 451, 452 and n. 3, 492
 seq., 496 seq., 504 seq.
 etymology, 495
 ἀνθρωπορρογαιστης, 193
 Cretan, 453
 Liknites, 493
 Lydian origin, 498, 502
 Lysios, 241 n. 1
 Pelagios, 193
 origin, 496 seq.
 πέλεκυς, 193 n. 6
 protome of, 259
 Thracian origin, 498, 502
 in Crete, 508
 at Delphi, 498, 502
 — tomb, 494 seq.
 Dioscuri, 274, 282, 456, 469 seq., 481
 Disc of double axe, 171 seq.
 of the sun, 356 seq.
 Divinization of the dead, 378 seq., 544
Δόνανα, 470
 Dolphin, 357, 505

- Dorian dialects, 28, 30, 40 n. 1
 migration, 30, 39 seq.
- Double axe, 162 seq., 374, 401
 as currency, 185
 double-edged, 169 seq., 345
 — symbolism of, alleged, 169
 n. 5
 god with, 188
 goddess (?) with, 191
 between horns of bull's head, 144,
 196
 between horns of consecration, 144
 between bow or snake implement,
 311, 315
 priestesses with, 191
 sign on pillars, 181 seq., 208, 210
 seq.
 significance, 185 seq.
 of Sozon, 500
 symbol of royalty, 185
 thunder weapon, 186, 347
- Dove, 289, 290, 291, 292, 341
 'Dove Goddess', 81, 341
- Drachmani, 180
- Dress, 132 seq.
 of sacred images, 268
- Dual monotheism, 339 n. 1, 344 seq.
- Dudchalia, 37
- Duhn, F. v., 291, 371
- Durkheim, E., 477
- Dussaud, R., 170 n. 1, 191 n. 6, 250,
 362, 371, 378 n. 1
- Eabani, 330
- Eagle, 292, 481
- Ear, 276, 297
- Earth Goddess, Earth Mother, 186,
 293, 304, 347, 402, 497, 501 seq.
- Eden, 548
- Egypt, attacks on, 34, 38
ankh, 178, 336
 antithetic group, derived from, 329
 seq.
 cosmic gods, 355
 cynocephalus, 319 seq.
- (Egypt) Earu, 545
 figure with raised arms, 154
 funeral customs, 369 seq., 378 seq.
 gods, *see names*
 hide dress, 134 seq.
 offering stands, 273
 the other world, 155, 545 seq.
 procession with barque, 378 seq.,
 544
 relations with, 9, 336
 ships, 545
 sistrum, 336
 sphinx, 332
 symbol of mountains, 155, 157
- Eileithyia (*cf.* Cave of), 54, 67, 446,
 543 n. 5
 by-name of Artemis, 433, 446
- Einatos, 447
- H. Eirene, 523
- Ekdysia, 445
- Elateia, 405
- Eleuhynia, Eleusinia, 448 seq., 450
- Eleusinios, 448, 450
- Eleusinion, 448
- Eleusis, 402 seq., 448, 450
 cult, 388, 487 seq., 503, 505
 after life, 558
- Eleutherna, 447, 449, 511
- Eleuthyia, 447, 449, 451
- Elis, dialect, 30
- Elyros, 468
- Elysium, 448, 450, 540 seq., 556 seq.
 etymology, 543 n. 5
- Enclosure, sacred, 232
- Ἐναυτὸς δαίμων*, 478
- Enkomi, finds, 35 n. 1
- Epidauros, 31
- Epimenides, 511
 so-called, 503 n. 1, 509 n. 2
- Epiphany of gods, 238, 244
 as birds; *see* Birds, epiphany
 in human shape, 295 seq.
- Episkopi, figurine, 260
 — larnax, 144, 287, 374 seq.
- Erechtheus, 417 seq., 427, 491

- Erichthonios, 423 n. 1, 427, 489, 490 seq., 492, 503
 Erigone, 458
 Erikapaios, 465
 Eteokles, 36
 Euhemerism, 473, 507, 509, 514 seq.
 Europa, 394, 459 n. 1, 480, 481, 543 n. 4
 Evans, Sir A., *passim*
 Eye, 240, 276, 297
- Farnell, L. R., 515, 516
 Fetish, 208
 Filler, xxii
 Fillets, 170
 Fire, 293
 Fire dogs, 158
 Fire festivals, 69 seq.
 Fire, traces of, in tombs, 520 seq. 523 seq.
 — in the Grave Circle at Mycenae, 531, 532
 Fish, 437 and n. 3
Fleur de lys pillar, 246 and n. 5
 Flute-player, 195
 Forrer, E., 35, 36, 37, 188
 Fowler, W., 201
 Foucart, P., 515, 516
 Fraser, J., 499 n. 3
 Frazer, Sir J., 225
 Frescoes, *see* Knossos, Nirou Khani, Mycenae, Tiryns, H. Triada
 Frickenhaus, A., 407, seq., 409, 410, 427
 Fruit-stand vases, 107, 273
 Funeral vases, 273
 Furtwängler, A., 158 n. 3, 303 n. 1, 305 n. 1, 324 n. 3, 327, 533
- Gaerte, W., 156
 Gaia, *see* Ge
 Ganzyniec, R., 185, 193 n. 4
 Gardner, E., 349
 Garlands, 226
 Ge, 293, 402, 465, 487, 488, 489, 490, 495, 501, 502
- Gems: Andonis, H., (*R. N.*, *fig. 21*), 358
 Argos (*AG*, *pl. III*, 26), 245
 Berlin, bull on slaughtering table (*AG*, *pl. II*, 22), 195
 — daemon holding stag (*AG*, *pl. II*, 35), 308, 358
 — man and daemons (*AG*, *pl. II*, 34), 326
 — man and lions (*AG*, *III*, *fig. 20*), 308
 — shrine (*AG*, *pl. IV*, 5), 236
 — shooting woman (*AG*, *pl. II*, 24), 307, 315
 — single daemon (*JHS*, *XIV*, *fig. 8*), 125
 Breslau (*AG*, *pl. IV*, 3), 236
 British Museum, goddess seated on animal's head (*TPC*, *fig. 45*), 136, 199
 — vegetable motifs (*figs. 37, 38*), 145
 — woman and birds (*Cat. No. 82*), 309
 Candia, bull on slaughtering table (*fig. 62*), 195, 198
 — circle and dots, 359
 — confronted lions and orb (*TPC*, *fig. 41*), 358
 — dancing woman and orb (*EA*, 1907, *pl. VII*, 86), 358
 — flower and orb (*ibid.* 95), 358
 — heraldic type (*ibid.*, *pl. VIII*, 144), 216
 — libation jug, two-handled (*ibid.*, *pl. VII*, 47 *γ*), 126
 — libation jugs and boughs (*fig. 69*), 226
 — sea-urchin and dolphin (*EA*, 1907, *pl. VII*, 94), 357
 — sea-urchins and fish (*ibid.* 46), 357
 Cassel (*fig. 92*), 312
 Copenhagen, bull and tree (*AG*, *III*, *fig. 30*), 245 n. 2

- (Gems, Copenhagen) libation jug and bough (*fig. 70*), 226
 — marching men (*fig. 33*), 134
 Corinth, (*AG, pl. III, 28*), 214
 Crete, daemon carrying animals (*fig. 99*), 325
 — daemon and bull (*AG, pl. II, 33*), 325
 — EM III, MM II, 331
 — goddess and griffins (*RN, fig. 28*), 309, 312
 Geraki (*PM, fig. 493 c*), 235
 Goulas (*TPC, fig. 32*), 245
 Heraeum, Argive, bull's head (*PM, fig. 312 c*), 138, 197
 Hydra (*AG, pl. VI, 16*), 325 seq.
 Ialysos, heraldic type, 216
 — bull and palm trec (*AG, pl. III, 51*), 245
 Idaean cave (*TPC, fig. 25*), 102, 144, 224
 Knossos, bucranium, square (*BSA, IX, fig. 70*), 196
 — composite monsters (*BSA, figs. 7 b, c*), 145, 323, 358
 — (*BSA, XI, fig. 10*), 323
 — griffin and lion (*EA, 1907, pl. VIII, 136*), 308
 — snake goddess, 278 n. 1
 — woman with double axe and 'cuirass' (*PM, fig. 312 a*), 137, 191
 — Mace-bearer's tomb, 198
 — Zafer Papoura, sheep and column, 214
 Kydonia, daemon between horns of consecration (*PM, fig. 532*), 125, 146, 305 seq., 309, 344, 348
 — men and lions (*TPC, fig. 43*), 308
 Ligortyno (*TPC, fig. 57*), 150 seq., 231, 356
 Melos, sheep and column, 214
 Mochlos, sea animals (*fig. 101*), 357
 Mycenae, animals' heads etc. (*AG, III, fig. 36*), 198
 (Gems, Mycenae) bull and agrimi (*AG, pl. III, 27*), 246 n. 5
 — bull and palm-trec (*AG, pl. III, 50, 52*), 244
 — bull on slaughtering table (*AG, pl. II, 18*), 195
 — bulls' heads etc. (*AG, III, fig. 37*), 198
 — bulls and conventionalized tree (*TPC, fig. 34*), 246
 — couchant lions (*AG, pl. III, 33*), 246 n. 5
 — 'cuirass' (*AG, pl. III, 49*), 138
 — daemons and lions (*TPC, fig. 46*), 309, 325
 — dancing women (*RN, fig. 13*), 237, 303 n. 4
 — goddess kneeling between lions (*TPC, fig. 44*), 241 n. 1, 309
 — goddess seated between lions (*TPC, fig. 45*), 199, 309
 — goats and tree (*TPC, fig. 30*), 245
 — griffins with common head (*TPC, fig. 38*), 217
 — griffins, heraldic type (*TPC, fig. 36*), 216
 — lions with common head (*TPC, fig. 41*), 217, 221
 — ditto (*TPC, fig. 37*), 217
 — man and lions (*AG, III, fig. 20*), 308
 —, Kalkani necropolis (*pl. 11, 9*), 191, 303, 310 seq., 316
 Naples (*AG, III, fig. 15*), 146 n. 3, 299² seq.
 Palaikastro, goat (*TPC, fig. 31*), 145
 Phaestus, necropolis, daemon holding hind (*fig. 89*), 307 seq., 326
 — two daemons (*fig. 100*), 326
 — human head etc. (*fig. 66*), 199
 — lion etc. (*fig. 64*), 198
 Platanos, scarab, Ta-urt, 326
 Psychro (*fig. 90*), 190, 310, 311

- (Gems) Rome, Castellani coll. (*AG, III*, *fig. 16*), 125, 326,
 Sphoungaras, libation jug (*fig. 27*),
 126, 145, 226 n. 6, 232
 — two-handed (*fig. 28*), 126
 — shrine (*fig. 76*), 235
 Thisbe, combat between bowmen
 (*RN, fig. 33*), xxiii
 — goddess rising from the
 ground (*RN, fig. 16*), 243, 304
 — scene of taurokatapsia (*RN*,
fig. 3), 138
 — libation (*RN, fig. 19*), 297
 — shooting woman (*RN, fig.*
24), 307, 315
 — woman and birds (*RN, fig.*
26), 310, 356
 Triada, H., woman holding goat
 (*fig. 88*), 307
 Vaphio, daemons and boughs (*TPC*,
fig. 1), 102, 125, 145, 225
 — single daemon, 125
 — man with adze (*AG, pl. II*,
39), 136
 — man leading griffin (*ibid.*
47), 136
 — rams' heads (*AG, pl. III, 40*),
 198
 — woman grasping goat (*AG*,
pl. II, 26), 307
 — woman holding ram (*ibid.*
25), 307
 — woman and birds (*EA, 1889*,
pl. X, 5), 310
 Zero, lions and column (*TPC, fig.*
40), 216
 Genii, *see* Daemons
 Georgios, H., 263
Iēgavos, dance, 452
 Gesture, 267 and n. 1
 Gilgamesh, 330, 548
 Girard, P., 349
 Girdles, model, 268
 Glass plaques, *see* Mycenae
 Glotz, G., 187 n. 5
 Glyptic art, 331 seq.
 Gods and goddesses (*see also* Hunting
 god, Nature goddess, War gods,
 etc.)
 armed, 296 seq., 298, 300, 306 seq.,
 348, 353
 evolution of, 337 seq., 343, 349
 types of gods, 305
 types of goddesses, 305
 goddess, nude with birds, 340 seq.
 — of sea-faring, 231, 302, 341
 — palladium-like, 298, 341
 gods, male, 302, 309, 306, 343 seq.,
 347 seq., xxi seq.
 Gold rings, *see* Rings
 Gorgo, 436
 Gortyn, coins with tree-nymph, 479
 seq., 481
 Gournes, idol, 257
 plaster tripod, 104
 table of offering, 113
 Gournia, amulet, 264
 bases of double axes, 183
 bird figurines, 77, 291
 'blossom bowls', 109
 double axes, 165
 horns of consecration, 141
 relief pithos, 173
 human-shaped rhyton, 122
 'salt and pepper bowl', 110
 shrine, 74 seq., 223, 274
 — idol, 267
 — table of offering, 103
 — tube-shaped vessels, 271
 tables of libation, 106, 108
 vases with double axes, 171, 174
 Graillot, H., 347
 Great Goddess, Minoan, 347, 373
 Great Goddesses, Arcadian, 434 seq.
 Great Mother, Minoan (*cf.* Magna
 Mater and Nature Goddess), 192,
 238, 293, 303, 337 seq., 340, 344,
 500, 551
 Greeks, invasion of, 11 seq., 22 n. 1,
 42 seq.

- Griffin, 317 n. 1
 origin of, 218, 332
 on 'Nestor's Ring', 318, 554 seq.
 Gropengiesser, H., 527
- Hades**, 539 seq., 558 seq.
 Halbherr, F., 290, 480
 Hall with horns of consecration, *see*
 Knossos, frescoes
 of mysteries at Eleusis, 402 seq.
 Halliday, W. R., 483 n. 2
 Hammarström, M., 345 n. 3
 Handle of the double axe, 173 seq.
 Harland, J. P., 40 n. 2
 Harrison, J. E., 292, 372, 477 seq.,
 483 n. 2, 514 n. 1
 Haruspicine, 196, 554 n. 2
 Harvesters' vase, *see* Triada, H.
 Hathor, 155, 279 n. 1, 363 n. 2
 Hazzidakis, J., 119, 160
 Heads, detached animals', 198 seq.,
 309
 human, 199
 Heleia, 398
 Helen, 456 seq., 481
 δειδριτις, 456, 458 seq.
 Heleneia, 457
 Ἐλένειον, 458
 Helladic religion, 6
 Hera, 260, 293, 338, 372, 414, 418 seq.,
 421, 431 seq., 444 n. 3
 cow-faced, 431
 etymology, 418 n. 4
 statue at Tiryns, 409
 temple at Tiryns, 408 seq., xxiii
 Heraeum, Argive, 409, 410 seq.
 — idols, 262
 — tombs, 523
 Herakles, contest with the hydra, 422
 and the Hesperides, 547
 and the Marathonian bull, 422
 Heraldic type, 216 seq., 218, 308 seq.
 origin, 329 seq.
 Hermes, 437, 467, 489
 Kranaios, 61, 67, 394
 Hero, significance, 418 n. 4
 Hero cult, origin of, 514 seq., 536 seq.
 Heroes, 380
 Herse, 490 seq.
 Hesiod, 393 seq., 453 seq.
 Hesperides, Gardens of, 547 seq., 550
 Hide dress, 132 seq., 378
 Ἱερὸς γάμος, 346, 372, 481, 484
 Ἱκετηγία, 179
 Himerius, 499
 Hippopotamus goddess, 326
 Hipta, Meter, 497, 508
 Hittite kings, 35 seq., 37
 seals, 330
 seal cylinder, 300, 330 n. 3
 Hittites, 188 seq.
 Hogarth, D. G., 164, 189, 320 and n. 2,
 339, 344, 345 n. 1
 Holiness, 207 seq.
 Homeric hymn to Apollo Pythios, 505
 to Demeter, 506
 Hoplolatry, 349 seq.
 Horns of consecration, 124 seq., 140
 seq., 225 seq., 374, xxii
 origin, 153 seq.
 forms, 156 seq.
 supposed, in the Greek age, 158
 seq.
 absence of, from rustic shrines,
 234, 277
 supposed, on geometric vases, 390
 n. 1
 Horse, introduction of, 21 seq.
 House, burials in, 48 n. 1
 House goddess, *see* Idols, bell-shaped;
 Snake-goddess
 House sanctuaries, *see* Sanctuaries,
 domestic
 types, 12 seq.
 Human sacrifices, 531
 Hunting, 307, 315, 354
 Hunting god, 328, 349, 353 seq.
 goddess 314 seq., 328
 Hyakinthia, 485
 Hyakinthios, 486 n. 3

- Hyakinthos, 4, 387, 403, 485 seq., 492, 503 seq.
 tomb of, 485, 486
 Hyperborean Maidens, tomb of, 535 seq.
- Iacchos**, 488, 489
Ialysos, 19
Iasion, 346
Iason, 432
Ida, Mt., in Asia Minor, 463 n. 2
Idols, 247 seq.
 bell-shaped, 96, 258 seq., 266 seq., 270, 276, 294, 340
 Cycladic, 251 seq.
 Egyptianized, 252 seq.
 from houses, 265
 Mycenaean, 260 seq., 401 seq., 403, 411, XXI
 neolithic, 248 seq., 347
 nude, 341, 401
 Oriental, 251
 pressing their breasts, 253 seq.
 seated, 262, 264
 steatopygous, 248
 from tombs, 257, 264
Imhoof-Blumer, F., 194
Ingots, bronze, 185
Interpretation of monuments, 8 seq.
Ionian dialects, 28, 31
 immigration, 31
Iris, 437
Ishtar, 344, 346
Islands of the Blest, 380, 541 seq.
Ivory (*see also* Palaikastro, Phylakopi, Menidi), 331, 378 n. 3
- Jars of libation**, 124 and n. 4, 297
Jerusalem, columns in the temple of, 210
Jolles, A., 329
Jug, libation, 124 seq.
Juktas, Mt., 53, 65, 395
 'ladles', 105
- Kaibel, G.**, 457
Kakovatos-Pylos, 18, 25
Kalathiana, vessels, 120 n. 2
Kalaureia, 404
Kalinka, E., 6 n. 1
Kallithyia, 409
Kamares, *see* Cave of
Karmanor, 511
Karo, G., 122, 291, 321, 362, XXIII
Katsidani, bronze figurine, 260
Kekrops, 491 seq.
Keramopoulos, A., 521 seq., 532
Kerberos, 547
Kern, O., 510 n. 2
Kernoï, 95, 113 seq., 121, 387 seq., 403, XXI, XXII
King, sacral functions, 415 and n. 1, 417
Kinch, K. F., 391
Kneeling, 241 n. 1, 297
Knossos, altars, 89
 bases of double axes, 183, 203
 crosses, 366
 double axes, 166 seq.
 fetish shrine, 140
 frescoes, 135, 213
 — cross pattern, 366
 — N. W. angle, 139
 — temple, 147, 152
 — hall, 148, 153, 169, 213, 222
 gaming board, 359
 Greek town, 396
 Gypsades, house at, 206, 212
 hall of Eleven Pillars, 203
 history of, 33
 horns of consecration, 140 seq.
 idols, neolithic, 248
 Little Palace, 82 seq.
 — jug, 178
 — leaden idol, 270
 — pillar rooms, 204 seq., 208 seq.
 palace, Central Court, altar, 89
 — 'Central Palace sanctuary', 77 seq., 209, 222
 — — faïence statuettes, 267 seq.
 — — model robes and girdles, 268

- (Knossos, palace, Central Palace sanctuary) marble cross, 366
 — — shells 130
 — Loom Weight area, 80
 — — 'ladle', 106
 — pillar rooms, 202 seq., 208
 — S. E. angle, 77
 — S. E. sanctuary, 77, 202, 209, 212
 — West Court, altar, 89
 — West Wing, 82, 202, 211, 222
 — — pillars, 202, 211
 — 'Sanctuary of Dove Goddess', 80 seq., 219
 — — altar model, 101, 102, 141
 — — terracotta with three columns, 219, 286, 290
 — Shrine of the Double Axes, 73 seq., 223
 — — supposed altar, 98 n. 4
 — — idols, 266, 290
 — — table of offering, 103
 pillar rooms, 202 seq., 208 seq.
 pyxis, steatite, 100, 142, 232
 rhyta, 205, 288, 363 n. 2
 seal cylinder, 307 n. 3
 'sheep bells', 160
 tables of libation, 106, 107, 121, 203
 tomb of the Double Axes, 18, 167
 tombs, *see* Zafer Papoura
 vessel, steatite, 151, 153
 Villa, Royal, 203 seq.
- Knots, 137 seq.
- Korakou, houses, 408
- Kore, 434, 448, 450, 455
- Korkyke, 453
- Körte, A., 488
- Koumasa, hearths, 522
 idols, 252
 kernos, 114
 rhyton, 122, 288
 sanctuary, 90
 vessel, 120 n. 2
 -- tube-shaped, 271 seq.
- Kouramenos, 166
- Kourtes, kernos, 116 seq.
κοῦρτος, μέγιστος κ., 476
- Kretschmer, P., 189, 419, 495 seq.
- Krisa, 305
- Kristensen, W. B., 155, 546 n. 1
- Kronos, 464, 465 n. 1, 474 n. 2, 483 n. 2
- Kudurrus, 363
- Kydon, 467
- Kydonia, 467, 508
- Kynouria, 31
- Kyrene, 442 n. 1
- Λάβρος*, 189 seq.
Λαβύρινθος, 189 seq.
 'Ladles', 105 seq., 121
- Ladon, 551
- Lagrange, P., 155
- Lamp, 388, 389
- 'Lamenting women', figurines, 256, 268 n. 1
- Lang, A., 250, 356
- Larnax, *see* Episkopi, Mallia, Palai-
 kastro
- Lasithi, Mt, 393
- Lato, 446 seq.
- Latte, K., 478 n. 4
- Laum, B., 322 n. 3
- Leaf, W., 34 n. 2, 36, 42 n. 1
- Leto, 444 and n. 3
- Libation, 122 seq., 297
- Libation jars, 124 and n. 4
- Libation jug, 124 seq., 226
- Libation tables, 106 seq.
- Liknon, 497
- Linear sign, 145 n. 2, 195 n. 1, 345 n. 1
- Lion, on 'Nestor's ring', 553 seq.
 home of, 332 seq.
- Lion's head rhyta, 123
- Loeff, R. van der, 448, 450
- Luschan, F. v., 314
- Λυχνόσπηλαιον*, *see* Cave of
- Lydians, 499 seq.
 language, 499

- Lykaion, Mt, 463 n. 2
 Lykourgos, 493
 Lyktos, 393, 394
 Lyre-player
 Palaikastro, 95, 289
 H. Triada (*cf.* Sarcophagus), 377
 Lyttos, 393, 467
- Mackenzie, D.**, 12 n. 1, 160
 Maenads, 493, 498, 503, 509
 Maeonians, 498 n. 2
 Magna Mater, 187 seq., 334 seq., 344,
 346, 388, 389, 397, 438, 464, 498
 Mallia, 93
 baetyl, 221
 larnax, 169, 375 n. 1
 pillars, 206
 Malten, L., 448, 450, 543
 Mannhardt, W., 225, 457
 Marina, H., 180
 Master of Animals, 309, 310, 316, 328
 seq., 342, 348, 353, 445
 Assyrianized, 442 seq., 508
 Mayer, M., 189, 422
 Mazarakatis, 521
 Mazzebas, 210
 Megara, 31
 Megaron, 12 seq.
 roof, 235 and n. 5
 at Tiryns, 406
 Meillet, A., 28
 Melitens, 471, n. 2
 Melissa, 471 n. 3
 Melos, kernoi, 114, 121
 Men, 241 n. 1
 Menelaëion, 404, 457
 idol, 263
 Menelaos, 457, 458, 541 seq.
 Menepthah, 38
 Menidi, hero cult, 524 seq.
 idols, 262
 ivory plaque, 25
 pit in the tomb, 519
 Messara, tholos tombs, 9
 — 'bird's nest bowls', 109
 (Messara, tholoi) double axes, 164
 — entrance pits, 522
 — idols, 252
 — 'salt and pepper bowls', 110
 — traces of fire, 522 seq.
 — vessels, 113
 Meter Hipta, 497, 508
 Metis, 465
 Miamu, *see* Cave of
 Mideia, beehive tomb, 519 seq.
 pits, 519 seq.
 Milani, L. A., 169 n. 5
 Milato, sarcophagus, 298, 306, 344, 348
 Milatos, 468
 Miletos (heros), 468
 Miletus, 27, 34
 Mingazzini, P., 441 n. 1
 Miniature vessels, 103
 Minoan civilization, limits of, 24 seq.
 Minotaur, 189, 321, 327
 Mirror, 149, 302, 305
 Mistress of Animals, 293, 303, 310, 328
 seq., 334, 339, 341 seq., 343,
 347, 400, 435 seq., 451
 winged, 436 seq.
 Mochlos, bird amulet, 290
 'blossom bowls', 109
 cross, 365 n. 8
 human-shaped rhyton, 122, 124,
 253 n. 9
 horns of consecration, 156
 double axe, 163
 saucer, 180
 other vessels, 113, 175
Mondbilder, 157
 Monotheism, 339
 Monsters, 318, 322 seq., 327
 Montelius, O., 363
 Moon, 300, 301, 355 seq., 362
 Moon goddess, 355, 362
 Morgos, 507
 Mother Goddess, 248 and n. 6, 249 seq.
 Mother of the Mountains, 303, 335
 seq., 438
 Moulds, *see* Palaikastro

- Mouliana, tholos tomb, 520
- Mountain peak sanctuaries
 Mt Juktas, 65 seq., 68
 Petsofa, 70 seq.
- Murray, G., 476, 478
- Mursil, 35
- Mycenae, base of double axe, 184, 416
 constructions, 26, 33
 etymology, 420
 female figurines of glass paste, 264
 frescoes, 169, 213
 — with daemons, 324 seq.
 glass plaques, 101, 125, 219, 335
 Grave Circle, 528 seq.
 idols, 261, 262
- Kalkani necropolis, 18, 20 n. 8
 — tomb with a niche, 518
 — traces of fire, 523
 — vases, 361
- Lion gate relief, 216
- palace, 15
- ring-shaped vessel, 117
- seal cylinder, 220
- shaft graves, 18, 22, 516
 — altar, 273, 530 seq.
 — bulls' head rhyton, 123, 155
 — crosses, 365
 — faïence knots, 137
 — gold leaves, bulls' heads, 196
 — — double axes, 167
 — — double birds, 289 seq.
 — — female figurines, 263, 287
 — — goddess with birds, 259, 290, 340 seq.
 — — temple model, 146 seq., 219, 286
 — — wheel, 361
 — hollow between graves I and IV, 529, 531 seq.
 — silver jug, 127
- 'the Shrine', 7, 416
- tables of offering, 103, 416
- tablet of limestone, painted, 298, 341, 349, 428 seq.
- temple of Athena, 405
- (Mycenae), tomb of Aegisthus, 528
 tomb of Klytaimestra, 527 seq.
 vases with double axes, 175
 wall paintings, *see* frescoes
- Mycenaean civilization, relation to
 Minoan civilization, 6 seq., 11 seq., 25 seq.
 expansion, 27, 34
 religion, 41 seq.
- Mykene, 420
- Myres, J. L., 400
- Mysteries, Eleusinian, *see* Eleusis, cult
 in Crete, 506 seq.
 Minoan origin, 558
- Mysticism, 504 seq., 511
- Myths, cosmogonic, 363
- Mythology, Minoan representations, 44 n. 3, 322
 Mycenaean origin, 44 seq.
- Nature daemons, 328 seq., 342, 442
- Nature Goddess, Minoan, 187 seq., 244, 337 seq. and n. 1, 346, 347, 373, 438, 451
- Nauplia, idols, 262
 tombs, 517
- Neda, 463 n. 2, 466 n. 2
- Nemea, 405
- Nestor', 'ring of, *see* Rings, Kakovatos
- Neustadt, E., 456 n. 1, 471 n. 3
- Newberry, P., 155
- Niche in the dromos of tombs, 517 seq.
- Nikolaos, H., kernos, 116 n. 4, 389
 table of offering, 102, 107
- Ninnion, tablet of, 388
- Nirou khani, 92
 double axes, 166
 horns of consecration, 141
 fresco, 137 seq.
 tables of offering, 103
- Noack, F., 12 n. 1
- Nudity, 341
- Nurses of Dionysos, 493 seq.
 of Zeus, 466, 501

- Nymphs (*cf.* Nurses), 53, 62
 Nysa, Mt, 493
- Oaxos**, 394
- Odysseus, 542
- Offering stands, 273
- Olympia, 400, 463 n. 2
- Omophagia, 493, 495, 502, 507, 509, 510
- Onomacritus, 512
- Onuphrios, H., idols 252
 jug, 129
- Orb of double axe, 173
 of the sun, 357 seq.
- Orchomenos, 37, 411
- Orgia of Dionysos, 493, 495, 498, 502 seq.
- Orpheus, 510
- Orphic hymns, Nos. 48 and 49, 497
 gold leaves, 510 seq.
- Orphism, 505, 507, 508 seq.
 doctrine on after life, 557 seq.
- Osiris, 369, 378, 493
- Ouranos, 293
- Owl, 423 seq., 428
- Palaikastro**, animal bowls, 119 seq., 121, 288
 base of double axe, 183
 bird figurines, 95, 290
 'blooming bowls', 109
 double axes, 166
 domestic cult, 95
 filler, 171
 horns of consecration, 141, 156
 hymn, 399, 475 seq.
 ivory plaque, 176, 289, 291
 kernoi, 116
 'ladle', 106
 larnax, 144, 182, 184, 357, 375 n. 1
 libation tables, 106, 112
 lyre-player and women, group of, 95, 289
 moulds, 142, 191, 243, 361 seq.
 'salt and pepper bowls', 110
 (Palaikastro) seal cylinder, 326
 shields, Assyrianized, 397, 399
 temple of Dictaeon Zeus, 393, 398 seq.
 vases, 196
- Palladium, 349, 350, 362, 429 seq.
- Palm tree, 244 seq.
- Pamphylia, 35
 dialect, 29, 31, 35, 37
- Pan, 62
- Pandrosos, 490 seq.
- Panspermia, 282, 470
- Pantheon, 300, 334 seq., 348
- Paphlagonians, 498 seq.
- Paribeni, R., 132 seq., 157, 196, 234, 369 seq., 378 seq.
- Parnes, *see* Cave of
- Patso, *see* Cave of
- Peacock, 289, 291
- Pedestal vases, 107, 207
- Peirasos, 409
- Πήκος*, 483 n. 2
- Perdrizet, P., 521
- Pernier, L., 321, 386, 397, 400
- Persephone, 509
- Persson, A. W., 235, 402, 521, XXI seq.
- Petersen, E., 292, 371 seq.
- Petras, cup, 119
- Petsofa, 62 seq., 68 seq.
 ash layer, 400
 bird figurines, 289
 idols, 253 seq.
 tables of libation, 106, 107, 113
- Phaestus, base of double axe, 183
 'bird's nest bowls', 108
 bronze axe with butterfly, 553
 idols, 253, 270
 — neolithic, 248
 palace, Central Court, altar, 99
 — — libation table, 112 seq., 129 seq.
 — West Court, altars, 89
 sanctuary, 85 seq.
 — — libation tables, 108
 — — table of offering, 104

- (Phaestus, sanctuary) triton shell, 130
 pillar roms, 205
 rhyton in the form of a human head, 123
 shell tablet, 320 seq.
 shields, Assyrianized, 397
 tables of libation, 106, 111
 temple, 396 seq.
- Phallic symbols, absence of, 345 n. 1
- Philistia, 27, 34, 38
- Phrygians, 496, 500, 508
 cult of Dionysos, 498 seq.
- Phylakopi, 24
 'blossom bowls', 109
 jugs, 128
 kernoi, 114 seq.
 male figurine, 254
 pillar rooms, 206 seq., 212
 pillars, 206, 211
 seal of ivory (*fig. 36*), 101, 145, 149
- Picard, Ch., 187 n. 5, 535
- Picus, 483 n. 2
- Pillars, 201 seq.
- Pithoi, relief, *see* Cave of Psychro, Gournia
- Pits in and near tombs, 519 seq.
- Platanos, Babylonian seal cylinder, 330 n. 3
 traces of fire, 522
- Ploutos, 488, 489 seq., 504
- Pohlenz, M., 503 n. 1
- Polyboia, 485
- Polyxo, 456
- Poppy heads, 242 sq., 301
- Porti, traces of fire, 522
- Poseidon, 30, 491
 contest with Athena, 426
- Pottier, E., 424
- Praisos, 393, 467
- Priansos, 393, 420
- Priene, 420
- Pringsheim, H., 389
- Prinia, 399 seq.
 archaic temples, 69 seq., 399
 — sculptures, 400
- (Prinia) idols 259 n. 1, 269 seq., 275, 385 seq.
 tube-shaped vessels, 271, 275, 385 seq.
- Prinz, H., 219 n. 1, 254 n. 6, 272 n. 1 and 3
- Prosymna, 411, 431
- Pseira, 92
 'blossom bowls', 109
 'salt and pepper bowl', 110
 vases, 171, 172, 175
- Psychro, *see* Cave of
- Pulesatha, 38
- Pyrgos, (*cf.* Cave of) kernoi, 115 seq.
 other vessels, 113
- Pythagoras, 483 n. 1, 507
- Python, 495
- Pyxis, *see* Knossos and Vases
- Racial connexions of the Minoans, 8,**
 with Asia Minor, 188, 336, 346
- Radet, G., 436
- Rameses III, 38
- Raven, 291 seq.
- Reinach, A. J., 228 n. 6, 350, 352, 371
 S., 434 n. 3
- Religions, conflicts of, 3
 fusion of, 3 seq.
- Religion, tenacity of old, 2
 evolution of Minoan, 350
- Rhadamanthys, 385, 540, 543, 556
- Rhea, 293, 337 n. 1, 388, 397, 400 n. 3, 464, 501 n. 1
- Rhia, 454 n. 1
- Rhodes, 27, 34, 131
 bull's head rhyton, 123 n. 3
- Rhyta, 122, seq., 200, 288, 401
- Rings: Amari (*RN, fig. 56*), 309
 Arkhanes, 138
 Athens (*fig. 73*), 230, 238 seq.
 Berlin, *see* Kilia
 Candia (*fig. 72*), 229 seq., 239 seq., 342
 Copenhagen (*fig. 77*), 241 n. 1, 352

- (Rings) Dendra, *see* Mideia
- Kakovatos ('Ring of Nestor'), 241
n. 1, 317, 327, 549 seq.
- Kilia (*fig. 71*), 228 seq., 243, 300, 357
- Knossos, epiphany of a god (*TPC, fig. 48*), 220, 228, 243, 297 seq., 306, 345, 347 seq., 349, 353
— Isopata (*RN, fig. 51*), 240, 276, 277, 296, 305, 556
- Mideia (*fig. 91*), 311
- Mochlos, ship and goddess, 231, 302, 341
- Moni, 357
- Mycenae, agrimi and tree (*TPC, fig. 55*), 221, 228
— cult scene (*TPC, fig. 56*), 149
— lions attached to columns (*TPC, fig. 39*), 138, 215 seq.
— *sacra conversazione* (*TPC, fig. 51*), 302 seq., 344, 345, 348
— shrine or gateway (*TPC, fig. 58*), 150
— sphinxes and *fleur de lys* pillar (*TPC, fig. 33*), 246
— three female votaries (*TPC, fig. 63*), 150
— tree cult scene with shrine (*TPC, fig. 53*), 220, 229, 237 seq., 244, 345
— woman with mirror (*TPC, fig. 64*), 149, 302
— acropolis treasure, animals' heads (*fig. 63*), 198, 221
— — tree cult goddess etc. (*TPC, fig. 4*), 190, 199, 227, 242, 296, 300, 306, 342, 348, 349, 353, 354, 355
- Oxford (*fig. 85*), 296 seq., 306, 348, 353
- Phaestus, necropolis, scene of adoration (*fig. 68*), 220, 300, 319
— — tree cult (*fig. 74*), 230, 237, 239, 241 n. 1, 288, 297
- Smyrna, 138
- (Rings) Thisbe, goddesses and attendants (*RN, fig. 11*), 301
- Tiryns, daemons and goddess (*fig. 26*), 125, 135, 287, 300
— 'rape of Helen' (*fig. 1*), 44 n. 3
- Vaphio, tree cult (*TPC, fig. 52*), 138, 177, 236, 352
- Robert, C., 409, 489 n. 3
- Robes, model, 268
- Rock shelters
near Gournia, 52
near Hierapetra, 52
Magasa, 51
near Palaikastro, 51
Petsofa, 62 seq., 68 seq.
Upper Zakro, 65
- Rodenwaldt, G., 147 n. 5, 191 n. 6, 298, 374, 429
- Rohde, E., 542 n. 1
- Roof, gabled, 234
- Round hut, 12 n. 1
- Rouse, W., 208, 210
- Rubensohn, O., 389
- Sabazios, 496 seq., 497, 508
- Sacrifice of animals, 194 seq.
- Sak*, 134
- Salamis in Cyprus, vase, 144, 154, 196
- Saliae virgines, 352
- Salm, 154 n. 3
- 'Salt and pepper bowls', 110 seq., 121
- Sanctuaries (*cf. Caves, Mountain peaks, Rock shelters*)
absence of, on the mainland, 6 seq., xx
domestic 72 seq., xx seq.
- Sandan, 188
- Sarcophagus, *see* Milato, H. Triada
- Saturnus, 483 n. 2
- Savignoni, L., 136 seq., 397
- Schliemann, H., 260, 290, 431 seq.
- Schmidt, W., 250
- Schulze, W., 447, 449
- Schweitzer, B., 187 n. 5

- Seals, *see* Gems etc.
- Seal cylinders, Babylonian, 321, 329 seq., 330 n. 3
- Cyprian, 330 n. 3
- Hittite, 300, 330 n. 3
- from Knossos, 307 n. 3
- from Mycenae, 220
- from Palaikastro, 326
- Seal impressions: Knossos, armed god and lion (*BSA*, IX, *fig.* 38), 306, 328, 353
- armed goddess and lion (*ibid.* *fig.* 37), 306, 314, 328, 334 seq.
- bucranium and oblique cross (*BSA*, VIII, *fig.* 60), 367
- bull on slaughtering table, 195
- cross, 365
- daemons, 325
- double axes (*BSA*, VIII, *fig.* 61), 170
- ditto (*ibid.* *fig.* 65), 174
- infant and sheep (*BSA*, IX, *fig.* 60), 468 seq., 485
- libation (*RN*, *fig.* 20), 297, 301 seq.
- man and lions, 308
- man-bulls (*PM*, *fig.* 525 f), 323
- so-called Minotaur (*BSA*, VII, *fig.* 7 a), 321 seq.
- monsters, 323 n. 4
- 'Mother of the Mountains' (*BSA*, VII, *fig.* 9), 148, 303 seq., 310, 314, 328 seq., 332, 334
- palm-tree, 139
- 'Scylla' (*PM*, *fig.* 520), 44 n. 3
- seated goddess etc., 302, 356
- shrines (*BSA*, IX, *fig.* 60), 149
- single animal and column, 214
- tree and goats, 246
- woman and lions, 309
- woman with bird, 288
- Mycenae, column and animals (*BSA*, XXIV, *fig.* 1), 147, 215, 286
- (Seal impressions) Triada, H.
- adoration (*fig.* 39), 150
- animals' heads etc. (*fig.* 65), 198
- dancing women and shrine (*fig.* 75), 230, 237, 238, 303 n. 4
- dancing women (*fig.* 32), 133, 190 seq., 303
- dress (*fig.* 31), 133, 136 seq.
- goddess and votary (*fig.* 86), 299
- god with bow and lion (*fig.* 87), 306, 353
- monster (*fig.* 95), 319
- Zakro, adoration of double axe (*JHS*, XXII, *fig.* 5), 133, 137, 190
- armed goddess and lion (*BSA*, XVII, *fig.* 2), 306
- bull's head (*fig.* 93), 313
- bucranium (*JHS*, XXII, *figs.* 24, 25), 313 n. 1, 315
- cult scene (*ibid.* *fig.* 2), 299
- man and woman (*ibid.* *pl.* VI, 10), 136
- marching men (*ibid.* *fig.* 6), 134
- monster and woman (*ibid.* *fig.* 4), 319
- scene with shrine (*ibid.* *fig.* 1), 149, 230 seq., 234 n. 1, 243, 277, 295
- woman holding ram (*ibid.* *fig.* 3), 307
- Sea-urchin, 357 seq.
- Sem, 134
- Semele, 494, 495, 501
- Seta, A. della, 268 n. 1, 291, 320 n. 2, 329 n. 3
- Sexual symbols, absence of, 345 n. 3, 502
- 'Sheep bells', 160 seq.
- Shell trumpet, 225
- Shells, 130 seq., 197 seq.
- Sheol, 539

- Shield, 58, 241 n. 1, 298, 347, 349 seq., 350 n. 4
 'Shields', Assyrianized, 397, 442 seq., 507 seq., 508 n. 1
 Shrines (*see also* Sanctuaries, domestic), 72 seq., 222
 façade of, 146 seq., 222
 of the tree cult, 229 seq.
 sistrum, 336
 Sitte, H., 368 n. 1
 Sjövall, H., 157 seq.
 Skulls of sacrificed animals, 124, 214, 300
 Sky-god, 186
 Slaughtering table, 195 seq., 554
 Smith, C., 254 n. 2
 Snake, 240, 258, 276, 317, 340, 387, 470
 in the cult of Dionysos, 503 seq.
 on tombstones, 273 seq.
 Snake charmers, 268 n. 1
 goddess, 278 seq., 284, 340, 434 n. 3
 — at Boston, 269
 — from Gournia, 267
 — Knossos, 78 seq., 267 seq.
 — Prinia, 269 seq.
 (or bow) implement, 310 seq.
 attribute of deities, 274, 279
 representing the dead, 273 seq., 278, 283
 — deities, 274
 guardian of the house, 279 seq.
 — of the acropolis, 427
 Soteria, 434
 Sosipolis, 503 n. 1
 Souls, Mistress of the, 305 n. 1
 Sow, 466 seq.
 Sozon, 500
 Spata, tombs, 527
 Spear, venerated, 350 n. 4
 Sphinx, 317 n. 1
 origin of, 218, 332
 Sphoungaras, bowl with flower, 120
 seal in the form of a bird's head, 276 n. 3
 vessel, other, 113
 Stars, 355, 357, 363 n. 2, 366
 Star-like motifs and signs, 359
 Statuette, marble, at Cambridge, 253
 n. 9, 340 n. 1
 Stengel, P., 241 n. 1
 'Stole', 135, 301, 377
 Stone axe, XXI, XXII.
 Studniczka, F., 435, 442 n. 1
 Sun, 300, 301, 302, 322 n. 1, 355 seq.
 Sun god, 355, 362
 Sun-like motifs and signs, 359
 Svoronos, J., 468, 553
 Swastika, 364, 367
 Swinging, 286 n. 6, 291, 458
 Sybrita, 508
 Symbol, 208
 Tables of libation, 106 seq.
 Tables of offering, 102 seq., 121
 finds of, 7, 62, 73, 76
 Tablet, limestone, Mycenae, 101
 Tammuz, 344, 346
 Ta-urt, 326, 336
 Tavagalavas, 36
 Tegea, 404
 Teke keui, pillar at, 210
 Temple court, 16
 Tenedos, axe of, 193 seq.
 Teshub, 188, 191 n. 6
 Thebes, 411
 birth-place of Zeus, 463 n. 2
 figurines, 262
 inscribed vases, 20 n. 8
 palace, 26
 Therapnae, 404, 457
 Theren, 481
 Theseus, 451, 452
 Thessaly, invasion of, 30
 Thetis, 494
 Thiersch, H., 268 n. 1, 272 n. 3, 508
 Thisbe, hoard of (*see also* Gems, Rings), 44, 304 n. 5, XXIII
 Thorikos, 168
 Thunder weapon, 186, XXII
 Thyiades, 493, 498

- Thymiateria, 119, 301
 Tiryns, fresco, shields, 352
 idols, 261, 262
 palace, 15, 26
 table of offering, 104, 416
 temple, 406, 412, XXIII
 votives, 408, XXIII
 Titans, 4, 464, 465 n. 1, 509, 510
 Tithenidia, 433
 Tithonos, 542
 Tombs, Minoan, 257
Tomten, 283 n. 4
 Totemism, 324 n. 2
 Toutain, J., 393
 Tray, 112 seq., 121
 Tree cult, 225 seq., 236, 342
 Tree of Life, 330, 547, 548, 550
 of the World, 550
 Trees, sacred, 227 seq.
 touching, 236
 and animals, 244 seq.
 Triada, H., figurines, 253, 256
 idols, 253, 254
 necropolis, amulet, 258, 276
 — idols, 258 seq., 270
 — swinging maiden, 286 n. 6, 291
 palace, altar, 89, 98, 100
 — bases of double axes, 183
 — double axe, 166
 — frescoes, 135, 376 seq., XXIII
 — Harvesters' vase, 136 seq.,
 345 n. 3
 — horns of consecration, 142
 — pillar room, 206
 — sanctuary, N. E., 88, 289
 — — S. W., 88 seq., 270, 275,
 288 seq.
 sarcophagus, 368 seq.
 — altars, 100 seq., 148
 — barque, 378 seq., 546, 549
 — bird on small side, 288, 291,
 379
 — birds, 285, 291, 292 seq.,
 369 seq.
 — chariot, 370, 374, 379 seq.
 (Triada, H., sarcophagus) double axes,
 170, 182, 186, 369
 — dress, 132
 — god or hero, 136, 374, 379
 — libation, 371
 — libation jars, 122
 — — jug, 124, 126
 — poles, 182, 372
 — sacrifice, 195, 370, 371, 372
 seq.
 — temple (or altar?), 148, 153,
 228, 233 seq., 370
 — tomb(?), 369 seq.
 — tree, 228, 232
 temple of Zeus Velchanos, 397 seq.
 tholos tomb, double axes, 163, 167
 vase with double axe, 177
 Triptolemos, 487, 489, 491
 Triskeles, 364
 Triton shells, 130
 Troizen, 31
 Troy, 27, 39
 Trullos, 91 seq.
 'ladle', 105
 Trumpet, shell, 225
 Trundholm, sun-chariot, 364
 Tsoundas, C., 261, 262, 529, 531
 Tube-borer, 356 seq.
 Tube-shaped vessels, *see* Vessels.
 Tylissos, 94
 cup, 119
 idols, 253, 256
 libation tables, 107, 108
 horns of consecration, 141
 'sheep bells', 160
 Tympanum, 234
 Underworld (*cf.* Hades), Lady of the,
 278 n. 1, 337, 340, 373
Urfirnis ware, 180
 Vallois, R., 150 n. 4, 227 n. 1
 Vaphio, beehive tomb, pit, 520
 traces of fire, 523
 Vases, Greek: Athens, black-fig., tube-
 shaped, Charon, 273

- (Vases, Greek, Athens) red-fig. lekythos, Paris and Athena, 426
 Berlin, black-fig. hydria, sacrifice to Athena, 427
 Breslau, Corinthian aryballos, Herakles and the Hydra, 422, 425
 British Museum, Boeotian kylix, sacrifice to Athena, 422, 425, 426
 — red-fig. pelike, chest and snake, 427
 Copenhagen, kantharos, Athena, 423
 — pyxis lid, three goddesses, 426
 Frankfort, kylix by Brygos, maidens and snake, 427
 Kertsch, relief vase, contest of Athena and Poseidon, 426
 — red-fig. pelike, Eleusinian deities, 488 seq.
 Mycenae, black-fig. sherd, 533
 Paris, black-fig. amphora, Herakles and the Marathonian bull, 422
 — red-fig. jug, armed owl, 424
 Rhodes, red-fig., Eleusinian deities, 487 seq., 490
 — geometric, tube-shaped, 273, 386 seq.
 Thebes, geometric, Mistress of Animals, 437
 — relief pithos, 433 n. 1
 Thera, Melian, Artemis, 435
 Uppsala, black-fig., amphora, sacrifice to Athena, 424
 Vasiliki, jugs, 128
 vase with swastika, 364
 Vats, 212
 Vegetable motifs on double axes, 174 seq., 226
 on horns of consecration, 145, 226
 Vessels, composite, 109 seq., 112 seq., 121, XXI
 cult, 103 seq., XXI
 ring-shaped, 116 seq., 121
 (Vessels) sacral, *see* Kernos, Tables of libation, Tables of offering
 tube-shaped, 76, 271 seq.
 Volo, beehive tomb, temple model, 147
 Vroulia, shrine, 391
 Würtheim, J., 459 n. 2, 543 n. 4
 Wace, A. J. B., 40 n. 1, 310 seq.
 Wackernagel, J., 419 seq., 442 n. 1, 449, 450
 Waites, M. O., 187 n. 5
 Wall paintings, *see* Frescoes
 Walter, O., 241 n. 1
 War, 354
 and expansion of civilization, 23
 War god, 306, 348, 353 seq.
 War goddess (*cf.* Mycenae, tablet), 353, 428 seq.
 Wazet, 279 n. 1
 Weapons, worship of, 349 seq.
 Welcker, F. G., 462 n. 1, 478 n. 2
 Wheel, 361
 solar, 363 seq.
 Wide, S., 272, 293, 390 n. 1, 418 n. 4
 Wilamowitz, U. v., 429 n. 2, 443 n. 1, 444 n. 2, 449
 Williams, B. E., 154, 272, 273, 290, 347
 Wine, 297
 Wolters, P., 326, 438, 525 seq.
 Wood-pecker, 291 seq., 293
 Writing, Minoan, 20 seq., 25
 on gems, 145 n. 2, 195 n. 1
 double axe sign, 182
 Xanthoudides, S., 113 seq., 388 n. 4
 Yggdrasil, 550
 Yima, garden of, 548
 Zafer Papoura, ivory lid, 352
 plaster tripod, 104, 122
 Zagreus, 507, 509
 Zahn, R., 154, 272 n. 1, 273, 387
 Zakro, altar (?), 102

(Zakro) cup, 175
 idol, 260, 270
 pillars, 206, 211
 pillar rooms, 206
 table of offering, 102
 time, 323
 Zephyros, 433 n. 2
 Zeus, 4, 5, 347, 372, 394, 430, 462
 seq., 501 n. 1, 507, 508
 birth of, 493 seq., 462 seq.
 — annual, 471 seq.
 death of, 482 seq.
 Dictaeon, 393, 398 seq., 476 seq.,
 479, 482
 Herkeios, 16, 282, 470

(Zeus) Idaios, 507
Κρηταγενής, 463, 468
 Ktesios, 282, 470, 491, 504
 Labrandeus, 189 seq.
 Meilichios, 282
 Philios, 282
 Sabazios, 496 seq.
 Stratios, 188
 transformed into a snake, 503 n. 1
 tomb of, 395 seq., 482
 — inscription on, 483 n. 2
 Velchanos, 90, 397 seq., 459 n. 2,
 479, 480, 481 seq.
 youthful, 476, 479 seq., 484



1. 4:1



2. 2:1



3. 2:1



4. 2:1



5. 1:1



6. 1:1



7. 1:1



8. 2:1



9. 2:1



10. 2:1



Room in 'the Mycenaean Palace' at Asine with a ledge for cult idols and implements.

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